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ON

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

C. F. KEIL, D.D., AND F. DELITZSCH, D.D.,
PROFESSORS OF THEOLOGY.

THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES.

BY

C. F. KEIL.

111895

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY ANDREW HARPER, B.D.

EDINBURGH:
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HAGIOGRAPHIC HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BESIDES the prophetico-historic writings—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—which describe from a prophetic point of view the development of the kingdom of God established by means of the mediatorial office of Moses, from the time of the bringing of the tribes of Israel into the land promised to the fathers till the Babylonian exile, the Old Testament contains five historical books,—Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. These latter stand in the Hebrew canon among the כְּתוּבִים, *i.e.* in the hagiography, and are at once distinguished from the above-mentioned prophetico-historic writings by this characteristic, that they treat only of single parts of the history of the covenant people from individual points of view. The book of Ruth gives a charming historical picture from the life of the ancestors of King David. The Chronicles, indeed, extend over a very long period of the historical development of the Israelite kingdom of God, embrace the history from the death of King Saul till the Babylonian exile, and go back in the genealogies which precede the narrative of the history to Adam, the father of the human race; yet neither in the genealogical part do they give a perfect review of the genealogical ramifications of the twelve tribes of the covenant people, nor in their historical portion contain the history of the whole people from the death of Saul till the exile. Besides the tables of the first progenitors of

humanity and the tribal ancestors of the people of Israel, borrowed from Genesis, the genealogical part contains only a collection of genealogical and topographical fragments differing in plan, execution, and extent, relating to the chief families of the most prominent tribes and their dwelling-places. The historical part contains, certainly, historical sketches from the history of all Israel during the reigns of the kings David and Solomon; but from the division of the kingdom, after the death of Solomon, they contain only the history of the kingdom of Judah, with special reference to the Levitical worship, to the exclusion of the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From a comparison of the manner of representing the history in the Chronicles with that in the books of Samuel and the Kings, we can clearly see that the chronicler did not purpose to portray the development of the Israelitic theocracy in general, nor the facts and events which conditioned and constituted that development objectively, according to their general course. He has, on the contrary, so connected the historical facts with the attitude of the kings and the people to the Lord, and to His law, that they teach how the Lord rewarded fidelity to His covenant with blessing and success both to people and kingdom, but punished with calamity and judgments every faithless revolt from His covenant ordinances. Now since Israel, as the people and congregation of Jahve, could openly show its adherence to the covenant only by faithful observance of the covenant laws, particularly of the ordinances for worship, the author of the Chronicles has kept this side of the life of the people especially in view, in order that he might hold up before his contemporaries as a mirror the attitude of the fathers to the God-appointed dwelling-place of His gracious presence in the holy place of the congregation. He does this, that they might behold how the faithful maintenance of communion with the covenant God in His temple would assure to them the fulfilment of the gracious promises of the covenant, and how falling away into idolatry, on the contrary, would bring misfortune and destruction. This special reference to the worship meets us also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which describe the deliverance of the Jews from exile, and their restoration as the covenant people in the land of their fathers. The book of Ezra narrates, on the one hand, the return out of the Babylonian exile into the land of their fathers of a great part of the Jews who had been led away by Nebuchadnezzar,—partly in the first

year of the reign of Cyrus over Babylon, with Zerubbabel, a prince of the royal race of David, and Joshua the high priest as leaders; partly at a later period with the scribe Ezra, under Artaxerxes. On the other hand, it relates the restoration of the altar of burnt-offering, and of the divine service; together with the re-erection of the temple, and the effort of Ezra to regulate the affairs of the community according to the precepts of the Mosaic law, by doing away with the illegal marriages with heathen women. And Nehemiah describes in his book what he had accomplished in the direction of giving a firm foundation to the civil welfare of the newly-founded community in Judah: in the first place, by building the walls of Jerusalem so as to defend the city and holy place against the attacks and surprises of the hostile peoples in the neighbourhood; and secondly, by various measures for the strengthening of the capital by increasing the number of its inhabitants, and for the more exact modelling of the civil, moral, and religious life of the community on the precepts of the law of Moses, in order to lay enduring foundations for the prosperous development of the covenant people. In the book of Esther, finally, it is recounted how the Jewish inhabitants of the various parts of the great Persian kingdom were delivered by the Jewess Esther (who had been raised to the position of queen by a peculiar concatenation of circumstances) from the destruction which the Grand Vizier Haman, in the reign of King Ahashverosh (*i.e.* Xerxes), had determined upon, on account of the refusal of adoration by the Jew Mordecai.

Now, if we look somewhat more narrowly at the relation of these five historical books to the prophetico-historic writings, more especially in the first place in reference to their contents, we see that the books of Ruth and the Chronicles furnish us with not unimportant additions to the books of Samuel and Kings. The book of Ruth introduces us into the family life of the ancestors of King David, and shows the life-spring from which proceeded the man after God's own heart, whom God called from being a shepherd of sheep to be the shepherd of His people, that He might deliver Israel out of the power of his enemies, and found a kingdom, which received the promise of eternal duration, and which was to be established to all eternity through Christ the Son of David and the Son of God. The Chronicles supplement the history of the covenant people, principally during the period of the kings, by detailed accounts of

the *form* of the public worship of the congregation; from which we see how, in spite of the continual inclination of the people to idolatry, and to the worship of heathen gods, the service in the temple, according to the law, was the spiritual centre about which the pious in Israel crowded, to worship the Lord their God, and to serve Him by sacrifice. We see, too, how this holy place formed throughout a lengthened period a mighty bulwark, which prevented moral and religious decay from gaining the upper hand, until at length, through the godless conduct of the kings Asa and Manasseh, the holy place itself was profaned by the idolatrous abomination, and judgment broke in upon the incorrigible race in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the driving out of Judah from the presence of the Lord. But the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther are the only historical writings we possess concerning the times of the restoration of the covenant people after their emancipation from the captivity, and their return into the promised land; and even in this respect they are very valuable component parts of the Old Testament canon. The first two show how God the Lord fulfilled His promise, that He would again receive His people into favour, and collect them out of their dispersion among the heathen, if they should, in their misery under the oppression of the heathen, come to a knowledge of their sins, and turn unto Him; and how, after the expiry of the seventy years of the Babylonian exile which had been prophesied, He opened up to them, through Cyrus the king of Persia, their return into the land of their fathers, and restored Jerusalem and the temple, that He might preserve inviolate, and thereafter perfect, by the appearance of the promised David who was to come, that gracious covenant which He had entered into with their fathers. But the providence of God ruled also over the members of the covenant people who had remained behind in heathen lands, to preserve them from the ruin which had been prepared for them by the heathen, in order that from among them also a remnant might be saved, and become partakers of the salvation promised in Christ. To show this by a great historical example is the aim of the book of Esther, and the meaning of its reception into the canon of the Holy Scriptures of the old covenant.

If, finally, we consider the style of historical writing found in these five books, we can scarcely characterize it in its relation to the prophetic books by a fitting word. The manner of writing

history which is prevalent in the hagiography has been, it is true, called the national (*volksthümlich*) or annalistic, but by this name the peculiarity of it has in no respect been correctly expressed. The narrative bears a national impress only in the book of Esther, and relatively also in the book of Ruth; but even between these two writings a great difference exists. The narrative in Ruth ends with the genealogy of the ancestors of King David; whereas in the book of Esther all reference to the theocratic relation, nay, even the religious contemplation of the events, is wholly wanting. But the books of the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, have no national impress; in them, on the contrary, the Levitico-priestly manner of viewing history prevails. Still less can the hagiographic histories be called annalistic. The books of Ruth and Esther follow definite aims, which clearly appear towards the end. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah contain, it is true, in the genealogical, geographical, and historical registers, a mass of annalistic material; but we find this also in the prophetico-historic works, and even in the books of Moses. The only thing which is common to and characteristic of the whole of the hagiographic historical books, is that the prophetic contemplation of the course of history according to the divine plan of salvation which unfolds itself in the events, either falls into the background or is wanting altogether; while in its place individual points of view appear which show themselves in the pursuit of paræneticо-didactic aims, which have acted as a determining influence on the selection and treatment of the historical facts, as the introduction to the individual writings will show.

THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. NAME, CONTENTS, PLAN, AND AIM OF THE CHRONICLES.

THE two books of the Chronicles originally formed one work, as their plan at once makes manifest, and were received into the Hebrew canon as such. Not only were they reckoned as one in the enumeration of the books of the Old Testament (cf. Joseph. *c. Apion*, i. 8; Origen, in Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* vi. 25; and Hieronym. *Prolog. galeat.*), but they were also regarded by the Masorites as one single work, as we learn from a remark of the Masora at the end of the Chronicle, that the verse 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 is the middle of the book. The division into two books originated with the Alexandrian translators (LXX.), and has been transmitted by the Latin translation of Hieronymus (Vulgata) not only to all the later translations of the Bible, but also, along with the division into chapters, into our versions of the Hebrew Bible. The first book closes, chap. xxix. 29 f., with the end of the reign of David, which formed a fitting epoch for the division of the work into two books. The Hebrew name of this book in our Bible, by which it was known even by Hieronymus, is דברי הימים, *verba*, or more correctly *res gestæ dierum*, events of the days, before which סֵפֶר is to be supplied (cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings xiv. 19, 29, xv. 7, 23).

Its full title therefore is, Book of the Events of the Time (*Zeitereignisse*), corresponding to the annalistic work so often quoted in our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, the Book of the Events of the Time (Chronicle) of the Kings of Israel and Judah. Instead of this the LXX. have chosen the name *Παραλειπόμενα*, in order to mark more exactly the relation of our work to the earlier historical books of the Old Testament, as containing much historical information which is not to be found in them. But the name is not used in the sense of supplementa,—"fragments of other historical works," as Movers, *die Bibl. Chron.* S. 95, interprets it,—but in the signification "prætermissa;" because, according to the explanation in the

Synopsis script. sacr. in Athanasii *Opera*, ii. p. 84, *παραλειφθέντα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς βασιλειαῖς* (*i.e.* in the books of Samuel and Kings) *περιέχεται ἐν τούτοις*, "many things passed over in the Kings are contained in these." Likewise Isidorus, lib. vi. *Origin.* c. i. p. 45: *Paralipomenon græce dicitur, quod prætermissorum vel reliquorum nos dicere possumus, quia ea quæ in lege vel in Regum libris vel omissa vel non plene relata sunt, in isto summatim et breviter explicantur.* This interpretation of the word *παραλειπόμενα* is confirmed by Hieronymus, who, in his *Epist. ad Paulin.* (*Opp.* t. i. ed. Vallars, p. 279), says: *Paralipomenon liber, id est instrumenti veteris epitome tantus et talis est, ut absque illo, si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat; per singula quippe nomina juncturasque verborum et prætermissæ in Regum libris tanguntur historiæ et innumerabiles explicantur Evangelii quæstiones.* He himself, however, suggested the name Chronicon, in order more clearly to characterize both the contents of the work and at the same its relation to the historical books from Gen. i. to 2 Kings xxv.; as he says in *Prolog. galeat.*: דברי הימים, *i.e. verba dierum, quod significantius chronicon totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur.* Through Hieronymus the name Chronicles came into use, and became the prevailing title.

Contents.—The Chronicles begin with genealogical registers of primeval times, and of the tribes of Israel (1 Chron. i.–ix.); then follow the history of the reign of King David (chap. x.–xxix.) and of King Solomon (2 Chron. i.–ix.); the narrative of the revolt of the ten tribes from the kingdom of the house of David (chap. x.); the history of the kingdom of Judah from Rehoboam to the ruin of the kingdom, its inhabitants being led away into exile to Babylon (chap. xi.–xxxvi. 21); and at the close we find the edict of Cyrus, which allowed the Jews to return into their country (xxxvi. 22, 23). Each of the two books, therefore, falls into two, and the whole work into four divisions. If we examine these divisions more minutely, six groups can be without difficulty recognised in the genealogical part (1 Chron. i.–ix.). These are: (1) The families of primeval and ancient times, from Adam to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and his sons Edom and Israel, together with the posterity of Edom (chap. i.); (2) the sons of Israel and the families of Judah, with the sons and posterity of David (ii.–iv. 23); (3)

the families of the tribe of Simeon, whose inheritance lay within the tribal domain of Judah, and those of the trans-Jordanic tribes Reuben and Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (iv. 24–v. 26); (4) the families of Levi, or of the priests and Levites, with an account of the dwelling-places assigned to them (v. 27–vi. 66); (5) the families of the remaining tribes, viz. Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, the half-tribe of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher (only Dan and Zebulun being omitted), with the genealogy of the house of Saul (vii. viii.); and (6) a register of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem (ix. 1–34), and a second enumeration of the family of Saul, preparing us for the transition to the history of the kingdom of Israel (ix. 35–44). The history of David's kingship which follows is introduced by an account of the ruin of Saul and his house (chap. x.), and then the narrative falls into two sections. (1) In the first we have David's election to be king over all Israel, and the taking of the Jebusite fort in Jerusalem, which was built upon Mount Zion (xi. 1–9); then a list of David's heroes, and the valiant men out of all the tribes who made him king (xi. 10–xii. 40); the removal of the ark to Jerusalem, the founding of his house, and the establishment of the Levitical worship before the ark in Zion (xiii.–xvi.); David's design to build a temple to the Lord (xvii.); then his wars (xviii.–xx.); the numbering of the people, the pestilence which followed, and the fixing of the place for the future temple (xxi.). (2) In the second section are related David's preparations for the building of the temple (xxii.); the numbering of the Levites, and the arrangement of their service (xxiii.–xxvi.); the arrangement of the military service (xxvii.); David's surrender of the kingdom to his son, and the close of his life (xxviii. and xxix.). The history of the reign of Solomon begins with his solemn sacrifice at Gibeon, and some remarks on his wealth (2 Chron. i.); then follows the building of the temple, with the consecration of the completed holy place (chap. ii.–vii.). To these are added short aphoristic accounts of the cities which Solomon built, the statute labour which he exacted, the arrangement of the public worship, the voyage to Ophir, the visit of the queen of Sheba, and of the might and glory of his kingdom, closing with remarks on the length of his reign, and an account of his death (viii.–ix.). The history of the kingdom of Judah begins with the narrative of the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam (chap. x.), and then in chap. xi.–xxxvi. it flows on according to the succession of the

kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Zedekiah, the reigns of the individual kings forming the sections of the narrative.

Plan and Aim.—From this general sketch of the contents of our history, it will be already apparent that the author had not in view a general history of the covenant people from the time of David to the Babylonian exile, but purposed only to give an outline of the history of the kingship of David and his successors, Solomon and the kings of the kingdom of *Judah* to its fall. If, however, in order to define more clearly the plan and purpose of the historical parts of our book in the first place, we compare them with the representation given us of the history of Israel in those times in the books of Samuel and Kings, we can see that the chronicler has passed over much of the history. (*a*) He has omitted, in the history of David, not only his seven years' reign at Hebron over the tribe of Judah, and his conduct to the fallen King Saul and to his house, especially towards Ishbosheth, Saul's son, who had been set up as rival king by Abner (2 Sam. i.–iv. and ix.), but in general has passed over all the events referring to and connected with David's family relations. He makes no mention, for instance, of the scene between David and Michal (2 Sam. vi. 20–23); the adultery with Bathsheba, with its immediate and more distant results (2 Sam. xi. 2–12); Amnon's outrage upon Tamar, the slaying of Amnon by Absalom and his flight to the king of Geshur, his return to Jerusalem, his rising against David, with its issues, and the tumult of Sheba (2 Sam. xiii.–xx.); and, finally, also omits the thanksgiving psalm and the last words of David (2 Sam. xxii. 1–xxiii. 7). Then (*b*) in the history of Solomon there have been left unrecorded the attempt of Adonijah to usurp the throne, with the anointing of Solomon at Gihon, which it brought about; David's last command in reference to Joab and Shimei; the punishment of these men and of Adonijah; Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings i. 1–iii. 3); his wise judgment, the catalogue of his officials, the description of his royal magnificence and glory, and of his wisdom (1 Kings iii. 16–v. 14); the building of the royal palace (1 Kings vii. 1–12); and Solomon's polygamy and idolatry, with their immediate results (1 Kings xi. 1–40). Finally, (*c*) there is no reference to the history of the kingdom of Israel founded by Jeroboam, or to the lives of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, which are related in such detail in the books of Kings, while mention is made of the kings of the kingdom of the ten tribes only in so far as they came into

hostile struggle or friendly union with the kingdom of Judah. But, in compensation for these omissions, the author of the Chronicle has brought together in his work a considerable number of facts and events which are omitted in the books of Samuel and the Kings. For example, in the history of David, he gives us the list of the valiant men out of all the tribes who, partly before and partly after the death of Saul, went over to David to help him in his struggle with Saul and his house, and to bring the royal honour to him (1 Chron. xii.); the detailed account of the participation of the Levites in the transfer of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem, and of the arrangements made by David for worship around this sanctuary (chap. xv. and xvi.); and the whole section concerning David's preparations for the building of the temple, his arrangements for public worship, the regulation of the army, and his last commands (chap. xxii.–xxix.). Further, the history of the kingdom of Judah from Rehoboam to Joram is narrated throughout at greater length than in the books of Kings, and is considerably supplemented by detailed accounts, not only of the work of the prophets in Judah, of Shemaiah under Rehoboam (chap. xii. 5–8), of Azariah and Hanani under Asa (xv. 1–8, xvi. 7–9), of Jehu son of Hanani, Jehaziel, and Ebenezer son of Dodava, under Jehoshaphat (xix. 1–3, xx. 14–20 and 37), and concerning Elijah's letter under Joram (xxi. 12–15); but also of the efforts of Rehoboam (xi. 5–17), Asa (xiv. 5–7), and Jehoshaphat (xvii. 2, 12–19) to fortify the kingdom, of Asa to raise and vivify the Jahve-worship (xv. 9–15), of Jehoshaphat to purify the administration of justice and increase the knowledge of the law (xvii. 7–9 and xix. 5–11), of the wars of Abijah against Jeroboam, and his victories (xiii. 3–20), of Asa's war against the Cushite Zerah (xiv. 8–14), of Jehoshaphat's conquest of the Ammonites and Moabites (xx. 1–30), and, finally, also of the family relations of Rehoboam (xi. 18–22), the wives and children of Abijah (xiii. 21), and Joram's brothers and his sickness (xxi. 2–4 and 18 f.). Of the succeeding kings also various undertakings are reported which are not found in the books of Kings. In this way we are informed of Joash's defection from the Lord, and his fall into idolatry after the death of the high priest Jehoiada (xxiv. 15–22); how Amaziah increased his military power (xxv. 5–10), and worshipped idols (xxv. 14–16); of Uzziah's victorious wars against the Philistines and Arabs, and his fortress-building, etc. (xxvi.

6–15); of Jotham's fortress-building, and his victory over the Ammonites (xxvii. 4–6); of the increase of Hezekiah's riches (xxxii. 27–30); of Manasseh's capture and removal to Babylon, and his return out of captivity (xxxiii. 11–17). But the history of Hezekiah and Josiah more especially is rendered more complete by special accounts of reforms in worship, and of celebrations of the passover (xxix. 3–31, 21, and xxxv. 2–15); while we have only summary notices of the godless conduct of Ahaz (chap. xxviii.) and Manasseh (xxxiii. 3–10), of the campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem and Judah, of Hezekiah's sickness and the reception of the Babylonian embassy in Jerusalem (chap. xxxii., cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13–20, xix.); as also of the reigns of the last kings, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. From all this, it is clear that the author of the Chronicle, as Bertheau expresses it, "has turned his attention to *those times* especially in which Israel's religion had showed itself to be a power dominating the people and their leaders, and bringing them prosperity; and to *those men* who had endeavoured to give a more enduring form to the arrangements for the service of God, and to restore the true worship of Jahve; and to *those events* in the history of the worship so intimately bound up with Jerusalem, which had important bearings."

This purpose appears much more clearly when we take into consideration the narratives which are common to the Chronicle and the books of Samuel and Kings, and observe the difference which is perceptible in the mode of conception and representation in those parallel sections. For our present purpose, however, those narratives in which the chronicler supplements and completes the accounts given in the books of Samuel and Kings by more exact and detailed information, or shortens them by the omission of unimportant details, come less into consideration.[1] For both additions and abridgments show only that the chronicler has not drawn his information from the canonical books of Samuel and Kings, but from other more circumstantial original

[1] Additions are to be found, *e.g.*, in the list of David's heroes, 1 Chron. xii. 42–47; in the history of the building and consecration of Solomon's temple; in the enumeration of the candlesticks, tables, and courts, 2 Chron. iv. 6–9; in the notice of the copper platform on which Solomon kneeled at prayer, vi. 12, 13; and of the fire which fell from heaven upon the burnt-offering, vii. 1 ff. Also in the histories of the wars they are met with, 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8, 23, cf. 2 Sam. v. 8, 9, xxiii. 21; 1 Chron. xviii. 8, 12,

documents which he had at his command, and has used these sources independently. Much more important for a knowledge of the plan of the Chronicle are the variations in the parallel places between it and the other narrative; for in them the point of view from which the chronicler regarded, and has described, the events clearly appears. In the number of such passages is to be reckoned the narrative of the transfer of the ark (1 Chron. xiii. and xv., cf. 2 Sam. vi.), where the chronicler presents the fact in its religious import as the beginning of the restoration of the worship of Jahve according to the law, which had fallen into decay; while the author of the books of Samuel describes it only in its political import, in its bearing on the Davidic kingship. Of this character also is the narrative of the raising of Joash to the throne (2 Chron. xxiii., cf. 2 Kings xi.), where the share of the Levites in the completion of the work begun by the high priest Jehoiada is prominently brought forward, while in Kings it is not expressly mentioned. The whole account also of the reign of Hezekiah, as well as other passages, belong to this category. Now from these and other descriptions of the part the Levites played in events, and the share they took in assisting the efforts of the pious kings to revivify and maintain the temple worship, the conclusion has been rightly drawn that the chronicler describes with special interest the fostering of the Levitic worship according to the precepts of the law of Moses, and holds it up to his contemporaries for earnest imitation; yet this has been too often done in such a way as to cause this one element in the plans of the Chronicle to be looked upon as its main object, which has led to a very onesided conception of the character of the book. The chronicler does not desire to bring honour to the Levites and to the temple worship: his object is rather to draw from the history of the kingship in Israel a proof that faithful adherence to the covenant which the Lord had made with Israel brings happiness and blessing; the forsaking of it, on the contrary, ensures ruin and a curse. But Israel could show its faithfulness to the covenant only by walking according to the

cf. 2 Sam. viii. 8, 13, etc. More may be found in my *Handbook of Introd.* § 139, 5. Abridgments by the rejection of unimportant details are very frequent; *e.g.* the omission of the Jebusites' mockery of David's attack on their fortress, 1 Chron. xi. 5, 6, cf. 2 Sam. v. 6, 8; of the details of the storming of Rabbah, 1 Chron. xx. 1, 2, cf. 2 Sam. xii. 27–29; and of many more, *vide* my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 139, 8.

ordinances of the law given by Moses, and in worshipping Jahve, the God of their fathers, in His holy place in that way which He had established by the ceremonial ordinances. The author of the Chronicle attaches importance to the Levitic worship only because the fidelity of Israel to the covenant manifested itself in the careful maintenance of it.

This point of view appears clearly in the selection and treatment of the material drawn by our historian from older histories and prophetic writings. His history begins with the death of Saul and the anointing of David to be king over the whole of Israel, and confines itself, after the division of the kingdom, to the history of the kingdom of Judah. In the time of the judges especially, the Levitic worship had fallen more and more into decay; and even Samuel had done nothing for it, or perhaps *could* do nothing, and the ark remained during that whole period at a distance from the tabernacle. Still less was done under Saul for the restoration of the worship in the tabernacle; for "Saul died," as we read in 1 Chron. x. 13 f., "for his transgression which he had transgressed against the Lord; . . . and because he inquired not of the Lord, therefore He slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse." After the death of Saul the elders of all Israel came to David with the confession, "Jahve thy God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel; and thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel" (1 Chron. xi. 2). David's first care, after he had as king over all Israel conquered the Jebusite hold on Mount Zion, and made Jerusalem the capital of the kingdom, was to bring the ark from its obscurity into the city of David, and to establish the sacrificial worship according to the law near that sanctuary (1 Chron. xiii. 15, 16). Shortly afterwards he formed the resolution of building for the Lord a permanent house (a temple), that He might dwell among His people, for which he received from the Lord the promise of the establishment of his kingdom for ever, although the execution of his design was denied to him, and was committed to his son (chap. xvii.). Only *after* all this has been related do we find narratives of David's wars and his victories over all hostile peoples (chap. xviii.–xx.), of the numbering of the people, and the pestilence, which, in consequence of the repentant resignation of David to the will of the Lord, gave occasion to the determination of the place for the erection of the temple (chap. xxi.). The second section of the history of

the Davidic kingship contains the preparations for the building of the temple, and the laying down of more permanent regulations for the ordering of the worship; and that which David had prepared for, and so earnestly impressed upon his son Solomon at the transfer of the crown, Solomon carried out. Immediately after the throne had been secured to him, he took in hand the building of the temple; and the account of this work fills the greater part of the history of his reign, while the description of his kingly power and splendour and wisdom, and of all the other undertakings which he carried out, is of the shortest. When ten tribes revolted from the house of David after his death, Rehoboam's design of bringing the rebellious people again under his dominion by force of arms was checked by the prophet Shemaiah with the words, "Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren, for this thing is done of me" (2 Chron. xi. 4). But in their revolt from the house of David, which Jeroboam sought to perpetuate by the establishment of an idolatrous national worship, Israel of the ten tribes had departed from the covenant communion with Jahve; and on this ground, and on this account, the history of that kingdom is no further noticed by the chronicler. The priests and Levites came out of the whole Israelite dominion to Judah and Jerusalem, because Jeroboam and his sons expelled them from the priesthood. After them, from all the tribes of Israel came those who gave their hearts to seek Jahve the God of Israel to Jerusalem to sacrifice to Jahve the God of their fathers (2 Chron. xi. 13–16), for "Jerusalem is the city which Jahve has chosen out of all the tribes of Israel to put His name there" (xii. 13). The priests, Levites, and pious people who went over from Israel made the kingdom of Judah strong, and confirmed Rehoboam's power, for they walked in the ways of David and Solomon (xi. 17). But when the kingdom of Rehoboam had been firmly established, he forsook the law of Jahve, and all Israel with him (xii. 1). Then the Egyptian king Shishak came up against Jerusalem, "because they had transgressed against the Lord" (xii. 2). The prophet Shemaiah proclaimed the word of the Lord: "Ye have forsaken me, and therefore have I also left you in the hand of Shishak" (xii. 5). Yet when Rehoboam and the princes of Israel humbled themselves, the anger of the Lord turned from him, that He would not destroy him altogether (xii. 6, 12). King Abijah reproaches

Jeroboam in his speech with his defection from Jahve, and concludes with the words, "O children of Israel, fight not ye against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper" (xiii. 12); and when the men of Judah cried unto the Lord in the battle, and the priests blew the trumpets, then did God smite Jeroboam and all Israel (xiii. 15). "Thus the children of Israel were brought under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers" (xiii. 18). King Asa commanded his subjects to seek Jahve the God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandments (xiv. 3). In the war against the Cushites, he cried unto Jahve his God, "Help us, for we rest on Thee;" and Jahve smote the Cushites before Judah (xiv. 10). After this victory Asa and Judah sacrificed unto the Lord of their spoil, and entered into a covenant to seek Jahve the God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul. And the Lord was found of them, and the Lord gave them rest round about (xv. 11 ff.). But when Asa afterwards, in the war against Baasha of Israel, made an alliance with the Syrian king Benhadad, the prophet Hanani censured this act in the words, "Because thou hast relied on the king of Syria, and hast not relied on Jahve thy God, therefore has the host of the king of Syria escaped out of thy hand. . . . Herein thou hast done foolishly," etc. (xvi. 7–9). Jehoshaphat became mighty against Israel, and Jahve was with him; for he walked in the ways of his father David, and sought not unto the Baals, but sought the God of his father, and walked in His commandments, and not after the doings of Israel. And Jahve established his kingdom in his hand, and he attained to riches and great splendour (xvii. 1–5).

After this fashion does the chronicler show how God blessed the reigns and prospered all the undertakings of all the kings of Judah who sought the Lord and walked in His commandments; but at the same time also, how every defection from the Lord brought with it misfortune and chastisement. Under Joram of Judah, Edom and Libnah freed themselves from the supremacy of Judah, "because Joram had forsaken Jahve the God of his fathers" (xxi. 10). Because Joram had walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and had seduced the inhabitants of Jerusalem to whoredom (*i.e.* idolatry), and had slain his brothers, God punished him in the invasion of Judah by the Philistines and Arabs, who stormed Jerusalem, took away with them all the fur-

niture of the royal palace, and took captive his sons and wives, while He smote him besides with incurable disease (xxi. 11 ff., 16–18). Because of the visit which Ahaziah made to Joram of Israel, when he lay sick of his wound at Jezreel, the judgment was (xxii. 7) pronounced: "The destruction of Ahaziah was of God by his coming to Joram." When Amaziah, after his victory over the Edomites, brought back the gods of Seir and set them up for himself as gods, before whom he worshipped, the anger of Jahve was kindled against him. In spite of the warning of the prophets, he sought a quarrel with King Joash of Israel, who likewise advised him to abandon his design. "But Amaziah would not hear; for it was of God, that He might deliver them over, because they had sought the gods of Edom" (xxv. 20). With this compare ver. 27: "After the time that Amaziah turned away from following Jahve, they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem." Of Uzziah it is said (xxvi. 5), so long as he sought the Lord, God made him to prosper, so that he conquered his enemies and became very mighty. But when he was strong his heart was lifted up, so that he transgressed against Jahve his God, by forcing his way into the temple to offer incense; and for this he was smitten with leprosy. Of Jotham it is said, in xxvii. 6, "He became mighty, because he established his ways before Jahve his God."

From these and similar passages, which might easily be multiplied, we clearly see that the chronicler had in view not only the Levitic worship, but also and mainly the attitude of the people and their princes to the Lord and to His law; and that it is from this point of view that he has regarded and written the history of his people before the exile. But it is also not less clear, from the quotations we have made, in so far as they contain practical remarks of the historian, that it was his purpose to hold up to his contemporaries as a mirror the history of the past, in which they might see the consequences of their own conduct towards the God of their fathers. He does not wish, as the author of the books of Kings does, to narrate the events and facts objectively, according to the course of history; but he connects the facts and events with the conduct of the kings and people towards the Lord, and strives to put the historical facts in such a light as to teach that God rewards fidelity to His covenant with happiness and blessing, and avenges faithless defection from it with punitive judgments. Owing to this peculiarity, the historical narrative

acquires a hortative character, which gives occasion for the employment of a highly rhetorical style. The hortative-rhetorical character impressed upon his narrative shows itself not only in many of the speeches of the actors in the history which are interwoven with it, but also in many of the historical parts. For example, the account given in 2 Chron. xxi. 16 of the punitive judgments which broke in upon Joram for his wickedness is rhetorically arranged, so that the judgments correspond to the threatenings contained in the letter of Elijah, vers. 12–15. But this may be much more plainly seen in the description of the impious conduct of King Ahaz, and of the punishments which were inflicted upon him and the kingdom of Judah (chap. xxviii.); as also in the descriptions of the crime of Manasseh (chap. xxxiii. 3–13; cf. especially vers. 7 and 8), and of the reign of Zedekiah, and the ruin of the kingdom of Judah (chap. xxxvi. 12–21). Now the greater part of the differences between the chronicler's account and the parallel narrative in the books of Samuel and Kings, together with the omission of unimportant circumstances, and the careful manner in which the descriptions of the arrangements for worship and the celebration of feasts are wrought out, can be accounted for by this hortatory tendency so manifest in his writing, and by his subjective, reflective manner of regarding history. For all these peculiarities clearly have it for their object to raise in the souls of the readers pleasure and delight in the splendid worship of the Lord, and to confirm their hearts in fidelity to the Lord and to His law.

With this plan and object, the first part of our history (1 Chron. i.–ix.), which contains genealogies, with geographical sketches and isolated historical remarks, is in perfect harmony. The genealogies are intended to exhibit, on the one hand, the connection of the people of Israel with the whole human race; on the other, the descent and genealogical ramifications of the tribes and families of Israel, with the extent to which they had spread themselves abroad in the land received as a heritage from the Lord. In both of these respects they are the necessary foundation for the following history of the chosen people, which the author designed to trace from the time of the foundation of the promised kingdom till the people were driven away into exile because of their revolt from their God. And it is not to be considered as a result of the custom prevalent among the later Arabian historians, of beginning their histories and chronicles *ab ovo* with

Adam, that our author goes back in this introduction to Adam and the beginnings of the human race; for not only is this custom far too modern to allow of any inference being drawn from it with reference to the Chronicle, but it has itself originated, beyond a doubt, in an imitation of our history. The reason for going back to the beginnings of the human race is to be sought in the importance for the history of the world of the people of Israel, whose progenitor Abraham had been chosen and separated from all the peoples of the earth by God, that his posterity might become a blessing to all the families of the earth. But in order to see more perfectly the plan and object of the historian in his selection and treatment of the historical material at his command, we must still keep in view the age in which he lived, and for which he wrote. In respect to this, so much in general is admitted, viz. that the Chronicle was composed after the Babylonian exile. With their release from exile, and their return into the land of their fathers, Israel did not receive again its former political importance. That part of the nation which had returned remained under Persian supremacy, and was ruled by Persian governors; and the descendants of the royal race of David remained subject to this governor, or at least to the kings of Persia. They were only allowed to restore the temple, and to arrange the divine service according to the precepts of the Mosaic law; and in this they were favoured by Cyrus and his successors. In such circumstances, the efforts and struggles of the returned Jews must have been mainly directed to the re-establishment and permanent ordering of the worship, in order to maintain communion with the Lord their God, and by that means to prove their fidelity to the God of their fathers, so that the Lord might fulfil His covenant promises to them, and complete the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem. By this fact, therefore, may we account for the setting forth in our history of the religious and ecclesiastical side of the life of the Israelitish community in such relief, and for the author's supposed "fondness" for the Levitic worship. If the author of the Chronicle wished to strengthen his contemporaries in their fidelity to Jahve, and to encourage them to fulfil their covenant duties by a description of the earlier history of the covenant people, he could not hope to accomplish his purpose more effectively than by so presenting the history as to bring accurately before them the ordinances and arrangements of the worship, the blessings of

fidelity to the covenant, and the fatal fruits of defection from the Lord.

The chronicler's supposed predilection for genealogical lists arose also from the circumstances of his time. From Ezra ii. 60 ff. we learn that some of the sons of priests who returned with Zerubbabel sought their family registers, but could not find them, and were consequently removed from the priesthood; besides this, the inheritance of the land was bound up with the families of Israel. On this account the family registers had, for those who had returned from the exile, an increased importance, as the means of again obtaining possession of the heritage of their fathers; and perhaps it was the value thus given to the genealogical lists which induced the author of the Chronicle to include in his book all the old registers of this sort which had been received from antiquity.

§ 2. AGE AND AUTHOR OF THE CHRONICLES.

The Chronicle cannot have been composed before the time of Ezra, for it closes with the intelligence that Cyrus, by an edict in the first year of his reign, allowed the Jews to return to their country (2. xxxvi. 22 f.), and it brings down the genealogical tree of Zerubbabel to his grandchildren (1. iii. 19–21). The opinion brought into acceptance by de Wette and Ewald, that the genealogy (1. iii. 19–24) enumerates six or seven other generations after Zerubbabel, and so reaches down to the times of Alexander the Great or yet later, is founded on the undemonstrable assumption that the twenty-one names which in this passage (ver. 21*b*) follow בני רפיה are the names of direct descendants of Zerubbabel. But no exegetical justification can be found for this assumption; since the list of names, "the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah," etc. (vers. 21*b*–24), is connected neither in form nor in subject-matter with the grandsons of Zerubbabel, who have been already enumerated, but forms a genealogical fragment, the connection of which with Zerubbabel's grandchildren is merely asserted, but can neither be proved nor even rendered probable. (*Vide* the commentary on these verses.) Other grounds for the acceptance of so late a date for the composition of the Chronicle are entirely wanting; for the orthography and language of the book

point only in general to the post-exilic age, and the mention of the Daric, a Persian coin, in 1. xxix. 7, does not bring us further down than the period of the Persian rule over Judæa. On the other hand, the use of the name בִּירָה (1. xxix. 1, 19) for the temple can scarcely be reconciled with the composition of the book in the Macedonian or even the Seleucidian age, since an author who lived after Nehemiah, when Jerusalem, like other Persian cities, had received in the fortress built by him (Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2), and afterwards called *Bâρις* and *Arx Antonia*, its own בִּירָה, would scarcely have given this name to the temple.

In reference to the question of the authorship of our book, the matter which most demands consideration is the identity of the end of the Chronicle with the beginning of the book of Ezra. The Chronicle closes with the edict of Cyrus which summons the Jews to return to Jerusalem to build the temple; the book of Ezra begins with this same edict, but gives it more completely than the Chronicle, which stops somewhat abruptly with the word וְיַעַל, "and let him go up," although in this ויעל everything is contained that we find in the remaining part of the edict communicated in the book of Ezra. From this relation of the Chronicle to the book of Ezra, many Rabbins, Fathers of the church, and older exegetes, have drawn the conclusion that Ezra is also the author of the Chronicle. But of course it is not a very strong proof, since it can be accounted for on the supposition that the author of the book of Ezra has taken over the conclusion of the Chronicle into his work, and set it at the commencement, so as to attach his book to the Chronicle as a continuation. In support of this supposition, moreover, the further fact may be adduced, that it was just as important for the Chronicle to communicate the terms of Cyrus' edict as it was for the book of Ezra. It was a fitting conclusion of the former, to show that the destruction of Jerusalem and the leading away of the inhabitants of Judah to Babylon, was not the final destiny of Judah and Jerusalem, but that, after the dark night of exile, the day of the restoration of the people of God had dawned under Cyrus; and for the latter it was an indispensable foundation and point of departure for the history of the new immigration of the exiles into Jerusalem and Judah. Yet it still remains more probable that one author produced both writings, yet not as a single book, which has been divided at some later time by another hand. For no reason can be perceived for any such later division,

especially such a division as would make it necessary to repeat the edict of Cyrus.[1] The introduction of this edict with the words, "And it came to pass in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, *that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished*," connects it so closely with the end of the account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the carrying away into Babylon, contained in the words, "And they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia, *to fulfil the word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah*, . . . to fulfil the seventy years" (ver. 20 f.), that it cannot be separated from what precedes. Rather it is clear, that the author who wrote verses 20 and 21, representing the seventy years' exile as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, must be the same who mentions the edict of Cyrus, and sets it forth in its connection with the utterances of the same prophet. This connecting of the edict with the prophecy gives us an irrefragable proof that the verses which contain the edict form an integral part of the Chronicle. But, at the same time, the way in which the edict is broken off in the Chronicle with וַיַּעַל, makes it likely that the author of the Chronicle did not give the contents of the edict in their entirety, only because he intended to treat further of the edict, and the fulfilment of it by the return of the Jews from Babylon, in a second work. A later editor would certainly have given the entire edict in both writings (the Chronicle and the book

[1] What Bertheau (p. xxi.) says in this connection (following Ewald, *Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. S. 264, der 2 Aufl.), viz., that "perhaps at first only that part of the great historical work which contains the history of the new community itself, to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the history of these its two heroes, was added to the books of the Old Testament, because it seemed unnecessary to add our present Chronicle, on account of its agreement in great part with the contents of the books of Samuel and Kings," is a supposition which merely evades giving a reason for the division of the work into two, by holding the division to have been made before the book came into the canon. But unless the division had been made before, no one would ever have thought of considering the first half of this book, *i.e.* our present Chronicle, unworthy of a place in the canon, since it contains, in great part, new information not found in the books of Samuel and Kings, and supplements in a variety of ways even the narratives which are contained in these books. And even supposing that the Chronicle was received into the canon as a supplement, after the books of Ezra and Nehemiah had already received a definite place in it, the verses 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f. could scarcely have been added to the Chronicle from the book of Ezra, to call attention to the fact that the Chronicle had received an unsuitable place in the canon, as it ought to have stood before the book of Ezra.

of Ezra), and would, moreover, hardly have altered בְּפִי (Chron.) into מִפִּי (Ezra), and יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ into יְהִי אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ.

The remaining grounds which are usually urged for the original unity of the two writings, prove nothing more than the possibility or probability that both originated with one author; certainly they do not prove that they originally formed one work. The long list of phenomena in Bertheau's Commentary, pp. xvi–xx, by which a certainty is supposed to be arrived at that the Chronicle and Ezra originally was one great historical work, compiled from various sources, greatly requires the help of critical bias. 1. "The predilection of the author for genealogical lists, for detailed descriptions of great feasts, which occurred at the most various times, for exact representations of the arrangement of the public worship, and the business of the Levites and priests, with their classifications and ranks," cannot be proved to exist in the book of Ezra. That book contains only one very much abridged genealogy, that of Ezra (vii. 1–5); only two lists,—those, namely, of the families who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Ezra (chap. ii. and viii.); only one account of the celebration of a feast, the by no means detailed description of the consecration of the temple (vi. 16); short remarks on the building of the altar, the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, and the laying of the foundation-stone of the temple, in chap. iii.; and it contains nothing whatever as to the divisions and ranks of the priests and Levites. That in these lists and descriptions some expressions should recur, is to be expected from the nature of the case. Yet all that is common to both books is the word הִתְיַחֵשׂ, the use of כְּמִשְׁפָּט in the signification, "according to the Mosaic law" (1 Chron. xxiii. 31, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13, Ezra iii. 4, and Neh. viii. 18), and the liturgical formulæ הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה, which occurs also in Isa. xii. 4 and Ps. xxxiii. 2, and לְהוֹדוֹת וּלְהַלֵּל with the addition, "Jahve is God, and His mercy endureth for ever" (1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chron. vii. 6; Ezra iii. 11). The other expressions enumerated by Bertheau are met with also in other writings: נִקְבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת in Num. i. 17; רָאשֵׁי בֵית־אָבוֹת and רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת, Ex. vi. 14 ff.; and the formula (בְּתוֹרַת יהוה) כַּכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה or לְכָל־הַכָּתוּב (1 Chron. xvi. 40; 2 Chron. xxxv. 12, 26; Ezra iii. 2, 4) is just as common in other writings: cf. Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34; 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii. 13, xxiii. 21. Bertheau further remarks: "In those sections in which the regulation of the public worship, the duties, classification, and offices of the priests and Levites

are spoken of, the author seizes every opportunity to tell of the musicians and doorkeepers, their duties at the celebration of the great festivals, and their classification. He speaks of the musicians, 1 Chron. vi. 16 ff., ix. 14–16, 33, xv. 16–22, 27 f., xvi. 4–42, xxiii. 5, xxv.; 2 Chron. v. 12 f., vii. 6, viii. 14 f., xx. 19, 21, xxiii. 13, 18, xxix. 25–28, 30, xxx. 21 f., xxxi. 2, 11–18, xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 15; Ezra iii. 10 f.; Neh. xi. 17, xii. 8, 24, 27–29, 45–47, xiii. 5. The doorkeepers are mentioned nearly as often, and not seldom in company with the singers: 1 Chron. ix. 17–29, xv. 18, 23, 24, xvi. 38, xxiii. 5, xxvi. 1, 12–19; 2 Chron. viii. 14, xxiii. 4, 19, xxxi. 14, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 15; Ezra ii. 42, 70, vii. 7, x. 24; Neh. vii. 1, 45, x. 29, xi. 19, xii. 25, 45, 47, xiii. 5. Now if these passages be compared, not only are the same expressions met with (*e.g.* מְצִלְתַּיִם only in Chron., Ezra, and Neh.; הַמְשֹׁרֵר and הַמְשֹׁרְרִים likewise only in these books, but here very frequently, some twenty-eight times), and also very often in different places the same names (cf. 1 Chron. ix. 17 with Neh. xii. 25); but everywhere also we can easily trace the same view as to the importance of the musicians and doorkeepers for the public worship, and see that all information respecting them rests upon a very well-defined view of their duties and their position." But does it follow from this "well-defined view" of the business of the musicians and doorkeepers, that the Chronicle, Ezra, and Nehemiah form a single book? Is this view an idea peculiar to the author of this book? In all the historical books of the Old Testament, from Exodus and Leviticus to Nehemiah, we find the idea that the laying of the sacrifice upon the altar is the business of the priest; but does it follow from that, that all those books were written by one man? But besides this, the representation given by Bertheau is very one-sided. The fact is, that in the Chronicle, and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, mention is made of the priests just as often as of the Levitical musicians, and oftener than the doorkeepers are spoken of, as will be seen from the proofs brought forward in the following remarks; nor can any trace be discovered of a "fondness" on the part of the chronicler for the musicians and porters. They are mentioned only when the subject demanded that they should be mentioned.

2. As to the language.—Bertheau himself admits, after the enumeration of a long list of linguistic peculiarities of the Chronicle and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that all these

phenomena are to be met with separately in other books of the Old Testament, especially the later ones; only their frequent use can be set down as the linguistic peculiarity of *one* author. But does the mere numbering of the places where a word or a grammatical construction occurs in this or that book really serve as a valid proof for the unity of the authorship? When, for example, the form כִּוָּה, 2 Chron. xiv. 13, xxviii. 14, Ezra ix. 7, Neh. iii. 36, occurs elsewhere only in Esther and Daniel, or קִבֵּל in 1 Chron. xii. 18, xxi. 11, 2 Chron. xxix. 16, 22, and Ezra viii. 30, is elsewhere found only in Proverbs once, in Job once, and thrice in Esther, does it follow that the Chronicle and the book of Ezra are the work of one author? The greater number of the linguistic phenomena enumerated by Bertheau, such as the use of הָאֱלֹהִים for יהוה; the frequent use of לְ, partly before the infinitive to express shall or must, partly for subordinating or introducing a word; the multiplication of prepositions,—*e.g.* in עַד לְאֵין, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16; עַד לְמַאֲד, 2 Chron. xvi. 14; עַד לְמַעְלָה, 2 Chron. xvi. 12, xvii. 12; xxvi. 8,—are characteristics not arising from a peculiar use of language by our chronicler, but belonging to the later or post-exilic Hebrew in general. The only words and phrases which are characteristic of and common to the Chronicle and the book of Ezra are: כִּפּוֹר (bowl), 1 Chron. xxviii. 17, Ezra i. 10, viii. 27; the infinitive Hophal הוּסַד, used of the foundation of the temple, 2 Chron. iii. 3, Ezra iii. 11; פְּלֻגָּה, of the divisions of the Levites, 2 Chron. xxxv. 5 and Ezra vi. 18; הִתְנַדֵּב, of offerings, 1 Chron. xxix. 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, Ezra i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5; עַד לְמֶרְחוֹק (with three prepositions), 2 Chron. xxvi. 15, Ezra iii. 13; and הֵכִין לְבָבוֹ לְדָרֹשׁ, 2 Chron. xii. 14, xix. 3, xxx. 19, and Ezra vii. 10. These few words and constructions would *per se* not prove much; but in connection with the fact that neither in the language nor in the ideas are any considerable differences or variations to be observed, they may serve to strengthen the probability, arising from the relation of the end of the Chronicle to the beginning of the book of Ezra, that both writings were composed by the priest and scribe Ezra.[1]

[1] The opinion first propounded by Ewald, and adopted by Bertheau, Dillmann (art. "Chronik" in *Herzog's Realencykl.*), and others, that "the author belonged to the guild of musicians settled at the temple in Jerusalem" (*Gesch. des V. Isr.* i. p. 235), has no tenable ground for its support, and rests merely on the erroneous assumption that the author has not the same sympathy with the priests as he shows in speaking of the Levites, more especially

§ 3. THE SOURCES OF THE CHRONICLES.

The genealogical list in chap. i., which gives us the origin of the human race and of the nations, and that which contains the names of the sons of Jacob (ii. 1 and 2), are to be found in and have been without doubt extracted from Genesis, to be placed together here. For it is scarcely probable that genealogical lists belonging to primeval time and the early days of Israel should have been preserved till the post-exilic period. But all the genealogical registers which follow, together with the geographical and historical remarks interwoven with them (chap. ii. 3–viii. 40), have not been derived from the older historical books of the Old Testament: for they contain for the most part merely the names of the originators of those genealogical lines, of the grandsons and some of the great-grandsons of Jacob, and of the ancestors, brothers, and sons of David; but nowhere do they contain the whole lines. Moreover, in the parallel places the names often differ greatly, so that all the variations cannot be ascribed to errors of transcription. Compare the comparative table of these parallel places in my *apolog. Versuch über die Chron.* S. 159 ff., and in the *Handbook of Introduction*, § 139, 1. All these catalogues, together with that of the cities of the Levites (chap. vi. 39-66), have been derived from other, extra-biblical sources.

of the singers and doorkeepers (Berth.). If this assertion were true, the author might have been just as well a Levitical doorkeeper as a musician. But it is quite erroneous, as may be seen on a comparison of the passages adduced *supra*, p. 26, from Bertheau's commentary. In all the passages in which the musicians and doorkeepers are mentioned the priests are also spoken of, and in such a way that to both priests and Levites that is ascribed which belonged to their respective offices: to the priests, the sacrificial service and the blowing of the trumpets; to the Levites, the external business of the temple, and the execution of the instrumental music and psalm-singing introduced by David. From this it is clear that there is no reason why the priest and scribe Ezra might not have composed the Chronicle. The passages supporting the assertion that where musicians and doorkeepers are spoken of the priests are also mentioned, are: 1 Chron. vi. 34 ff., ix. 10–13, xv. 24, xvi. 6, 39 f., xxiii. 2, 13, 28, 32, xxiv. 1–19; 2 Chron. v. 7, 11–14, vii. 6, viii. 14 f., xiii. 9–12, xvii. 8, xix. 8, 11, xx. 28, xxiii. 4, 6, 18, xxvi. 17, 20, xxix. 4, 16, 21–24, 34, xxx. 3, 15, 21, 25, 27, xxxi. 2, 17, 19, xxxiv. 30, xxxv. 2, 8, 10, 14, 18; Ezra i. 5, ii. 61, 70, iii. 2, 8, 10–12, vi. 16, 18, 20, vii. 7, 24, viii. 15, 24–30, 33; Neh. ii. 16, iii. 1, vii. 73, viii. 13, x. 1–9, 29, 35, 39 f., xi. 3, 10 ff., xii. 1 ff., 30, 35, 41, 44, 47, xiii. 30.

But as Bertheau, S. xxxi, rightly remarks: "We cannot hold the lists to be the result of historical investigation on the part of the author of the Chronicle, in the sense of his having culled the individual names carefully either out of historical works or from traditions of the families, and then brought them into order: for in reference to Gad (chap. v. 12) we are referred to a genealogical register prepared in the time of Jotham king of Judah and Jeroboam king of Israel; while as to Issachar (chap. vii. 2) the reference is to the numbering of the people which took place in the time of David; and it is incidentally (?) stated (chap. ix. 1) that registers had been prepared of all Israelites (*i.e.* the northern tribes)." Besides this, in 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 27, and xxvi. 31, numberings of the Levites, and in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24 the numbering of the people undertaken by Joab at David's command, are mentioned. With regard to the latter, however, it is expressly stated that its results were not incorporated in the דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *i.e.* in the book of the chronicles of King David, while it is said that the results of the genealogical registration of the northern tribes of Israel were written in the book of the kings of Israel. According to this, then, it might be thought that the author had taken his genealogical lists from the great historical work made use of by him, and often cited, in the history of the kings of Judah—"the *national* annals of Israel and Judah." But this can be accepted only with regard to the short lists of the tribes of the northern kingdom in chap. v. and vii., which contain nothing further than the names of families and fathers'-houses, with a statement of the number of males in these fathers'-houses. It is possible that these names and numbers were contained in the national annals; but it is not likely that these registers, which are of a purely genealogical nature, giving the descent of families or famous men in longer or shorter lines of ancestors, were received into the national annals (*Reichsannalen*), and it does not at all appear from the references to the annals that this was the case. These genealogical lists were most probably in the possession of the heads of the tribes and families and households, from whom the author of the Chronicle would appear to have collected all he could find, and preserved them from destruction by incorporating them in his work.

In the historical part (1 Chron. x.—2 Chron. xxxvi.), at the death of almost every king, the author refers to writings in which the events and acts of his reign are described. Only in the case

of Joram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, and the later kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, are such references omitted. The books which are thus named are: (1) For David's reign, Dibre of Samuel the seer, of the prophet Nathan, and of Gad the seer (1 Chron. xxix. 29); (2) as to Solomon, the Dibre of the prophet Nathan, the prophecy (נְבוּאַת) of Abijah the Shilonite, and the visions (חֲזוֹת) of the seer Iddo against Jeroboam the son of Nebat (2 Chron. ix. 29); (3) for Rehoboam, Dibre of the prophet Shemaiah and the seer Iddo (chap. xii. 15); (4) for Abijah's reign, Midrash of the prophet Iddo (xiii. 22); (5) for Asa, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xvi. 11); (6) as to Jehoshaphat, Dibre of Jehu the son of Hanani, which had been incorporated with the book of the kings of Israel (xx. 34); (7) for the reign of Joash, Midrash-Sepher of the kings (xxiv. 27); (8) for the reign of Amaziah, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxv. 26); (9) in reference to Uzziah, a writing (כְּתָב) of the prophet Isaiah (xxvi. 22); (10) as to Jotham, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxvii. 7); (11) for the reign of Ahaz, the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxviii. 26); (12) for Hezekiah, the vision (חָזוֹן) of the prophet Isaiah, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel (xxxii. 32); (13) as to Manasseh, Dibre of the kings of Israel, and Dibre of Hozai (xxxiii. 18 and 19); (14) for the reign of Josiah, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxxv. 27); and (15) for Jehoiakim, the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (xxxvi. 8).

From this summary, it appears that two classes of writings, of historical and prophetic contents respectively, are quoted. The book of the kings of Judah and Israel (No. 5, 8, 11), the book of the kings of Israel and Judah (10, 14, 15), the histories (דִּבְרֵי) of the kings of Israel (13), and the Midrash-book of kings (7), are all historical. The first three titles are, as is now generally admitted, only variations in the designation of one and the same work, whose complete title, "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (or Israel and Judah), is here and there altered into "Book of the Events (or History) of the Kings of Israel," *i.e.* of the whole Israelitish people. This work contained the history of the kings of both kingdoms, and must have been essentially the same as to contents with the two annalistic writings cited in the canonical books of Kings: the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, and the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. This conclusion is forced upon us by the fact that the

extracts from them contained in our canonical books of Kings, coincide with the extracts from the books of the kings of Israel and Judah contained in our Chronicle where they narrate the same events, either verbally, or at least in so far that the identity of the sources from which they have been derived cannot but be recognised. The only difference is, that the author of the Chronicle had the two writings which the author of the book of Kings quotes as two separate works, before him as one work, narrating the history of both kingdoms in a single composition. For he cites the book of the kings of Israel even for the history of those kings of Judah who, like Jotham and Hezekiah, had nothing to do with the kingdom of Israel (*i.e.* the ten tribes), and even after the kingdom of the ten tribes had been already destroyed, for the reigns of Manasseh, Josiah, and Jehoiakim. But we are entirely without any means of answering with certainty the question, in how far the merging of the annals of the two kingdoms into *one* book of the kings of Israel was accompanied by remoulding and revision. The reasons which Bertheau, in his commentary on Chronicles, p. xli. ff., brings forward, after the example of Thenius and Ewald, for thinking that it underwent so thorough a revision as to become a different book, are without force. The difference in the title is not sufficient, since it is quite plain, from the different names under which the chronicler quotes the work which is used by him, that he did not give much attention to literal accuracy. The character of the parallel places in our books of Kings and the Chronicle, as Bertheau himself admits, forms no decisive criterion for an accurate determination of the relation of the chronicler to his original documents, which is now in question, since neither the author of the books of Samuel and Kings nor the author of the Chronicle intended to copy with verbal exactness: they all, on the contrary, treated the historical material which they had before them with a certain freedom, and wrought it up in their own writings in accordance with their various aims.

It is questionable if the work quoted for the reign of Joash, מִדְרָשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים (No. 7), is identical with the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, or whether it be not a commentary on it, or perhaps a revision of that book, or of a section of the history of the kings for purposes of edification. The narrative in the Chronicle of the chief events in the reign of Joash, his accession, with the fall of Athaliah, and the repairing of the temple (2

Chron. xxiii. and xxiv.), agrees with the account of these events in 2 Kings xi. and xii. where the annals of the kings of Judah are quoted, to such an extent, that both the authors seem to have derived their accounts from the same source, each making extracts according to his peculiar point of view. But the Chronicle recounts, besides this, the fall of Joash into idolatry, the censure of this defection by the prophet Zechariah, and the defeat of the numerous army of the Jews by a small Syrian host (xxiv. 15–25); from which, in Bertheau's opinion, we may come, without much hesitation, to the conclusion that the connection of these events had been already very clearly brought forward in a Midrash of that book of Israel and Judah which is quoted elsewhere. This is certainly possible, but it cannot be shown to be more than a possibility; for the further remark of Bertheau, that in the references which occur elsewhere it is not so exactly stated as in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27 what the contents of the book referred to are, is shown to be erroneous by the citation in chap. xxxiii. 18 and 19. It cannot, moreover, be denied that the title מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר instead of the simple סֵפֶר is surprising, even if, with Ewald, we take מִדְרָשׁ in the sense of "composition" or "writing," and translate it "writing-book" (*Schriftbuch*), which gives ground for supposing that an expository writing is here meant. Even taking the title in this sense, it does not follow with any certainty that the Midrash extended over the whole history of the kings, and still less is it proved that this expository writing may have been used by the chronicler here and there in places where it is not quoted.

So much, however, is certain, that we must not, with Jahn, Movers, Staehelin, and others, hold these annals of the kings of Israel and Judah, which are quoted in the canonical books of Kings and the Chronicle, to be the official records of the acts and undertakings of the kings prepared by the מַזְכִּירִים.[1] They are

[1] Against this idea Bähr also has very justly declared (*die Bücher der Könige*, in J. P. Lange's *theol. homilet. Bibelwerke*, S. x. f.), and among other things has rightly remarked, that in the separated kingdom of Israel there is no trace whatever of court or national historians. But he goes much too far when he denies the existence of national annals in general, even in the kingdom of Judah, and under David and Solomon. For even granting that the מַזְכִּיר derives his name from this, "that his duty was, as *μνήμων*, to bring to the recollection of the king all the state affairs which were to be cared for, and give advice in reference to them;" yet this function is so intimately connected with the recording and preserving of the national

rather annalistic national histories composed by prophets, partly from the archives of the kingdom and other public documents, partly from prophetic monographs containing prophecy and history, either composed and continued by various prophets in succession during the existence of both kingdoms, or brought together in a connected form shortly before the ruin of the kingdom out of the then existing contemporary historical documents and prophetic records. Two circumstances are strongly in favour of the latter supposition. On the one hand, the references to these annals in both kingdoms do not extend to the last kings, but end in the kingdom of Israel with Pekah (2 Kings xv. 31), in the kingdom of Judah with Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiv. 5 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8). On the other hand, the formula "until this day" occurs in reference to various events; and since it for the most part refers not to the time of the exile, but to times when the kingdom still existed (cf. 1 Kings viii. 8 with 2 Chron. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 13, 21, with 2 Chron. viii. 8; 1 Kings xii. 19 with 2 Chron. x. 19; 2 Kings viii. 22 with 2 Chron. xxi. 10, 2 Kings ii. 22, x. 27, xiv. 7, and xvi. 6), it cannot be from the hand of the authors of our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, but must have come down to us from the original documents, and is in them possible only if they were written at some shorter or longer period after the events. When Bähr, in the place already quoted, says, on the contrary, that the time shortly before the fall of the kingdom, the time of complete uprooting, would appear to be the time least of all suited for the collection and editing of national year-books, this arises from his not having fully weighed the fact, that at that very time prophets like Jeremiah lived and worked, and, as is clear from

documents of the kingdom and of all royal ordinances, that from it the composition of official annals of the kingdom follows almost as a matter of course. The existence of such national annals, or official year-books of the kingdom, is placed by 1 Chron. ix. 1 and xxvii. 24 beyond all doubt. According to ix. 1, a genealogical record of the whole of Israel was prepared and inserted in the book of the kings of Israel; and according to xxvii. 24, the result of the numbering of the people, carried out by Joab under David, was not inserted in the book of the "Chronicles of King David." Bähr's objections to the supposition of the existence of national annals, rest upon the erroneous presupposition that all judgments concerning the kings and their religious conduct which we find in our canonical histories, would have also been contained in the annals of the kingdom, and that thus the authors of our books of Kings and Chronicles would have been mere copyists giving us some excerpts from the original documents.

the prophecies of Jeremiah, gave much time to the accurate study of the older holy writings.

The book composed by the prophet Isaiah concerning the reign of King Uzziah (9) was a historical work; as was also probably the Midrash of the prophet Iddo (4). But, on the other hand, we cannot believe, as do Ewald, Bertheau, Bähr, and others, that the other prophetical writings enumerated under 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, and 13, were merely parts of the books of the kings of Israel and Judah; for the grounds which are brought forward in support of this view do not appear to us to be tenable, or rather, tend to show that those writings were independent books of prophecy, to which some historical information was appended. 1. The circumstance that it is said of two of those writings, the Dibre of Jehu and the חָזוֹן of Isaiah (6 and 12), that they were incorporated or received into the books of the Kings, does not justify the conclusion "that, since two of the above-named writings are expressly said to be parts of the larger historical work, probably by the others also only parts of this work are meant" (Ew., Berth. S. xxxiv). For in the citations, those writings are not called parts of the book of Kings, but are only said to have been received into it as component parts; and from that it by no means follows that the others, whose reception is not mentioned, were parts of that work. The admission of one writing into another book can only then be spoken of when the book is different from the writing which is received into it. 2. Since some of the writings are denominated דִּבְרֵי of a prophet, from the double meaning of the word דְּבָרִים, *verba* and *res*, this title might be taken in the sense of "events of the prophets," to denote historical writings. But it is much more natural to think, after the analogy of the superscriptions in Amos i. 1, Jer. i. 1, of books of prophecies like the books of Amos and Jeremiah, which contained prophecies and prophetic speeches along with historical information, just as the sections Amos vii. 10–17, Jer. chap. xl.–xlv. do, and which differed from our canonical books of prophecies, in which the historical relations are mentioned only in exceptional cases, only by containing more detailed and minute accounts of the historical events which gave occasion to the prophetic utterances. On account of this fulness of historical detail, such prophetic writings, without being properly histories, would yet be for many periods of the history of the kings very abundant sources of history. The above-mentioned difference between our canonical

books of prophecy and the books now under discussion is very closely connected with the historical development of the theocracy, which showed itself in general in this, that the action of the older prophets was specially directed to the present, and to *vivâ voce* speaking, while that of those of a later time was more turned towards the future, and the consummation of the kingdom of God by the Messiah (cf. Küper, *das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes*, 1870, S. 93 ff.). This signification of the word דִּבְרֵי is, in the present case, placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the writings of other prophets which are mentioned along with these are called נְבוּאָה, חָזוֹת, and חָזוֹן,—words which never denote historical writings, but always only prophecies and visions of the prophets. In accordance with this, the חָזוֹן of Isaiah (12) is clearly distinguished from the writing of the same prophet concerning Uzziah, for which כָּתַב is used; while in the reign of Manasseh, the speeches of Hozai are named along with the events, *i.e.* the history of the kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19), and a more exact account of what was related about Manasseh in each of these two books is given. From this we learn that the historical book of Kings contained the words which prophets had spoken against Manasseh; while in the writing of the prophet Hozai, of whom we know nothing further, information as to the places where his idolatry was practised, and the images which were the objects of it, was to be found. After all these facts, which speak decidedly against the identification of the prophetic writings cited in the book of Kings with that book itself, the enigmatic לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ, after the formula of quotation, "They are written in the words (speeches) of the prophet Shemaiah and of the seer Iddo" (2 Chron. xii. 15), can naturally not be looked upon as a proof that here prophetic writings are denominated parts of a larger historical work. 3. Nor can we consider it, with Bertheau, decisive, "that for the whole history of David (דִּבְרֵי דָוִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים), Solomon, Rehoboam, and Jehoshaphat, prophetic writings are referred to; while for the whole history of Asa, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Josiah, the references are to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah." From this fact no further conclusion can be drawn than that, in reference to the reigns of some kings the prophetic writings, and in reference to those of others the history of the kingdom, contained all that was important, and that the history of the kingdom contained also information as to the work of the prophets in

the kingdom, while the prophetic writings contained likewise information as to the undertakings of the kings. The latter might contain more detailed accounts in reference to some kings, the former in reference to others; and this very circumstance, or some other reason which cannot now be ascertained by us, may have caused the writer of the Chronicle to refer to the former in reference to one king, and to the latter in reference to another.

Finally, 4. Bähr remarks, S. viii. f.: "Quite a number of sections of our books (of Kings) are found in the Chronicle, where the words are identical, and yet the reference there is to the writings of single definite persons, and not to the three original documents from which the Kings is compiled. Thus, in the first place, in the history of Solomon, in which the sections 2 Chron. vi. 1–40 and 1 Kings viii. 12–50, 2 Chron. vii. 7–22 and 1 Kings viii. 64–ix. 9, 2 Chron. viii. 2–x. 17 and 1 Kings ix. 17–xxiii. 26, 2 Chron. ix. 1–28 and 1 Kings x. 1–28, etc., are identical, the Chronicle refers not to the book of the history of Solomon (as 1 Kings xi. 41), but to the דִּבְרֵי of the prophet Nathan, etc. (2 Chron. ix. 29); consequently the book of the history of Solomon must either have been compiled from those three prophetic writings, or at least have contained considerable portions of them. The case is identical with the second of the original documents, the book of the history of the kings of Judah (1 Kings xiv. 29 and elsewhere). The narrative as to Rehoboam is identical in 2 Chron. x. 1–19 and 1 Kings xii. 1–19, as also in 2 Chron. xi. 1–4 and 1 Kings xii. 20–24; further, in 2 Chron. xii. 13 f. as compared with 1 Kings xiv. 21 f.; but the history of the kings of Judah is not mentioned as an authority, as is the case in 1 Kings xiv. 29, but the דִּבְרֵי of the prophet Shemaiah and the seer Iddo (2 Chron. xii. 15). In the history of King Abijah we are referred, in the very short account, 1 Kings xv. 1–8, for further information to the book of the history of the kings of Judah; while the Chronicle, on the contrary, which gives further information, quotes from the מִדְרָשׁ of the prophet Iddo (2 Chron. xiii. 22). The case is similar in the history of the kings Uzziah and Manasseh: our author refers in reference to both to the book of the kings of Judah (2 Kings xv. 6, xx. 17); the chronicler quotes, for the first the כָּתַב of the prophet Isaiah the son of Amoz (2 Chron. xxvi. 22), for the latter דִּבְרֵי חוֹזַי (2 Chron. xxxiii. 19). By all these quotations it is satisfactorily shown that the book of the kings of Judah is compiled from the historical writ-

jngs of various prophets or seers." But this conclusion is neither valid nor necessary. It is not valid, for this reason, that the Chronicle, besides the narratives concerning the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, Uzziah, and Manasseh, which it has in common with the books of Kings, and which are in some cases identical, contains a whole series of narratives peculiar to itself, which perhaps were not contained at all in the larger historical work on the kings of Judah, or at least were not there so complete as in the special prophetic writings cited by the chronicler. As to Solomon also, the Chronicle has something peculiar to itself which is not found in the book of Kings. Nor is the conclusion necessary; for from a number of identical passages in our canonical books of Kings and Chronicles, the only certain conclusion which can be drawn is, that these narratives were contained in the authorities quoted by both writers, but not that the variously named authorities form one and the same work.

By all this we are justified in maintaining the view, that the writings quoted by the author of the Chronicle under the titles, Words, Prophecy, Visions of this and that prophet, with the exception of the two whose incorporation with the book of Kings is specially mentioned, lay before him as writings separate and distinct from the "Books of the Kings of Israel and Judah," that these writings were also in the hands of many of his contemporaries, and that he could refer his readers to them. On this supposition, we can comprehend the change in the titles of the works quoted; while on the contrary supposition, that the special prophetic writings quoted were parts of the larger history of the kings of Israel and Judah, it remains inexplicable. But the references of the chronicler are not to be understood as if all he relates, for example, of the reign of David was contained in the words of the seer Samuel, of the prophet Nathan, and of the seer Gad, the writings he quotes for that reign. He may, as Berth. S. xxxviii. has already remarked, "have made use also of authorities which he did not feel called upon to name,"—as, for example, the lists of David's heroes, 1 Chron. xi. 10–47, and of those who gave in their adherence to David before the death of Saul, and who anointed him king in Hebron, chap. xii. Such also are the catalogues of the leaders of the host, of the princes of the tribes, and the stewards of the royal domains, chap. xxvii.; of the fathers'-houses of the Levites, and the divisions of the priests, Levites, and singers, etc., chap. xxiii.–xxvi. These lists contain records to whose sources

he did not need to refer, even if he had extracted them from the public annals of the kingdom during the reign of David, because he has embodied them in their integrity in his book.

But our canonical books of Samuel and Kings are by no means to be reckoned among the sources possibly used besides the writings which are quoted. It cannot well be denied that the author of the Chronicle knew these books; but that he has used them as authorities, as de Wette, Movers, Ewald, and others think, we must, with Bertheau and Dillmann, deny. The single plausible ground which is usually brought forward to prove the use of these writings, is the circumstance that the Chronicle contains many narratives corresponding to those found in the books of Samuel and Kings, and often verbally identical with them. But that is fully accounted for by the fact that the chronicler used the same more detailed writings as the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, and has extracted the narratives in question, partly with verbal accuracy, partly with some small alterations, from them. Against the supposition that the above-named canonical books were used by the chronicler, we may adduce the facts that the chronicle, even in those corresponding passages, differs in many ways as to names and events from the account in those books, and that it contains, on an average, more than they do, as will be readily seen on an exact comparison of the parallel sections. Other and much weaker grounds for believing that the books of Samuel and Kings were used by the chronicler, are refuted in my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 141, 2; and in it, at § 139, is to be found a synoptical arrangement of the parallel sections.

§ 4. THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE CHRONICLES.

The historic truth or credibility of the books of the Chronicle, which de Wette, in the *Beitrr. zur Einleit.* 1806, violently attacked, in order to get rid of the evidence of the Chronicle for the Mosaic origin of the Sinaitic legislation, is now again in the main generally recognised.[1] The care with which the chronicler

[1] Cf. Bertheau, *Com.* S. xliii, and Dillmann, *loc cit.* The decision of the latter is as follows, S. 693: "This work has a great part of its narratives and information in common with the older canonical historical books, and very often corresponds verbally, or almost verbally, with them; but another and equally important part is peculiar to itself. This relationship was, formerly,

has used his authorities may be seen, on a comparison of the narratives common to the Chronicle with the books of Samuel and Kings, not only from the fact that in these parallel sections the story of the chronicler agrees in all essential points with the accounts of these books, but also from the variations which are to be met with. For these variations, in respect to their matter, give us in many ways more accurate and fuller information, and in every other respect are of a purely formal kind, in great part affecting only the language and style of expression, or arising from the hortatory-didactic aim of the narrative. But this hortatory aim has nowhere had a prejudicial effect on the objective truth of the statement of historical facts, as appears on every hand on deeper and more attentive observation, but has only imparted to the history a more subjective impress, as compared with the objective style of the books of Kings.

Now, since the parallel places are of such a character, we are, as Bertheau and Dillmann frankly acknowledge, justified in believing that the author of the Chronicle, in the communication of narratives not elsewhere to be found in the Old Testament, has followed his authorities very closely, and that not only the many registers which we find in his work—the lists in 1 Chron. xii., xxiii.–xxvi., xxvii.; the catalogue of cities fortified by Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xi. 6–12; the family intelligence, chap. xi. 18–23, xxi. 2, and such matters—have been communicated in exact accordance with his authorities, but also the accounts of the wars

in the time of the specially negative criticism, explained by the supposition that the chronicler had derived the information which he has in common with these books from them, and that every difference and peculiarity arose from misunderstanding, misinterpretation, a desire to ornament, intentional misrepresentation, and pure invention (so especially de Wette in his *Beitrr.*, and Gramberg, *die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtl. Karakter*, 1823). The historic credibility of the Chronicle has, however, been long ago delivered from such measureless suspicions, and recognised (principally by the efforts of Keil, *apologet. Versuch*, 1833; Movers, *die bibl. Chronik*, 1834; Haevernick, in the *Einleitung*, 1839; and Ewald, in the *Geschichte Israels*). It is now again acknowledged that the chronicler has written everywhere from authorities, and that intentional fabrications or misrepresentations of the history can no more be spoken of in connection with him." Only K. H. Graf has remained so far behind the present stage of Old Testament inquiry as to seek to revive the views of de Wette and Gramberg as to the Chronicle and the Pentateuch. For further information as to the attacks of de Wette and Gramberg, and their refutation, see my *apologet. Versuche über die BB. der Chronik*, 1833, and in the *Handbook of Introduction*, § 143 and 144.

of Rehoboam, Abijah, Jehoshaphat (chap. xx.), Amaziah, etc. Only here and there, Bertheau thinks, has he used the opportunity offered to him to treat the history in a freer way, so as to represent the course of the more weighty events, and such as specially attracted his attention, according to his own view. This appears especially, he says, (1) in the account of the speeches of David, 1 Chron. xiii. 2 f., xv. 12 f., xxviii. 2–10, 20 f., xxix. 1–5 and 10–19, where, too, there occur statements of the value of the precious metals destined for the building of the temple (1 Chron. xxix. 4, 7), which clearly do not rest upon truthful historical recollection, and can by no means have been derived from a trustworthy source; as also in the reports of those of Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 5–10) and of Asa (chap. xiv. 10, etc.); then (2) in the description of the religious ceremonies and feasts (1 Chron. xv. and xvi.; 2 Chron. v. 1–vii. 10, chap. xxix.–xxxi., chap. xxxv.): for in both speeches and descriptions expressions and phrases constantly recur which may be called current expressions with the chronicler. Yet these speeches stand quite on a level with those of Solomon, 2 Chron. i. 8–10, chap. vi. 4–11, 12–42, which are also to be found in the books of Kings (1. iii. 6–9, chap. viii. 14–53), from which it is to be inferred that the author here has not acted quite independently, but that in this respect also older histories may have served him as a model. But even in these descriptions information is not lacking which must rest upon a more accurate historical recollection, *e.g.* the names in 1 Chron. xv. 5–11, 17–24; the statement as to the small number of priests, and the help given to them by the Levites, in 2 Chron. xxix. 14 f., xxx. 17. Yet we must, beyond doubt, believe that the author of the Chronicle "has in these descriptions transferred that which had become established custom in his own time, and which according to general tradition rested upon ancient ordinance, without hesitation, to an earlier period." Of these two objections so much is certainly correct, that in the speeches of the persons acting in the history, and in the descriptions of the religious feasts, the freer handling of the authorities appears most strongly; but no alterations of the historical circumstances, nor additions in which the circumstances of the older time have been unhistorically represented according to the ideas or the taste of the post-exilic age, can, even here, be anywhere pointed out. With regard, first of all, to the speeches in the Chronicle, they are certainly not given according to the sketches or written reports of the hearers,

but sketched and composed by the historian according to a truthful tradition of the fundamental thoughts. For although, in all the speeches of the Chronicle, certain current and characteristic expressions and phrases of the author of this book plainly occur, yet it is just as little doubtful that the speeches of the various persons are essentially different from one another in their thoughts, and characteristic images and words. By this fact it is placed beyond doubt that they have not been put into the mouths of the historical persons either by the chronicler or by the authors of the original documents upon which he relies, but have been composed according to the reports or written records of the ear-witnesses. For if we leave out of consideration the short sayings or words of the various persons, such as 1 Chron. xi. 1 f., xii. 12 f., xv. 12 f., etc., which contain nothing characteristic, there are in the Chronicle only three longer speeches of King David (1 Chron. xxii. 7–16, xxviii. 2–10, 12–22, and xxix. 1–5), all of which have reference to the transfer of the kingdom to his son Solomon, and in great part treat, on the basis of the divine promise (2 Sam. vii. and 1 Chron. xvii.), of the building of the temple, and the preparations for this work. In these speeches the peculiarities of the chronicler come so strongly into view, in contents and form, in thought and language, that we must believe them to be free representations of the thoughts which in those days moved the soul of the grey-haired king. But if we compare with these David's prayer (1 Chron. xxix. 10–19), we find in it not only that multiplication of the predicates of God which is so characteristic of David (cf. Ps. xviii.), but also, in vers. 11 and 15, definite echoes of the Davidic psalms. The speech of Abijah, again, against the apostate Israel (2 Chron. xiii. 4–12), moves, on the whole, within the circle of thought usual with the chronicler, but contains in ver. 7 expressions such as אַנְשִׁים רֵקִים and בְּנֵי בְלִיַּעַל, which are quite foreign to the language of the Chronicle, and belong to the times of David and Solomon, and consequently point to sources contemporaneous with the events. The same thing is true of Hezekiah's speech (2 Chron. xxxii. 7, 8), in which the expression זְרוֹעַ בָּשָׂר, "the arm of flesh," recalls the intimacy of this king with the prophet Isaiah (cf. Isa. xxxi. 3). The sayings and speeches of the prophets, on the contrary, are related much more in their original form. Take, for instance, the remarkable speech of Azariah ben Oded to King Asa (2 Chron. xv. 1–7), which, on account of its obscurity, has been

very variously explained, and which, as is well known, is the foundation of the announcement made by Christ of the destruction of Jerusalem and the last judgment (Matt. xxiv. 6, 7; Luke xxi. 19). As C. P. Caspari (*der syrisch-ephraimit. Krieg.*, Christiania 1849, S. 54) has already remarked, it is so peculiar, and bears so little of the impress of the Chronicle, that it is impossible that it can have been produced by the chronicler himself: it must have been taken over by him from his authorities almost without alteration. From this one speech, whose contents he could hardly have reproduced accurately in his own words, and which he has consequently left almost unaltered, we can see clearly enough that the chronicler has taken over the speeches he communicates with fidelity, so far as their contents are concerned, and has only clothed them formally, more or less, in his own language. This treatment of the speeches in the Chronicle is, however, not a thing peculiar and confined to the author of this book, but is, as Delitzsch has shown (*Isaiah*, p. 17 ff. tr.), common to all the biblical historians; for even in the prophecies in the books of Samuel and Kings distinct traces are observable throughout of the influence of the narrator, and they bear more or less visibly upon them the impress of the writer who reproduces them, without their historical kernel being thereby affected.

Now the historical truth of the events is just as little interfered with by the circumstance that the author of the Chronicle works out rhetorically the descriptions of the celebration of the holy feasts, represents in detail the offering of the sacrifices, and has spoken in almost all of these descriptions of the musical performances of the Levites and priests. The conclusion which has been drawn from this, that he has here without hesitation transferred to an earlier time that which had become established custom in his own time, would only then be correct if the restoration of the sacrificial worship according to the ordinance of Leviticus, or the introduction of instrumental music and the singing of psalms, dated only from the time of the exile, as de Wette, Gramberg, and others have maintained. If, on the contrary, these arrangements and regulations be of Mosaic, and in a secondary sense of Davidic origin, then the chronicler has not transferred the customs and usages of his own time to the times of David, Asa, Hezekiah, and others, but has related what actually occurred under these circumstances, only giving to the description an individual colouring. Take, for example, the

hymn (1 Chron. xvi. 8–36) which David caused to be sung by Asaph and his brethren in praise of the Lord, after the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem into the tabernacle prepared for it (1 Chron. xvi. 7). If it was not composed by David for this ceremony, but has been substituted by the chronicler, in his endeavour to represent the matter in a vivid way, from among the psalms sung in his own time on such solemn occasions, for the psalm which was then sung, but which was not communicated by his authority, nothing would be altered in the historical fact that then for the first time, by Asaph and his brethren, God was praised in psalms; for the psalm given adequately expresses the sentiments and feelings which animated the king and the assembled congregation at that solemn festival. To give another example: the historical details of the last assembly of princes which David held (1 Chron. xxviii.) are not altered if David did not go over with his son Solomon, one by one, all the matters regarding the temple enumerated in 1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19.

There now remains, therefore, only some records of numbers in the Chronicle which are decidedly too large to be considered either accurate or credible. Such are the sums of gold mentioned in 1 Chron. xxii. 14 and xxix. 4, 7, which David had collected for the building of the temple, and which the princes of the tribes expended for this purpose; the statements as to the greatness of the armies of Abijah and Jeroboam, of the number of the Israelites who fell in battle (2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17), of the number of King Asa's army and that of the Cushites (2 Chron. xiv 7 f.), of the military force of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xvii. 14–18), and of the women and children who were led away captive under Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 8). But these numbers cannot shake the historical credibility of the Chronicle in general, because they are too isolated, and differ too greatly from statements of the Chronicle in other places which are in accordance with fact. To estimate provisionally and in general these surprising statements, the more exact discussion of which belongs to the Commentary, we must consider, (1) that they all contain round numbers, in which thousands only are taken into account, and are consequently not founded upon any exact enumeration, but only upon an approximate estimate of contemporaries, and attest nothing more than that the greatness of the armies, and the multitude of those who had fallen in battle or were taken prisoner, was estimated at so high a number; (2) that the actual

amount of the mass of gold and silver which had been collected by David for the building of the temple cannot with certainty be reckoned, because we are ignorant of the weight of the shekel of that time; and (3) that the correctness of the numbers given is very doubtful, since it is indubitably shown, by a great number of passages of the Old Testament, that the Hebrews have from the earliest times expressed their numbers not by words, but by letters, and consequently omissions might very easily occur, or errors arise, in copying or writing out in words the sums originally written in letters. Such textual errors are so manifest in not a few places, that their existence cannot be doubted; and that not merely in the books of the Chronicle, but in all the historical books of the Old Testament. The Philistines, according to 1 Sam. xiii. 5, for example, brought 30,000 chariots and 6000 horsemen into the field; and according to 1 Sam. vi. 19, God smote of the people at Beth-shemesh 50,070 men. With respect to these statements, all commentators are now agreed that the numbers 30,000 and 50,000 are incorrect, and have come into the text by errors of the copyists; and that instead of 30,000 chariots there were originally only 1000, or at most 3000, spoken of, and that the 50,000 in the second passage is an ancient gloss. There is, moreover, at present no doubt among investigators of Scripture, that in 1 Kings v. 6 (in English version, iv. 26) the number 40,000 (stalls) is incorrect, and that instead of it, according to 2 Chron. ix. 25, 4000 should be read; and further, that the statement of the age of King Ahaziah at 42 years (2 Chron. xxii. 22), instead of 22 years (2 Kings viii. 26), has arisen by an interchange of the numeral signs כ and ב. A similar case is to be found in Ezra ii. 69, compared with Neh. vii. 70–72, where, according to Ezra, the chiefs of the people gave 61,000 darics for the restoration of the temple, and according to Nehemiah only 41,000 (viz. 1000 + 20,000 + 20,000). In both of these chapters a multitude of differences is to be found in reference to the number of the exiled families who returned from Babylon, which can only be explained on the supposition of the numeral letters having been confounded. But almost all these different statements of numbers are to be found in the oldest translation of the Old Testament, that of the LXX., from which it appears that they had made their way into the MSS. before the settlement of the Hebrew text by the Masoretes, and that consequently the use of letters as numeral signs was customary in the

pre-Masoretic times. This use of the letters is attested and presupposed as generally known by both Hieronymus and the rabbins, and is confirmed by the Maccabean coins. That it is a primeval custom, and reaches back into the times of the composition of the biblical books, is clear from this fact, that the employment of the alphabet as numeral signs among the Greeks coincides with the Hebrew alphabet. This presupposes that the Greeks received, along with the alphabet, at the same time the use of the letters as numeral signs from the Semites (Phœnicians or Hebrews). The custom of writing the numbers in words, which prevails in the Masoretic text of the Bible, was probably first introduced by the Masoretes in settling the rules for the writing of the sacred books of the canon, or at least then became law.

After all these facts, we may conclude the Introduction to the books of the Chronicle, feeling assured of our result, that the books, in regard to their historical contents, notwithstanding the hortatory-didactic aim of the author in bringing the history before us, have been composed with care and fidelity according to the authorities, and are fully deserving of belief.

As to the exegetical literature, see my *Handbook of Introduction*, § 138.

EXPOSITION.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES.

I. GENEALOGIES, WITH HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES.—CHAP. I.-IX.

IN order to show the connection of the tribal ancestors of Israel with the peoples of the earth, in chap. i. are enumerated the generations of the primeval world, from Adam till the Flood, and those of the post-diluvians to Abraham and his sons, according to the accounts in Genesis; in chap. ii.–viii., the twelve tribal ancestors of the people of Israel, and the most important families of the twelve tribes, are set down; and finally, in chap. ix., we have a list of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the genealogical table of King Saul. The enumeration of the tribes and families of Israel forms, accordingly, the chief part of the contents of this first part of the Chronicle, to which the review of the families and tribes of the primeval time and the early days of Israel form the introduction, and the information as to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the family of King Saul the conclusion and the transition, to the following historical narrative. Now, if we glance at the order in which the genealogies of the tribes of Israel are ranged,—viz. (*a*) those of the families of Judah and of the house of David, chap. ii. 1–iv. 23; (*b*) those of the tribe of Simeon, with an account of their dwelling-place, chap. iv. 24–43; (*c*) those of the trans-Jordanic tribes, Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, chap. v. 1–26; (*d*) of the tribe of Levi, or the priests and Levites, chap. v. 27–vi. 66; (*e*) of the remaining tribes, viz. Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, cis-Jordanic Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher, chap. vii.; and of some still remaining families of Benjamin, with the family of Saul, chap. viii.,—it is at once seen that this arrangement is

the result of regarding the tribes from two points of view, which are closely connected with each other. On the one hand, regard is had to the historical position which the tribes took up, according to the order of birth of their tribal ancestors, and which they obtained by divine promise and guidance; on the other hand, the geographical position of their inheritance has been also taken into account. That regard to the historical position and importance of the tribes was mainly determinative, is plain from the introductory remarks to the genealogies of the tribe of Reuben, chap. v. 1, 2, to the effect that Reuben was the first-born of Israel, but that, because of his offence against his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph, although they are not specified as possessors of it in the family registers; while it is narrated that Judah, on the contrary, came to power among his brethren, and that out of Judah had come forth the prince over Israel. Judah is therefore placed at the head of the tribes, as that one out of which God chose the king over His people; and Simeon comes next in order, because they had received their inheritance within the tribal domain of Judah. Then follows Reuben as the first-born, and after him are placed Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh, because they had received their inheritance along with Reuben on the other side of the Jordan. After Reuben, according to age, only Levi could follow, and then after Levi come in order the other tribes. The arrangement of them, however — Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, and again Benjamin—is determined from neither the historical nor by the geographical point of view, but probably lay ready to the hand of the chronicler in the document used by him, as we are justified in concluding from the character of all these geographical and topographical lists.

For if we consider the character of these lists somewhat more carefully, we find that they are throughout imperfect in their contents, and fragmentary in their plan and execution. The imperfection in the contents shows itself in this, that no genealogies of the tribes of Dan and Zebulun are given at all, only the sons of Naphtali being mentioned (vii. 13); of the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan we have only the names of some heads of fathers'-houses[1] (v. 24); and even in the relatively

[1] It may perhaps be useful to notice *here* our author's use of the words Geschlecht, Vaterhaus, and Familie, and the rendering of them in English. As he states in a subsequent page, the Geschlechter are the larger divisions of

copious lists of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, only the genealogies of single prominent families of these tribes are enumerated. In Judah, little more is given than the families descended from Pharez, chap. ii. 5–iv. 20, and a few notices of the family of Shelah; of Levi, none are noticed but the succession of generations in the high-priestly line of Aaron, some descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, and the three Levites, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, set over the service of song; while of Benjamin we have only the genealogies of three families, and of the family of Saul, which dwelt at Gibeon. But the incompleteness of these registers comes still more prominently into view when we turn our attention to the extent of the genealogical lists, and see that only in the cases of the royal house of David and the high-priestly line of Eleazar do the genealogies reach to the Babylonian exile, and a few generations beyond that point; while all the others contain the succession of generations for only short periods. Then, again, in regard to their plan and execution, these genealogies are not only unsymmetrical in the highest degree, but they are in many cases fragmentary. In the tribe of Judah, besides the descendants of David, chap. iii., two quite independent genealogies of the families of Judah are given, in chap. ii. and iv. 1–23. The same is the case with the two genealogies of the Levites, the lists in chap. vi. differing from those in chap. v. 27–41 surprisingly, in vi. 1, 28, 47, 56, Levi's eldest son being called Gershom, while in chap. v. 27 and 1 Chron. xxiii. 61, and in the Pentateuch, he is called Gershon. Besides this, there is in chap. vi. 35–38 a fragment containing the names of some of Aaron's descendants, who had been already completely enumerated till the Babylonian exile in chap. v. 29–41. In the genealogies of Benjamin, too, the family of Saul is twice entered, viz. in chap. viii. 29–40 and in chap. ix. 35–44. The genealogies of the remaining tribes are throughout defective in the highest degree. Some consist merely of an enumeration of a number of heads of houses or families, with mention of their

the tribes tracing their descent from the *sons* of the twelve patriarchs; the Väterhäuser are the subdivisions descended from their grandsons or great-grandsons; while the Familien are the component parts of the Väterhäuser. The author's use of these words is somewhat vacillating; but Geschlecht, in this connection, has always been rendered by "family," Väterhaus by "father's-house," Familie by "household," and Familiengruppen by "groups of related households."—Tr.

dwelling-place: as, for instance, the genealogies of Simeon, chap. iv. 24–43; of Reuben, Gad, half Manasseh, chap. v. 1–24; and Ephraim, chap. vii. 28, 29. Others give only the number of men capable of bearing arms belonging to the individual fathers'-houses, as those of Issachar, Benjamin, and Asher, chap. vii. 2–5, 7–11, 40; and finally, of the longer genealogical lists of Judah and Benjamin, those in chap. iv. 1–20 and in chap. viii. consist only of fragments, loosely ranged one after the other, giving us the names of a few of the posterity of individual men, whose genealogical connection with the larger divisions of these tribes is not stated.

By all this, it is satisfactorily proved that all these registers and lists have not been derived from one larger genealogical historical work, but have been drawn together from various old genealogical lists which single races and families had saved and carried with them into exile, and preserved until their return into the land of their fathers; and that the author of the Chronicle has received into his work all of these that he could obtain, whether complete or imperfect, just as he found them. Nowhere is any trace of artificial arrangement or an amalgamation of the various lists to be found.

Now, when we recollect that the Chronicle was composed in the time of Ezra, and that up to that time, of the whole people, for the most part only households and families of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin had returned to Canaan, we will not find it wonderful that the Chronicle contains somewhat more copious registers of these three tribes, and gives us only fragments bearing on the circumstances of præ-exilic times in the case of the remaining tribes.

CHAP. I.—THE FAMILIES OF PRIMEVAL TIME, AND OF THE ANTIQUITY OF ISRAEL.

Vers. 1–4. *The patriarchs from Adam to Noah and his sons.*—The names of the ten patriarchs of the primeval world, from the Creation to the Flood, and the three sons of Noah, are given according to Gen. v., and grouped together without any link of connection whatever: it is assumed as known from Genesis, that the first ten names denote generations succeeding one another, and that the last three, on the contrary, are the names of brethren.

Vers. 5–23. *The peoples and races descended from the sons of Noah.*—These are enumerated according to the table in Gen. x.; but our author has omitted not only the introductory and concluding remarks (Gen. x. 1, 21, 32), but also the historical notices of the founding of a kingdom in Babel by Nimrod, and the distribution of the Japhetites and Shemites in their dwelling-places (Gen. x. 5, 9–12, 18*b*–20, and 30 and 31). The remaining divergences are partly orthographic,—such as תֻּבָל, ver. 5, for תּוּבָל, Gen. x. 2, and רַעְמָא, ver. 9, for רַעְמָה, Gen. x. 7; and partly arising from errors of transcription,—as, for example, דִיפַת, ver. 6, for רִיפַת, Gen. x. 3, and conversely, רוֹדָנִים, ver. 7, for דֹּדָנִים, Gen. x. 4, where it cannot with certainty be determined which form is the original and correct one; and finally, are partly due to a different pronunciation or form of the same name,—as תַּרְשִׁישָׁה, ver. 7, for תַּרְשִׁישׁ, Gen. x. 4, the ā of motion having been gradually fused into one word with the name, לְדוּדִים, ver. 11, for לוּדִים, Gen. x. 13, just as in Amos ix. 7 we have כּוּשִׁיִּים for כּוּשִׁים; in ver. 22, עֵיבָל for עוֹבָל, Gen. x. 28, where the LXX. have also *Ἐβάλ*, and מֶשָׁךְ, ver. 17, for מַשׁ, Gen. x. 23, which last has not yet been satisfactorily explained, since מֶשֶׁךְ is used in Ps. cxx. 5 with קֵדָר of an Arabian tribe. Finally, there is wanting in ver. 17 וּבְנֵי אֲרָם before עוּץ, Gen. x. 23, because, as in the case of Noah's sons, ver. 4, where their relationship is not mentioned, so also in reference to the peoples descended from Shem, the relationship subsisting between the names Uz, Hul, etc., and Aram, is supposed to be already known from Genesis. Other suppositions as to the omission of the words וּבְנֵי אֲרָם are improbable. That this register of seventy-one persons and tribes, descended from Shem, Ham, and Japhet, has been taken from Gen. x., is placed beyond doubt, by the fact that not only the names of our register exactly correspond with the table in Gen. x., with the exception of the few variations above mentioned, but also the plan and form of both registers is quite the same. In vers. 5–9 the sections of the register are connected, as in Gen. x. 2–7, by וּבְנֵי; from ver. 10 onwards by יָלַד, as in Gen. ver. 8; in ver 17, again, by בְּנֵי, as in Gen. ver. 22; and in ver. 18 by יָלַד, and ver. 19 by יָלַד, as in Gen. vers. 24 and 25. The historical and geographical explanation of the names has been given in the commentary to Gen. x. According to Bertheau, the peoples descended from the sons of Noah amount to seventy, and fourteen of these are enumerated as descendants of Japhet, thirty of Ham, and twenty-six of Shem.

These numbers he arrives at by omitting Nimrod, or not enumerating him among the sons of Ham; while, on the contrary, he takes Arphaxad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, and Joktan, all of which are the names of persons, for names of peoples, in contradiction to Genesis, according to which the five names indicate persons, viz. the tribal ancestors of the Terahites and Joktanites, peoples descended from Eber by Peleg and Joktan.

Vers. 24–27. *The patriarchs from Shem to Abraham.*—The names of these, again, are simply ranged in order according to Gen. xi. 10–26, while the record of their ages before the begetting and after the birth of sons is omitted. Of the sons of Terah only Abram is named, without his brothers; with the remark that Abram is Abraham, in order to point out to the reader that he was the progenitor of the chosen people so well known from Genesis (cf. chap. xvii.).

Vers. 28–34. *The sons of Abraham.*—In ver. 28 only Isaac and Ishmael are so called; Isaac first, as the son of the promise. Then, in vers. 29–31, follow the posterity of Ishmael, with the remark that Ishmael was the first-born; in vers. 32 and 33, the sons of Keturah; and finally in ver. 34, the two sons of Isaac. —Ver. 29 ff. The names of the generations (תּוֹלְדוֹת) of Ishmael (Hebr. Yishma'el) correspond to those in Gen. xxv. 12–15, and have been there explained. In ver. 32 f. also, the names of the thirteen descendants of Abraham by Keturah, six sons and seven grandsons, agree with Gen. xxv. 1–4 (see commentary on that passage); only the tribes mentioned in Gen. xxv. 3, which were descended from Dedan the grandson of Keturah, are omitted. From this Bertheau wrongly concludes that the chronicler probably did not find these names in his copy of the Pentateuch. The reason of the omission is rather this, that in Genesis the great-grandchildren are not themselves mentioned, but only the tribes descended from the grandchildren, while the chronicler wished to enumerate only the sons and grandsons. Keturah is called פִּילֶגֶשׁ after Gen. xxv. 6, where Keturah and Hagar are so named. —Ver. 34. The two sons of Isaac. Isaac has been already mentioned as a son of Abram, along with Ishmael, in ver. 28. But here the continuation of the genealogy of Abraham is prefaced by the remark that Abraham begat Isaac, just as in Gen. xxv. 19, where the begetting of Isaac the son of Abraham is introduced with the same remark. Hence the supposition that the registers of the posterity of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah

(vers. 28–33) have been derived from Gen. xxv., already in itself so probable, becomes a certainty.

Vers. 35–42. *The posterity of Esau and Seir.*—An extract from Gen. xxxvi. 1–30. Ver. 35. The five sons of Esau are the same who, according to Gen. xxxvi. 4 f., were born to him of his three wives in the land of Canaan. יְעוּשׁ is another form of יְעִישׁ, Gen. ver. 5 (Kethibh).—Vers. 36, 37. The grandchildren of Esau. In ver. 36 there are first enumerated five sons of his son Eliphaz, as in Gen. xxxvi. 11, for צְפִי is only another form of צְפוֹ (Gen.). Next to these five names are ranged in addition וְתִמְנַע וְעַמָלֵק, "Timna and Amalek," while we learn from Gen. xxxvi. 12 that Timna was a concubine of Eliphaz, who bore to him Amalek. The addition of the two names *Timna* and *Amalek* in the Chronicle thus appears to be merely an abbreviation, which the author might well allow himself, as the posterity of Esau were known to his readers from Genesis. The name Timna, too, by its form (a feminine formation), must have guarded against the idea of some modern exegetes that Timna was also a son of Eliphaz. Thus, then, Esau had through Eliphaz six grandchildren, who in Gen. xxxvi. 12 are all set down as sons of Adah, the wife of Esau and the mother of Eliphaz. (*Vide* com. to Gen. xxxvi. 12, where the change of Timna into a son of Eliphaz is rejected as a misinterpretation.)—Ver. 37. To Reuel, the son of Esau by Bashemath, four sons were born, whose names correspond to those in Gen. xxxvi. 13. These ten (6 + 4) grandsons of Esau were, with his three sons by Aholibamah (Jeush, Jaalam, and Korah, ver. 35), the founders of the thirteen tribes of the posterity of Esau. They are called in Gen. xxxvi. 15 אַלּוּפֵי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו, heads of tribes (φύλαρχοι) of the children of Esau, *i.e.* of the Edomites, but are all again enumerated, vers. 15–19, singly.[1]

[1] The erroneous statement of Bertheau, therefore, that "according to Genesis the Edomite people was also divided into twelve tribes, five tribes from Eliphaz, four tribes from Reuel, and the three tribes which were referred immediately to Aholibamah the wife of Esau. It is distinctly stated that Amalek was connected with these twelve tribes only very loosely, for he appears as the son of the concubine of Eliphaz,"—must be in so far corrected, that neither the Chronicle nor Genesis knows anything of the twelve tribes of the Edomites. Both books, on the contrary, mention thirteen grandsons of Esau, and these thirteen grandsons are, according to the account of Genesis, the thirteen phylarchs of the Edomite people, who are distributed according to the three wives of Esau; so that the thirteen families may be grouped together in three tribes. Nor is Amalek connected only in a loose way with the other tribes in

—Vers. 38–42. When Esau with his descendants had settled in Mount Seir, they subdued by degrees the aboriginal inhabitants of the land, and became fused with them into one people. For this reason, in Gen. xxxvi. 20–30 the tribal princes of the Seirite inhabitants of the land are noticed; and in our chapter also, ver. 38, the names of these seven בְּנֵי שֵׂעִיר, and in vers. 39–42 of their sons (eighteen men and one woman, Timna), are enumerated, where only Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, also mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 25, is omitted. The names correspond, except in a few unimportant points, which have been already discussed in the Commentary on Genesis. The inhabitants of Mount Seir consisted, then, after the immigration of Esau and his descendants, of twenty tribes under a like number of phylarchs, thirteen of whom were Edomite, of the family of Esau, and seven Seirite, who are called in the Chronicle בְּנֵי שֵׂעִיר, and in Genesis חֹרִי, Troglodytes, inhabitants of the land, that is, aborigines.

If we glance over the whole posterity of Abraham as they are enumerated in vers. 28–42, we see that it embraces (*a*) his sons Ishmael and Isaac, and Isaac's sons Israel and Esau (together 4 persons); (*b*) the sons of Ishmael, or the tribes descended from Ishmael (12 names); (*c*) the sons and grandsons of Keturah (13 persons or chiefs); (*d*) the thirteen phylarchs descended from Esau; (*e*) the seven Seirite phylarchs, and eighteen grandsons and a granddaughter of Seir (26 persons). We have thus in all the names of sixty-eight persons, and to them we must add Keturah, and Timna the concubine of Eliphaz, before we get seventy persons. But these seventy must not by any means be reckoned as seventy tribes, which is the result Bertheau arrives at by means of strange calculations and errors in numbers.[1]

Genesis: he is, on the contrary, not only included in the number of the sons of Adah in ver. 12, probably because Timna stood in the same relationship to Adah the wife of Esau as Hagar held to Sarah, but also is reckoned in ver. 16 among the Allufim of the sons of Eliphaz. Genesis therefore enumerates not five but six tribes from Eliphaz; and the chronicler has not "completely obliterated the twelvefold division," as Bertheau further maintains, but the thirteen sons and grandsons of Esau who became phylarchs are all introduced; and the only thing which is omitted in reference to them is the title אַלּוּפֵי בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו, it being unnecessary in a genealogical enumeration of the descendants of Esau.

[1] That the Chronicle gives no countenance to this view appears from Bertheau's calculation of the 70 tribes: from Ishmael, 12; from Keturah, 13; from Isaac, 2; from Esau, 5 sons and 7 grandchildren by Eliphaz (Timna,

Upon this conclusion he founds his hypothesis, that as the three branches of the family of Noah are divided into seventy peoples (which, as we have seen at page 51 f., is not the case), so also the three branches of the family of Abraham are divided into seventy tribes; and in this again he finds a remarkable indication "that even in the time of the chronicler, men sought by means of numbers to bring order and consistency into the lists of names handed down by tradition from the ancient times."

Vers. 43–50. *The kings of Edom* before the introduction of the kingship into Israel.—This is a verbally exact repetition of Gen. xxxvi. 31–39, except that the introductory formula, Gen. ver. 32, "and there reigned in Edom," which is superfluous after the heading, and the addition "ben Achbor" (Gen. ver. 39) in the account of the death of Baal-hanan in ver. 50, are omitted; the latter because even in Genesis, where mention is made of the death of other kings, the name of the father of the deceased king is not repeated. Besides this, the king called Hadad (ver. 46 f.), and the city פָּעִי (ver. 50), are in Genesis Hadar (ver. 35 f.) and פָּעוּ (ver. 39). The first of these variations has arisen from a transcriber's error, the other from a different pronunciation of the name. A somewhat more important divergence, however, appears, when in Gen. ver. 39 the death of the king last named is not mentioned, because he was still alive in the time of Moses; while in the Chronicle, on the contrary, not only of him also is it added, וַיָּמָת הֲדַד, because at the time of the writing of the Chronicle he had long been dead, but the list of the names of the territories of the phylarchs, which in Genesis follows the introductory formula וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, is here connected with the enumeration of the kings by וַיִּהְיוּ, "Hadad died, and there were chiefs of Edom." This may mean that, in the view of the

ver. 36, being included in the number), and 4 grandsons by Reuel—16 in all; from Seir 7 sons, and from these 20 other descendants, 27 in all, which makes the sum of 70. But the biblical text mentions only 19 other descendants of Seir, so that only 26 persons came from Seir, and the sum is therefore 12+13+2+16+26=69. But we must also object to other points in Bertheau's reckoning: (1) the arbitrary change of Timna into a grandchild of Esau; (2) the arbitrary reckoning of Esau and Israel (= Jacob) without Ishmael. Was Esau, apart from his sons, the originator of a people? Had the author of the Chronicle cherished the purpose attributed to him by Bertheau, of bringing the lists of names handed down by tradition to the round or significant number 70, he would certainly in ver. 33 not have omitted the three peoples descended from Dedan (Gen. xxv. 3), as he might by these names have completed the number 70 without further trouble.

chronicler, the reign of the phylarchs took the place of the kingship after the death of the last king, but that interpretation is by no means necessary. The ו consec. may also merely express the succession of thought, only connecting logically the mention of the princes with the enumeration of the kings; or it may signify that, besides the kings, there were also tribal princes who could rule the land and people. The contents of the register which follows require that וַיִּהְיוּ should be so understood.

Vers. 51–54. *The princes of Edom.*—The names correspond to those in Gen. xxxvi. 40–43, but the heading and the subscription in Genesis are quite different from those in the Chronicle. Here the heading is, "and the Allufim of Edom were," and the subscription, "these are the Allufim of Edom," from which it would be the natural conclusion that the eleven names given are proper names of the phylarchs. But the occurrence of two female names, Timna and Aholibamah, as also of names which are unquestionably those of races, *e.g.* Aliah, Pinon, Teman, and Mibzar, is irreconcilable with this interpretation. If we compare the heading and subscription of the register in Genesis, we find that the former speaks of the names "of the Allufim of Edom according to their habitations,[1] according to their places in their names," and the latter of "the Allufim of Edom according to their habitations in the land of their possession." It is there unambiguously declared that the names enumerated are not the names of persons, but the names of the dwelling-places of the Allufim, after whom they were wont to be named. We must therefore translate, "the Alluf of Timna, the Alluf of Aliah," etc., when of course the female names need not cause any surprise, as places can just as well receive their names from women as their possessors as from men. Nor is there any greater difficulty in this, that only eleven dwelling-places are mentioned, while, on the contrary, the thirteen sons and grandsons of Esau are called Allufim. For in the course of time the number of phylarchs might have decreased, or in the larger districts two phylarchs may have dwelt together. Since the author of the Chronicle has taken this register also from Genesis, as the identity of the names clearly shows he did, he might safely assume that the matter was already known from that book, and so might

[1] So it is given by the author, "nach ihren Wohnsitzen;" but this must be a mistake, for the word is מִשְׁפְּחוֹתָם = their families, not מוֹשְׁבֹתָם, as it is in the subscription.—Tr.

allow himself to abridge the heading without fearing any misunderstanding; seeing, too, that he does not enumerate אַלּוּפֵי of Esau, but אַלּוּפֵי אֱדוֹם, and Edom had become the name of a country and a people.

CHAP. II.–IV. 23.—THE TWELVE SONS OF ISRAEL AND THE FAMILIES OF JUDAH.

The list of the twelve sons of Israel (ii. 1, 2) serves as foundation and starting-point for the genealogies of the tribes of Israel which follow, chap. ii. 3–viii. The enumeration of the families of the tribe of Judah commences in ver. 3 with the naming of Judah's sons, and extends to chap. iv. 23. The tribe of Judah has issued from the posterity of only three of the five sons of Judah, viz. from Shelah, Pharez, and Zerah; but it was subdivided into five great families, as Hezron and Hamul, the two sons of Pharez, also founded families. The lists of our three chapters give us: (1) from the family of Zerah only the names of some famous men (ii. 6–8); (2) the descendants of Hezron in the three branches corresponding to the three sons of Hezron, into which they divided themselves (ii. 9), viz. the descendants of Ram to David (ii. 10–17), of Caleb (ii. 18–24), and of Jerahmeel (ii. 25–41). Then there follow in chap. ii. 42–55 four other lists of descendants of Caleb, who peopled a great number of the cities of Judah; and then in chap. iii. we have a list of the sons of David and the line of kings of the house of David, down to the grandsons of Zerubbabel; and finally, in chap. iv. 1–23, other genealogical fragments as to the posterity of Pharez and Shelah. Of Hamul, consequently, no descendants are noticed, unless perhaps some of the groups ranged together in chap. iv. 8–22, whose connection with the heads of the families of Judah is not given, are of his lineage. The lists collected in chap. iv. 1–20 are clearly only supplements to the genealogies of the great families contained in chap. ii. and iii., which the author of the Chronicle found in the same fragmentary state in which they are communicated to us.

Vers. 1, 2. *The twelve sons of Israel*, arranged as follows: first, the six sons of Leah; then Dan, the son of Rachel's handmaid; next, the sons of Rachel; and finally, the remaining sons of the handmaids. That a different place is assigned to Dan, viz. before the sons of Rachel, from that which he holds in the

list in Gen. xxxv. 23 ff., is perhaps to be accounted for by Rachel's wishing the son of her maid Bilhah to be accounted her own (*vide* Gen. xxx. 3–6).

Vers. 3–5. *The sons of Judah and of Pharez*, ver. 3 f.—The five sons of Judah are given according to Gen. xxxviii., as the remark on Er which is quoted from ver. 7 of that chapter shows, while the names of the five sons are to be found also in Gen. xlvi. 12. The two sons of Pharez are according to Gen. xlvi. 12, cf. Num. xxvi. 21.

Vers. 6–8. *Sons and descendants of Zerah.*—In ver. 6, five names are grouped together as בְּנִים of Zerah, which are found nowhere else so united. The first, Zimri, may be strictly a son; but זִמְרִי may perhaps be a mistake for זַבְדִּי, for Achan, who is in ver. 7 the son of Carmi, is in Josh. vii. 1 called the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah. But זַבְדִּי (Josh.) may also be an error for זִמְרִי, or he may have been a son of Zimri, since in genealogical lists an intermediate member of the family is often passed over. Nothing certain can, however, be ascertained; both names are found elsewhere, but of persons belonging to other tribes: Zimri as prince of the Simeonites, Num. xxv. 14; as Benjamite, 1 Chron. viii. 36, ix. 42; and as king of Israel, 1 Kings xvi. 9; Zabdi, 1 Chron. viii. 19 (as Benjamite), and xxvii. 27, Neh. xi. 17. The four succeeding names, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara, are met with again in 1 Kings v. 11, where it is said of Solomon he was wiser than the Ezrahite Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Machol, with the unimportant variation of דרדע for דרע. On this account, Movers and Bertheau, following Clericus on 1 Kings iv. 31 (v. 11), hold the identity of the wise men mentioned in 1 Kings v. 11 with the sons (descendants) of Zerah to be beyond doubt. But the main reason which Clericus produces in support of this supposition, the *consensus quatuor nominum et quidem unius patris filiorum*, and the difficulty of believing that in *alia familia Hebræa* there should have been *quatuor fratres cognomines quatuor filiis Zerachi Judæ filii*, loses all its force from the fact that the supposition that the four wise men in 1 Kings v. 11 are brothers by blood, is a groundless and erroneous assumption. Since Ethan is called the Ezrahite, while the last two are said to be the sons of Machol, it is clear that the four were not brothers. The mention of them as men famous for their wisdom, does not at all require that we should think the men contem-

porary with each other. Even the enumeration of these four along with Zimri as בְּנֵי זֶרַח in our verse does not necessarily involve that the five names denote brothers by blood; for it is plain from vers. 7 and 8 that in this genealogy only single famous names of the family of Zerah the son of Judah and Tamar are grouped together. But, on the other hand, the reasons which go to disprove the identity of the persons in our verse with those named in 1 Kings v. 11 are not of very great weight. The difference in the names דרע and דרדע is obviously the result of an error of transcription, and the form הָאֶזְרָחִי (1 Kings v. 11) is most probably a patronymic from אֶזְרַח, notwithstanding that in Num. xxvi. 20 it appears as זַרְחִי, for even the appellative אֶזְרַח, *indigena*, is formed from זֶרַח. We therefore hold that the persons who bear the same names in our verse and in 1 Kings v. 11 are most probably identical, in spite of the addition בְּנֵי מָחוֹל to Calcol and Darda (1 Kings v. 11). For that this addition belongs merely to these two names, and not to Ezrah, appears from Ps. lxxxviii. 1 and lxxxix. 1, which, according to the superscription, were composed by the Ezrahites Heman and Ethan. The authors of these psalms are unquestionably the Heman and Ethan who were famed for their wisdom (1 Kings v. 11), and therefore most probably the same as those spoken of in our verse as sons of Zerah. It is true that the authors of these psalms have been held by many commentators to be Levites, nay, to be the musicians mentioned in 1 Chron. xv. 17 and 19; but sufficient support for this view, which I myself, on 1 Kings v. 11, after the example of Hengstenberg, *Beitrr.* ii. S. 61, and on Ps. lxxxviii. defended, cannot be found. The statement of the superscription of Ps. lxxxviii. 1—"a psalm of the sons of Korah"—from which it is inferred that the Ezrahite Heman was of Levitic origin, does not justify such a conclusion.[1] For though the musician Heman the son of Joel was a Korahite of the race of Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 18–23), yet the musician Ethan the son of Kishi, or Kushaiah, was neither Korahite nor Kohathite, but a Merarite (vi. 29 ff.). Moreover, the Levites Heman and Ethan could not be enumerated among the Ezra-

[1] The above quoted statement of the superscription of Ps. lxxxviii. 1 can contain no information as to the author of the psalm, for this reason, that the author is expressly mentioned in the next sentence of the superscription. The psalm can only in so far be called a song of the children of Korah, as it bears the impress peculiar to the Korahite psalms in contents and form.

hites, that is, the descendants of Zerah, a man of Judah. The passages which are quoted in support of the view that the Levites were numbered with the tribes in the midst of whom they dwelt, and that, consequently, there were Judæan and Ephraimite Levites,—as, for example, 1 Sam. i. 1, where the father of the Levite Samuel is called an Ephrathite because he dwelt in Mount Ephraim; and Judg. xvii. 7, where a Levite is numbered with the family of Judah because he dwelt as sojourner (גָּר) in Bethlehem, a city of Judah,—certainly prove that the Levites were reckoned, as regards citizenship, according to the tribes or cities in which they dwelt, but certainly do not show that they were incorporated genealogically with those tribes because of their place of residence.[1] The Levites Heman and Ethan, therefore, cannot be brought forward in our verse "as adopted sons of Zerah, who brought more honour to their father than his proper sons" (Hengstb.). This view is completely excluded by the fact that in our verse not only Ethan and Heman, but also Zimri, Calcol, and Dara are called sons of Zerah, yet these latter were not adopted sons, but true descendants of Zerah. Besides, in ver. 8, there is an actual son or descendant of Ethan mentioned, and consequently בְּנֵי and בֵּן cannot possibly be understood in some cases as implying only an adoptive relationship, and in the others actual descent. But the similarity of the names is not of itself sufficient to justify us in identifying the persons. As the name Zerah again appears in chap. vi. 26 in the genealogy of the Levite Asaph, so also the name Ethan occurs in the same genealogy, plainly showing that more than one Israelite bore this name. The author of the Chronicle, too, has sufficiently guarded against the opinion that Zerah's sons Ethan and Heman are identical with the Levitical musicians who bear the same names, by tracing back in chap. vi. the family of these musicians to Levi, without calling them Ezrahites.[2] But to hold, with Movers, S. 237, that the recurrences of the same names in various races are contradictions, which are to be explained only on the supposition of genealogical combinations by various authors, will enter into

[1] Not even by intermarrying with heiresses could Levites become members of another tribe; for, according to the law, Num. xxxvi. 5 ff., heiresses could marry only men of their own tribe; and the possibility of a man of Judah marrying an heiress of the tribe of Levi was out of the question, for the Levites possessed no inheritance in land.

[2] The supposition of Ewald and Bertheau, that these two great singers of

the head of no sensible critic. We therefore believe the five persons mentioned in our verse to be actual descendants of the Judæan Zerah; but whether they were sons or grandsons, or still more distant descendants, cannot be determined. It is certainly very probable that Zimri was a son, if he be identical with the Zabdi of Josh. vii. 1; Ethan and Heman may have been later descendants of Zerah, if they were the wise men mentioned in 1 Kings v. 11; but as to Calcol and Dara no further information is to be obtained. From vers. 7 and 8, where of the sons (בְּנֵי) of Zimri and Ethan only one man in each case is named, it is perfectly clear that in our genealogy only individuals, men who have become famous, are grouped together out of the whole posterity of Zerah. The plural בְּנֵי in vers. 7 and 8, etc., even where only one son is mentioned, is used probably only in those cases where, out of a number of sons or descendants, one has gained for himself by some means a memorable name. This is true at least of Achan, ver. 7, who, by laying hands on the accursed spoils of Jericho, had become notorious (Josh. vii.). Because Achan had thus troubled Israel (עָכַר), he is called here at once Achar. As to Carmi, *vide* on iv. 1.—Ver. 9. The only name given here as that of a descendant of Ethan is Azariah, of whom nothing further is known, while the name recurs frequently. Nothing more is said of the remaining sons of Zerah; they are merely set down as famous men of antiquity (Berth.). There follows in

Vers. 9–41. *The family of Hezron,* the first-born son of Pharez, which branches off in three lines, originating with his three sons respectively. The three sons of Hezron are Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai; but the families springing from them are enumerated in a different order. First (vers. 10–17) we have the family of Ram, because King David is descended from him; then (vers. 18–24) the family of Chelubai or Caleb, from whose lineage came the illustrious Bezaleel; and finally (vers. 25–41), the posterity of the first-born, Jerahmeel.—Ver. 9. אֲשֶׁר נוֹלַד לוֹ, what was born to him. The passive stands impersonally instead of the more definite active, "to whom one bore," so that the

the tribe of Judah had been admitted into their guild by the Levitic musical schools, and on that account had been received also into their family, and so had been numbered with the tribe of Levi, is thus completely refuted, even were it at all possible that members of other tribes should have been received into the tribe of Levi.

following names are subordinated to it with אֵת. The third person singular Niph. occurs thus also in iii. 4 and xxvi. 6; the construction of Niph. with אֵת frequently (Gen. iv. 18, xxi. 5, and elsewhere). Ram is called, in the genealogy in Matt. i. 3, 4, Aram; comp. רָם, Job xxxii. 2, with אֲרָם, Gen. xxii. 21. כָּלֻבַי is called afterwards כָּלֵב; cf. on ver. 18.

Vers. 10–17 *The family of Ram* (vers. 10–12), traced down through six members to Jesse.—This genealogy is also to be found in Ruth iv. 19–21; but only here is Nahshon made more prominent than the others, by the addition, "prince of the sons of Judah." Nahshon was a prince of Judah at the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (Num. i. 7, ii. 3, vii. 12). Now between him, a contemporary of Moses, and Pharez, who at the immigration of Jacob into Egypt was about fifteen years old, lies a period of 430 years, during which the Israelites remained in Egypt. For that time only three names—Hezron, Ram, and Amminadab—are mentioned, from which it is clear that several links must have been passed over. So also, from Nahshon to David, for a period of over 400 years, four generations—Salma, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse—are too few; and consequently here also the less famous ancestors of David are omitted. שַׂלְמָא is called in Ruth iv. 20, 21, שַׂלְמָה and שַׂלְמוֹן. In vers. 13–15, seven sons and two daughters of Jesse, with those of their sons who became famous (vers. 16, 17), are enumerated. According to 1 Sam. xvii. 12, Jesse had eight sons. This account, which agrees with that in 1 Sam. xvi. 8–12, may be reconciled with the enumeration in our verse, on the supposition that one of the sons died without posterity. In 1 Sam. xvi. 6 ff. and xvii. 13, the names of the eldest three—Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah—occur. Besides יִשַׁי, we meet with the form אִישַׁי (ver. 13); and the name שִׁמְעָה is only another form of שִׁמְעָא, which is found in 2 Sam. xiii. 3 and in 1 Chron. xx. 7, and is repeated in 2 Sam. xiii. 32 and xxi. 21 in the Kethibh (שמעי). The names of the other three sons here mentioned (vers. 14 and 15) are met with nowhere else.—Ver. 16 f. The sisters of David have become known through their heroic sons. Zeruiah is the mother of the heroes of the Davidic history, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 18, iii. 39, viii. 16, and elsewhere). Their father is nowhere mentioned, "because their more famous mother challenged the greater attention" (Berth.). Abigail was, according to 2 Sam. xvii. 25, the daughter of Nahash, a sister of Zeruiah, and so was

only a half-sister of David, and was the mother of Amasa the captain of the host, so well known on account of his share in the conspiracy of Absalom; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, and xx. 10. His father was Jether, or Jithra, the Ishmaelite, who in the Masoretic text of 2 Sam. xvii. 25 is called, through a copyist's error, הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִי instead of הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִי; see comm. on passage.

Vers. 18–24. *The family of Caleb.*—That כָּלֵב is merely a shortened form of כְּלוּבַי, or a form of that word resulting from the friction of constant use, is so clear from the context, that all exegetes recognise it. We have first (vers. 18–20) a list of the descendants of Caleb by two wives, then descendants which the daughter of the Gileadite Machir bore to his father Hezron (vers. 21–23), and finally the sons whom Hezron's wife bore him after his death (ver. 24). The grouping of these descendants of Hezron with the family of Caleb can only be accounted for by supposing that they had, through circumstances unknown to us, come into a more intimate connection with the family of Caleb than with the families of his brothers Ram and Jerahmeel. In vers. 42–55 follow some other lists of descendants of Caleb, which will be more fully considered when we come to these verses. The first half of the 18th verse is obscure, and the text is probably corrupt. As the words stand at present, we must translate, "Caleb the son of Hezron begat with Azubah, a woman, and with Jerioth, and these are her (the one wife's) sons, Jesher," etc. בָּנֶיהָ, *filii ejus*, suggests that only one wife of Caleb had been before mentioned; and, as appears from the "and Azubah died" of ver. 19, Azubah is certainly meant. The construction הוֹלִיד אֵת, "he begat with," is, it is true, unusual, but is analogous to חוֹלִיד מִן, viii. 9, and is explained by the fact that הוֹלִיד may mean to cause to bear, to bring to bearing; cf. Isa. lxvi. 9: therefore properly it is, "he brought Azubah to bearing." The difficulty of the verse lies in the אִשָּׁה וְאֶת־יְרִיעוֹת, for, according to the usual phraseology, we would have expected אִשְׁתּוֹ instead of אִשָּׁה. But אִשָּׁה may be, under the circumstances, to some extent justified by the supposition that Azubah is called indefinitely "woman," because Caleb had several wives. וְאֶת־יְרִיעוֹת gives no suitable meaning. The explanation of Kimchi, "with Azubah a woman, and with Jerioth," cannot be accepted, for only the sons of Azubah are hereafter mentioned; and the idea that the children of the other wives are not enumerated here because the list used by the chronicler

was defective, is untenable: for after two wives had been named in the enumeration of the children of one of them, the mother must necessarily have been mentioned; and so, instead of בָּנֶיהָ, we should have had בְּנֵי עֲזוּבָה. Hiller and J. H. Michaelis take וְאֵת as explicative, "with Azubah a woman, viz. with Jerioth;" but this is manifestly only the product of exegetical embarrassment. The text is plainly at fault, and the easiest conjecture is to read, with the Peschito and the Vulgate, אִשְׁתּוֹ אֵת instead of אִשָּׁה וְאֵת, "he begat with Azubah his wife, Jerioth (a daughter); and these are her sons." In that case אִשָּׁה would be added to עֲזוּבָה, to guard against עֲזוּבָה being taken for acc. obj. The names of the sons of Azubah, or of her daughter Jerioth, do not occur elsewhere. —Ver. 19. When Azubah died, Caleb took Ephrath to wife, who bore him Hur. For אֶפְרָת we find in ver. 50 the lengthened feminine form אֶפְרָתָה; cf. also iv. 4. From Hur descended, by Uri, the famous Bezaleel, the skilful architect of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30).—Vers. 21–24. The descendants of Hezron numbered with the stock of Caleb: (*a*) those begotten by Hezron with the daughter of Machir, vers. 21–23; (*b*) those born to Hezron after his death, ver. 24.—Ver. 21. Afterwards (אַחַר), *i.e.* after the birth of the sons mentioned in ver. 9, whose mother is not mentioned, when he was sixty years old, Hezron took to wife the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead, who bore him Segub. Machir was the first-born of Manasseh (Gen. l. 23; Num. xxvi. 29). But Machir is not called in vers. 21 and 23 the father of Gilead because he was the originator of the Israelite population of Gilead, but אָב has here its proper signification. Machir begot a son of the name of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 29); and it is clear from the genealogy of the daughters of Zelophehad, communicated in Num. xxvii. 1, that this expression is to be understood in its literal sense. Machir is distinguished from other men of the same name (cf. 2 Sam. ix. 4, xvii. 27) by the addition, father of Gilead. Segub the son of Hezron and the daughter of Machir begat Jair. This Jair, belonging on his mother's side to the tribe of Manasseh, is set down in Num. xxxii. 40 f., Deut. iii. 14, as a descendant of Manasseh. After Moses' victory over Og king of Bashan, Jair's family conquered the district of Argob in Bashan, *i.e.* in the plain of Jaulan and Hauran; and to the conquered cities, when they were bestowed upon him for a possession by Moses, the name Havvoth-Jair, *i.e.* Jair's-life, was given. Cf. Num. xxxii. 41

and Deut. iii. 14, where this name is explained. These are the twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead, *i.e.* Peräa.—Ver. 23. These cities named Jair's-life were taken away from the Jairites by Geshur and Aram, *i.e.* by the Arameans of Geshur and of other places. Geshur denotes the inhabitants of a district of Aram, or Syria, on the north-western frontier of Bashan, in the neighbourhood of Hermon, on the east side of the upper Jordan, which had still its own kings in the time of David (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xiv. 23, xv. 8), but which had been assigned to the Manassites by Moses; cf. Josh. xiii. 13. The following אֶת־קְנָת וגו׳ must not be taken as an explanatory apposition to אֶת־חַוֹּת יָאִיר: "Jair's-life, Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities" (Berth.). For since מֵאתָם refers to the collective name Jair, Geshur and Aram could not take away from Jair sixty cities, for Jair only possessed twenty-three cities. But besides this, according to Num. xxxii. 42, Kenath with her daughters had been conquered by Nobah, who gave his own name to the conquered cities; and according to Deut. iii. 4, the kingdom of Og in Bashan had sixty fenced cities. But this kingdom was, according to Num. xxxii. 41 and 42, conquered by two families of Manasseh, by Jair and Nobah, and was divided between them; and as appears from our passage, twenty-three cities were bestowed upon Jair, and all the rest of the land, viz. Kenath with her daughters, fell to Nobah. These two domains together included sixty fenced cities, which in Deut. iii. 14 are called Jair's-life; while here, in our verse, only twenty-three cities are so called, and the remaining thirty-seven are comprehended under the name of Kenath and her daughters. We must therefore either supply a ו copul. before אֶת־קְנָת, or we must take אֶת־ק in the signification "with Kenath," and refer שִׁשִּׁים עִיר to both Jair's-life and Kenath. Cf. herewith the discussion on Deut. iii. 12–14; and for Kenath, the ruins of which still exist under the name Kanuât on the western slope of the Jebel Hauran, see the remarks on Num. xxxii. 42. The time when these cities were taken away by the Arameans is not known. From Judg. x. 4 we only learn that the Jair who was judge at a later time again had possession of thirty of these cities, and renewed the name Jair's-life. כָּל־אֵלֶּה is not all these sixty cities, but the before-mentioned descendants of Hezron, who are called sons, that is offspring, of Machir, because they were begotten with the daughter of Machir. Only two names, it is true, Segub and Jair, are enumerated; but from

these two issue the numerous families which took Jair's-life. To these, therefore, must we refer the כָּל־אֵלֶּה.—Ver. 24. After the death of Hezron there was born to him by his wife Abiah (the third wife, cf. vers. 9 and 21) another son, Ashur, the father of Tekoa, whose descendants are enumerated in chap. iv. 5–7. Hezron's death took place בְּכָלֵב אֶפְרָתָה, "in Caleb Ephrathah." This expression is obscure. According to 1 Sam. xxx. 14, a part of the Negeb (south country) of Judah was called Negeb Caleb, as it belonged to the family of Caleb. According to this analogy, the town or village in which Caleb dwelt with his wife Ephrath may have been called Caleb of Ephrathah, if Ephrath had brought this place as a dower to Caleb, as in the case mentioned in Josh. xv. 18 f. Ephrathah, or Ephrath, was the ancient name of Bethlehem (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xlviii. 1), and with it the name of Caleb's wife Ephrath (ver. 19) is unquestionably connected; probably she was so called after her birthplace. If this supposition be well founded, then Caleb of Ephrathah would be the little town of Bethlehem. Ashur is called father (אָבִי) of Tekoa, *i.e.* lord and prince, as the chief of the inhabitants of Tekoa, now Tekua, two hours south of Bethlehem (*vide* on Josh. xv. 59).

Vers. 25–41. *The family of Jerahmeel*, the first-born of Hezron, which inhabited a part of the Negeb of Judah called after him the south of the Jerahmeelites (1 Sam. xxvii. 10, xxx. 29).—Ver. 25. Four sons were born to Jerahmeel by his first wife. Five names indeed follow; but as the last, אֲחִיָּה, although met with elsewhere as a man's name, is not ranged with the others by ו copul., as those that precede are with each other, it appears to be the name of a woman, and probably a מ has fallen out after the immediately preceding ם. So Cler., J. H. Mich., Berth. This conjecture gains in probability from the mention in ver. 26 of another wife, whence we might expect that in ver. 25 the first wife would be named.—Ver. 26. Only one son of the second wife is given, Onam, whose posterity follows in vers. 28–33; for in ver. 27 the three sons of Ram, the first-born of Jerahmeel, are enumerated.—Ver. 28. Onam had two sons, Shammai and Jada; the second of these, again, two sons, Nadab and Abishur.—Ver. 29. To Abishur his wife Abihail bore likewise two sons, with whom his race terminates. —In vers. 30, 31, Nadab's posterity follow, in four members, ending with Ahlai, in the fourth generation. But Ahlai cannot well have been a son, but must have been a daughter, the heiress

of Sheshan; for, according to ver. 34, Sheshan had no sons, but only daughters, and gave his daughter to an Egyptian slave whom he possessed, to wife, by whom she became the mother of a numerous posterity. The בְּנֵי שֵׁשָׁן is not irreconcilable with this, for בְּנֵי denotes in genealogies only descendants in general, and has been here correctly so explained by Hiller in *Onomast.* p. 736: *quicquid habuit liberorum, sive nepotum, sustulit ex unica filia Achlai.*—Vers. 32 and 33. The descendants of Jada, the brother of Shammai, in two generations, after which this genealogy closes with the subscription, "these were the sons of Jerahmeel."[1]—In vers. 34–41 there follows the family of Sheshan, which was originated by the marriage of his daughter with his Egyptian slave, and which is continued through thirteen generations. The name of this daughter is in ver. 25 f. not mentioned, but she is without doubt the Ahlai mentioned in ver. 31. But since this Ahlai is the tenth in descent from Judah through Pharez, she was probably born in Egypt; and the Egyptian slave Jarha was most likely a slave whom Sheshan had in Egypt, and whom he adopted as his son for the propagation of his race, by giving him his daughter and heir to wife. If this be the case, the race begotten by Jarha with the daughter of Sheshan is traced down till towards the end of the period of the judges. The Egyptian slave Jarha is not elsewhere met with; and though the names which his posterity bore are found again in various parts of the Old Testament, of none of them can it be proved that they belonged to men of this family, so as to show that one of these persons had become famous in history.

Vers. 42–55. *Other renowned descendants of Caleb.*—First of all there are enumerated, in vers. 42–49, three lines of descendants of Caleb, of which the two latter, vers. 46–49, are the issue of concubines.—The first series, vers. 42–45, contains some things which are very obscure. In ver. 42 there are mentioned, as sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, Mesha his first-born,

[1] Bertheau reckons up to "the concluding subscription in ver. 33" the following descendants of Judah: "Judah's sons=5; Hezron and Hamul=2; Zerah's sons=5; Karmi, Akar, and Azariah=3; Ram and his descendants (including the two daughters of Jesse, and Jeter the father of Amasa)=21; Kaleb and his descendants=10; Jerahmeel and his descendants=24: together =70." But this number also is obtained only by taking into account the father and mother of Amasa as two persons, contrary to the rule according to which only the father, without the mother, is to be counted, or, in case the mother be more famous than the father, or be an heiress, only the mother.

with the addition, "this is the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Hebron," as it reads according to the traditional Masoretic text. Now it is here not only very surprising that the sons of Mareshah stand parallel with Mesha, but it is still more strange to find such a collocation as "sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron." The last-mentioned difficulty would certainly be greatly lessened if we might take Hebron to be the city of that name, and translate the phrase "father of Hebron," lord of the city of Hebron, according to the analogy of "father of Ziph," "father of Tekoa" (ver. 24), and other names of that sort. But the continuation of the genealogy, "and the sons of Hebron were Korah, and Tappuah, Rekem, and Shema" (ver. 43), is irreconcilable with such an interpretation. For of these names, Tappuah, *i.e.* apple, is indeed met with several times as the name of a city (Josh. xii. 17, xv. 34, xvi. 8); and Rekem is the name of a city of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27), but occurs also twice as the name of a person—once of a Midianite prince (Num. xxxi. 8), and once of a Manassite (1 Chron. vii. 16); but the other two, Korah and Shema, only occur as the names of persons. In ver. 44 f., moreover, the descendants of Shema and Rekem are spoken of, and that, too, in connection with the word הוֹלִיד, "he begat," which demonstrably can only denote the propagation of a race. We must therefore take Hebron as the name of a person, as in v. 28 and Ex. vi. 18. But if Hebron be the name of a man, then Mareshah also must be interpreted in the same manner. This is also required by the mention of the sons of Mareshah parallel with Mesha the first-born; but still more so by the circumstance that the interpretation of Mareshah and Hebron, as names of cities, is irreconcilable with the position of these two cities, and with their historical relations. Bertheau, indeed, imagines that as Mareshah is called the father of Hebron, the famous capital of the tribe of Judah, we must therefore make the attempt, however inadmissible it may seem at first sight, to take Mareshah, in the connection of our verse, as the name of a city, which appears as father of Hebron, and that we must also conclude that the ancient city Hebron (Num. xiii. 23) stood in some sort of dependent relationship to Mareshah, perhaps only in later times, although we cannot at all determine to what time the representation of our verse applies. But at the foundation of this argument there lies an error as to the position of the city Mareshah. Mareshah lay in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 44), and exists at present as the

ruin Marasch, twenty-four minutes south of Beit-Jibrin: *vide* on Josh. xv. 44; and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, § 129 and 142 f. Ziph, therefore, which is mentioned in 2 Chron. xi. 8 along with Mareshah, and which is consequently the Ziph mentioned in our verse, cannot be, as Bertheau believes, the Ziph situated in the hill country of Judah, in the wilderness of that name, whose ruins are still to be seen on the hill Zif, about four miles south-east from Hebron (Josh. xv. 55). It can only be the Ziph in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 24), the position of which has not indeed been discovered, but which is to be sought in the Shephelah at no great distance from Marasch, and thus far distant from Hebron. Since, then, Mareshah and Ziph were in the Shephelah, no relation of dependence between the capital, Hebron, situated in the mountains of Judah, and Mareshah can be thought of, neither in more ancient nor in later time. The supposition of such a dependence is not made probable by the remark that we cannot determine to what time the representation of our verse applies; it only serves to cover the difficulty which renders it impossible. That the verse does not treat of post-exilic times is clear, although even after the exile, and in the time of the Maccabees and the Romans, Hebron was not in a position of dependence on Marissa. Bertheau himself holds Caleb, of whose son our verses treat, for a contemporary of Moses and Joshua, because in ver. 49 Achsa is mentioned as daughter of Caleb (Josh. xv. 16; Judg. i. 12). The contents of our verse would therefore have reference to the first part of the period of the judges. But since Hebron was never dependent on Mareshah in the manner supposed, the attempt, which even at first sight appeared so inadmissible, to interpret Mareshah as the name of a city, loses all its support. For this reason, therefore, the city of Hebron, and the other cities named in ver. 43 ff., which perhaps belonged to the district of Mareshah, cannot be the sons of Mareshah here spoken of; and the fact that, of the names mentioned in vers. 43 and 44, at most two may denote cities, while the others are undoubtedly the names of persons, points still more clearly to the same conclusion. We must, then, hold Hebron and Mareshah also to be the names of persons. Now, if the Masoretic text be correct, the use of the phrase, "and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron," instead of "and Mareshah, the sons of the father of Hebron," can only have arisen from a desire to point out, that besides Hebron there were also other sons of Mareshah

who were of Caleb's lineage. But the mention of the sons of Mareshah, instead of Mareshah, and the calling him the father of Hebron in this connection, make the correctness of the traditional text very questionable. Kimchi has, on account of the harshness of placing the sons of Mareshah on a parallel with Mesha the first-born of Caleb, supposed an ellipse in the expression, and construes ובני מר', *et ex filiis Ziphi Mareshah.* But this addition cannot be justified. If we may venture a conjecture in so obscure a matter, it would more readily suggest itself that מרשה is an error for מֵישָׁע, and that אֲבִי חֶבְרוֹן is to be taken as a *nomen compos.*, when the meaning would be, "and the sons of Mesha were Abi-Hebron." The probability of the existence of such a name as Abihebron along with the simple Hebron has many analogies in its favour: cf. Dan and Abidan, Num. i. 11; Ezer, xii. 9, Neh. iii. 19, with Abi-ezer; Nadab, Ex. vi. 23, and Abi-nadab. In the same family even we have Abiner, or Abner, the son of Ner (1 Sam. xiv. 50 f.; 2 Sam. ii. 8; cf. Ew. § 273, S. 666, 7th edition). Abihebron would then be repeated in ver. 43, in the shortened form Hebron, just as we have in Josh. xvi. 8 Tappuah, instead of En-Tappuah, Josh. xvii. 7. The four names introduced as sons of Hebron denote persons, not localities: cf. for Korah, i. 35, and concerning Tappuah and Rekem the above remark (p. 68). In ver. 44 are mentioned the sons of Rekem and of Shema, the latter a frequently recurring man's name (cf. v. 8, viii. 13, xi. 44; Neh. viii. 4). Shema begat Raham, the father of Jorkam. The name יָרְקְעָם is quite unknown elsewhere. The LXX. have rendered it *Ἰεκλὰν*, and Bertheau therefore holds Jorkam to be the name of a place, and conjectures that originally יָקְדְעָם (Josh. xv. 56) stood here also. But the LXX. give also *Ἰεκλὰν* for the following name רֶקֶם, from which it is clear that we cannot rely much on their authority. The LXX. have overlooked the fact that רקם, ver. 44, is the son of the Hebron mentioned in ver. 43, whose descendants are further enumerated. Shammai occurs as a man's name also in ver. 28, and is again met with in iv. 17. His son is called in ver. 45 Maon, and Maon is the father of Bethzur. בֵּית־צוּר is certainly the city in the mountains of Judah which Rehoboam fortified (2 Chron. xi. 7), and which still exists in the ruin Betsur, lying south of Jerusalem in the direction of Hebron. Maon also was a city in the mountains of Judah, now Main (Josh. xv. 55); but we cannot allow that this city is meant by the

name מָעוֹן, because Maon is called on the one hand the son of Shammai, and on the other is father of Bethzur, and there are no well-ascertained examples of a city being represented as son (בֵּן) of a man, its founder or lord, nor of one city being called the father of another. Dependent cities and villages are called daughters (not sons) of the mother city. The word מָעוֹן, "dwelling," does not *per se* point to a village or town, and in Judg. x. 12 denotes a tribe of non-Israelites.

Vers. 46–49. *Descendants of Caleb by two concubines.*—The name עֵיפָה occurs in ver. 47 and i. 33 as a man's name. Caleb's concubine of this name bore three sons: Haran, of whom nothing further is known; Moza, which, though in Josh. xviii. 26 it is the name of a Benjamite town, is not necessarily on that account the name of a town here; and Gazez, unknown, perhaps a grandson of Caleb, especially if the clause "Haran begat Gazez" be merely an explanatory addition. But Haran may also have given to his son the name of his younger brother, so that a son and grandson of Caleb may have borne the same name.—Ver. 47. The genealogical connection of the names in this verse is entirely wanting; for Jahdai, of whom six sons are enumerated, appears quite abruptly. Hiller, in *Onomast.*, supposes, but without sufficient ground, that יָהְדַּי is another name of Moza. Of his sons' names, Jotham occurs frequently of different persons; Ephah, as has been already remarked, is in i. 33 the name of a chief of a Midianite tribe; and lastly, Shaaph is used in ver. 49 of another person.—Ver. 48 f. Another concubine of Caleb was called Maachah, a not uncommon woman's name; cf. iii. 2, vii. 16, viii. 29, xi. 43, etc. She bore Sheber and Tirhanah, names quite unknown. The masc. יָלַד instead of the fem. יָלְדָה, ver. 46, is to be explained by the supposition that the father who begat was present to the mind of the writer. Ver. 49. Then she bore also Shaaph (different from the Shaaph in ver. 47), the father of Madmannah, a city in the south of Judah, perhaps identical with Miniay or Minieh, southwards from Gaza (see on Josh. xv. 31). Sheva (David's Sopher (scribe) is so called in the Keri of 2 Sam. xx. 25), the father of Machbenah, a village of Judah not further mentioned, and of Gibea, perhaps the Gibeah mentioned in Josh. xv. 57, in the mountains of Judah, or the village Jeba mentioned by Robinson, *Palest.* ii. p. 327, and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, S. 157 f., on a hill in the Wady Musurr (*vide* on Josh. xv. 57). This list closes with the abrupt remark, "and

Caleb s daughter was Achsah." This notice can only refer to the Achsah so well known in the history of the conquest of the tribal domain of Judah, whom Caleb had promised, and gave as a reward to the conqueror of Debir (Josh. xv. 16 ff.; Judg. i. 12); otherwise in its abrupt form it would have no meaning. Women occur in the genealogies only when they have played an important part in history. Since, however, the father of this Achsah was Caleb the son of Jephunneh, who was about forty years old when the Israelites left Egypt, while our Caleb, on the contrary, is called in ver. 42 the brother of Jerahmeel, and is at the same time designated son of Hezron, the son of Pharez (ver. 9), these two Calebs cannot be one person: the son of Hezron must have been a much older Caleb than the son of Jephunneh. The older commentators have consequently with one voice distinguished the Achsah mentioned in our verse from the Achsah in Josh. xv. 16; while Movers, on the contrary (*Chron.* S. 83), would eliminate from the text, as a later interpolation, the notice of the daughter of Caleb. Bertheau, however, attempts to prove the identity of Caleb the son of Hezron with Caleb the son of Jephunneh. The assertion of Movers is so manifestly a critical *tour de force*, that it requires no refutation; but neither can we subscribe to Bertheau's view. He is, indeed, right in rejecting Ewald's expedient of holding that vers. 18–20 and 45–50 are to be referred to Chelubai, and vers. 42–49 to a Caleb to be carefully distinguished from him; for it contradicts the plain sense of the words, according to which both Chelubai, ver. 9, and Caleb, vers. 18 and 42, is the son of Hezron and the brother of Jerahmeel. But what he brings forward against distinguishing Caleb the father of Achsah, ver. 49, from Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, ver. 42, is entirely wanting in force. The reasons adduced reduce themselves to these: that Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the conqueror and possessor of Hebron, might well be called in the genealogical language, which sometimes expresses geographical relations, the son of Hezron, along with Ram and Jerahmeel, as the names Ram and Jerahmeel certainly denote families in Judah, who, originally at least, dwelt in other domains than that of Caleb; and again, that the individual families as well as the towns and villages in these various domains may be conceived of as sons and descendants of those who represent the great families of the tribe, and the divisions of the tribal territory. But we must deny the geographical signification of the genealogies when

pressed so far as this: for valid proofs are entirely wanting that towns are represented as sons and brothers of other towns; and the section vers. 42–49 does not treat merely, or principally, of the geographical relations of the families of Judah, but in the first place, and in the main, deals with the genealogical ramifications of the descendants and families of the sons of Judah. It by no means follows, because some of these descendants are brought forward as fathers of cities, that in vers. 42–49 towns and their mutual connection are spoken of; and the names Caleb, Ram, and Jerahmeel do not here denote families, but are the names of the fathers and chiefs of the families which descended from them, and dwelt in the towns just named. We accordingly distinguish Caleb, whose daughter was called Achsah, and whose father was Jephunneh (Josh. xv. 16 ff.), from Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel and the son of Hezron. But we explain the mention of Achsah as daughter of Caleb, at the end of the genealogical lists of the persons and families descended by concubines from Caleb, by the supposition that the Caleb who lived in the time of Moses, the son of Jephunneh, was a descendant of an older Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel. But it is probable that the Caleb in ver. 49 is the same who is called in ver. 42 the brother of Jerahmeel, and whose descendants are specified vers. 42–49; and we take the word בַּת, "daughter," in its wider sense, as signifying a later female descendant, because the father of the Achsah so well known from Josh. xv. 16 ff. is also called son of Jephunneh in the genealogy, chap. iv. 15.

Vers. 50–55. *The families descended from Caleb through his son Hur.* — Ver. 50. The superscription, "These are the sons (descendants) of Caleb," is more accurately defined by the addition, "the son of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah;" and by this definition the following lists of Caleb's descendants are limited to the families descended from his son Hur. That the words בְּנֵי־חוּר וגו׳ are to be so understood, and not as apposition to כָּלֵב, "Caleb the son of Hur," is shown by ver. 19, according to which Hur is a son of Caleb and Ephrath. On that account, too, the relationship of Hur to Caleb is not given here; it is presupposed as known from ver. 19. A famous descendant of Hur has already been mentioned in ver. 20, viz. Bezaleel the son of Uri. Here, in vers. 50 and 51, three sons of Hur are named, Shobal, Salma, and Hareph, with the families descended from the first two. All information is wanting as to whether these sons of Hur were

brothers of Uri, or his cousins in nearer or remoter degree, as indeed is every means of a more accurate determination of the degrees of relationship. Both בֶּן and הוֹלִיד in genealogies mark only descent in a straight line, while intermediate members of a family are often omitted in the lists. Instead of בֶּן־חוּר, בְּנֵי־חוּר might have been expected, as two sons are mentioned. The singular בֶּן shows that the words are not to be fused with the following into one sentence, but, as the Masoretic punctuation also shows, are meant for a superscription, after which the names to be enumerated are ranged without any more intimate logical connection. For the three names are not connected by the ו copul. They stand thus: "sons of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah; Shobal . . . Salma . . . Hareph." Shobal is called father of Kirjath-jearim, now Kureyet el Enab (see on Josh. ix. 17). Salma, father of Bethlehem, the birth-place of David and Christ. This Salma is, however, not the same person as Salma mentioned in ver. 11 and Ruth iv. 20 among the ancestors of David; for the latter belonged to the family of Ram, the former to the family of Caleb. Hareph is called the father of Beth-Geder, which is certainly not the same place as Gedera, Josh. xv. 36, which lay in the Shephelah, but is probably identical with Gedor in the hill country, Josh. xv. 58, west of the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem (*vide* on chap. xii. 4). Nothing further is told of Hareph, but in the following verses further descendants of both the other sons of Hur are enumerated.—Vers. 52 and 53. Shobal had sons, הָרֹאֶה חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחוֹת. These words, which are translated in the Vulgate, *qui videbat dimidium requietionum*, give, so interpreted, no fitting sense, but must contain proper names. The LXX. have made from them three names, *Ἀραὰ καὶ Αἰσὶ καὶ Ἀμμανίθ*, on mere conjecture. Most commentators take הראה for the name of the man who, in chap. iv. 2, is called under the name Reaiah, ראיה, the son of Shobal. This is doubtless correct; but we must not take הָרֹאֶה for another name of Reaiah, but, with Bertheau, must hold it to be a corruption of רָאָיָה, or a conjecture arising from a false interpretation of חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחוֹת by a transcriber or reader, who did not take Hazi-Hammenuhoth for a proper name, but understood it appellatively, and attempted to bring some sense out of the words by changing ראיה into the participle רֹאֶה. The חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחָתִי in ver. 54 corresponds to our חֲצִי הַמְּנֻחוֹת, as one half of a race or district corresponds to the other, for the connection between the substantive הַמְּנֻחוֹת and the adjective הַמְּנֻחָתִי

cannot but be acknowledged. Now, although מְנוּחָה signifies resting-place (Num. x. 33; Judg. xx. 43), and the words "the half of the resting-place," or "of the resting-places," point in the first instance to a district, yet not only does the context require that Hazi-Hammenuhoth should signify a family sprung from Shobal, but it is demanded also by a comparison of our phrase with חצי המנחתי in ver. 54, which unquestionably denotes a family. It does not, however, seem necessary to alter the הַמְּנֻחוֹת into הַמְּנַחְתִּי; for as in ver. 54 Bethlehem stands for the family in Bethlehem descended from Salma, so the district Hazi-Hammenuhoth may be used in ver. 52 to denote the family residing there. As to the geographical position of this district, see on ver. 54.—Ver. 53. Besides the families mentioned in ver. 52, the families of Kirjath-jearim, which in ver. 53 are enumerated by name, came of Shobal also. וּמִשְׁפְּחוֹת ק׳ is simply a continuation of the families already mentioned, and the remark of Berth., that "the families of Kirjath-jearim are moreover distinguished from the sons of Shobal," is as incorrect as the supplying of ו cop. before הַצִּי הַמ׳ in ver. 52 is unnecessary. The meaning is simply this: Shobal had sons Reaiah, Hazi-Hammenuhoth, and the families of Kirjath-jearim, viz. the family of Jether, etc. David's heroes, Ira and Gareb, xi. 40, 2 Sam. xxiii. 38, belonged to the family of Jether (הַיִּתְרִי). The other three families are not met with elsewhere. מֵאֵלֶּה, of these, the four families of Kirjath-jearim just mentioned, came the Zoreathites and the Eshtaulites, the inhabitants of the town of Zoreah, the home of Samson, now the ruin Sura, and of Eshtaol, which perhaps may be identified with Um Eshteyeh (see in Josh. xv. 33).—Vers. 54 and 55. The descendants of Salma: Bethlehem, *i.e.* the family of Bethlehem (see on ver. 52), the Netophathites, *i.e.* the inhabitants of the town of Netophah, which, according to our verse and Ezra ii. 22, and especially Neh. vii. 26, is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (cf. ix. 16); a family which produced at various times renowned men (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 28 f.; 2 Kings xxv. 23; Ezra ii. 22). The following words, עַטְרוֹת בֵּ׳ י׳, *i.e.* "crowns of the house of Joab," can only be the name of a place which is mentioned instead of its inhabitants; for עטרות occurs elsewhere, sometimes alone, and sometimes in conjunction with a proper name, as the name of places: cf. Num. xxxii. 34 f.; Josh. xvi. 2, 5, 7, xviii. 13. Hazi-Hammanahath is certainly to be sought in the neighbourhood of Manahath, viii. 6, whose position has,

however, not yet been ascertained. הַצָּרְעִי is only another form of הַצָּרְעָתִי, and is derived from the masculine of the word. The Zorites here spoken of formed a second division of the inhabitants of Zoreah and the neighbourhood, along with the Zoreathites descended from Shobal, ver. 53.—Ver. 55. "And the families of the writers (scribes) who inhabited Jabez." The position of the town Jabez, which is mentioned only here, and which derived its name from a descendant of Judah, has not yet been discovered, but is to be sought somewhere in the neighbourhood of Zoreah. This may be inferred from the fact that of the six בְּנֵי שַׁלְמָא, two are always more closely connected with each other by ו cop.: (1) Bethlehem and Netophathite, (2) Ataroth-beth-Joab and Hazi-Hammanahath, (3) the Zorites and the families of the Sopherim inhabiting Jabez. These last were divided into three branches, תִּרְעָתִים, שִׁמְעָתִים, שׁוּכָתִים, *i.e.* those descended from Tira, Shimea, and Suchah. The Vulgate has taken these words in an appellative sense of the occupations of these three classes, and translates *canentes et resonantes et in tabernaculis commemorantes.* But this interpretation is not made even probable by all that Bertheau has brought forward in support of it. Even if שׁוּכָתִים might perhaps be connected with סֻכָּה, and interpreted "dwellers in tabernacles," yet no tenable reason can be found for translating תִּרְעָתִים and שִׁמְעָתִים by *canentes et resonantes.* שִׁמְעָתִי, from שִׁמְעָה, "that which is heard," cannot signify those who repeat in words and song that which has been heard; and תִּרְעָתִי no more means *canentes* than it is connected (as Bertheau tries to show) with שְׁעָרִים, "doorkeepers" (the Chaldee תְּרַע being equivalent to the Hebrew שַׁעַר); and the addition, "These are the Kenites who came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab" (בּוֹא מִן, to issue from any one, to be descended from any one), gives no proof of this, for the phrase itself is to us so very obscure. קֵינִים are not inhabitants of the city Kain (Josh. xv. 57) in the tribal domain of Judah (Kimchi), but, judging from the succeeding relative sentence, were descendants of Keni the father-in-law of Moses (Judg. i. 16), who had come with Israel to Canaan, and dwelt there among the Israelites (Judg. iv. 11, 17, v. 24; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29); and Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab, *i.e.* of the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv. 6), is probably the grandfather of Jonadab the son of Rechab, with whom Jehu entered into alliance (2 Kings x. 15, 23). But how can the families of Sopherim inhabiting

Jabez, which are here enumerated, be called descendants of Salma, who is descended from Hur the son of Caleb, a man of Judah, if they were Kenites, who issued from or were descendants of the grandfather of the family of the Rechabites? From lack of information, this question cannot be answered with certainty. In general, however, we may explain the incorporation of the Kenites in the Judæan family of the Calebite Salma, on the supposition that one of these Kenites of the family of Hobab, the brother-in-law of Moses, married an heiress of the race of Caleb. On this account the children and descendants sprung of this marriage would be incorporated in the family of Caleb, although they were on their father's side Kenites, and where they followed the manner of life of their fathers, might continue to be regarded as such, and to bear the name.

Chap. iii. *The sons and descendants of David.*—After the enumeration of the chief families of the two sons of Hezron, Caleb and Jerahmeel, in chap. ii. 18–55, the genealogy of Ram the second son of Hezron, which in chap. ii. 10–17 was only traced down to Jesse, the father of the royal race of David, is in chap. iii. again taken up and further followed out. In vers. 1–9 all the sons of David are enumerated; in vers. 10–16, the line of kings of the house of David from Solomon to Jeconiah and Zedekiah; in 17–21, the descendants of Jeconiah to the grandsons of Zerubbabel; and finally, in vers. 22–24, other descendants of Shechaniah to the fourth generation.

Vers. 1–9. The sons of David: (*a*) Those born in Hebron; (*b*) those born in Jerusalem.—Vers. 1–4. The six sons born in Hebron are enumerated also in 2 Sam. iii. 2–5, with mention of their mother as here: but there the second is called בִּלְאָב; here, on the contrary, דָּנִיֵּאל,—a difference which cannot well have arisen through an error of a copyist, but is probably to be explained on the supposition that this son had two different names. In reference to the others, see on 2 Sam. iii. The sing. אֲשֶׁר נוֹלַד לוֹ after a preceding plural subject is to be explained as in ii. 9. שֵׁנִי, without the article, for מִשְׁנֵהוּ, 2 Sam. iii. 3, or הַמִּשְׁנֶה, 1 Chron. v. 12, is surprising, as all the other numbers have the article; but the enumeration, the first-born, a second, the third, etc., may be justified without any alteration of the text being necessary. But the difference between our text and that of 2 Sam. in regard to the second son, shows that the chronicler did not take the register from 2 Sam. iii. The preposition לְ before אַבְשָׁלוֹם seems

to have come into the text only through a mistake occasioned by the preceding לַאֲבִיגַיִל, for no reason is apparent for any strong emphasis which might be implied in the לְ being placed on the name of Absalom. The addition of אִשְׁתּוֹ to עֲגְלָה (ver. 3) seems introduced only to conclude the enumeration in a fitting way, as the descent of Eglah had not been communicated; just as, for a similar reason, the additional clause "the wife of David" is inserted in 2 Sam. iii. 5, without Eglah being thereby distinguished above the other wives as the most honoured. The concluding formula, "six were born to him in Hebron" (ver. 4), is followed by a notice of how long David reigned in Hebron and in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 11 and 55), which is intended to form a fitting transition to the following list of the sons who were born to him in Jerusalem.—Vers. 5–8. In Jerusalem thirteen other sons were born to him, of whom four were the children of Bathsheba. The thirteen names are again enumerated in the history of David, in chap. xiv. 7–11, while in the parallel passage, 2 Sam. v. 14–16, only eleven are mentioned, the two last being omitted (see on the passage). Some of the names are somewhat differently given in these passages, owing to differences of pronunciation and form: שַׁמּוּעַ is in both places שַׁמְעָה; אֱלִישָׁמָע, between Ibhar and Eliphalet, is in chap. xiv. more correctly written אֱלִישׁוּעַ. Elishama is clearly a transcriber's error, occasioned by one of the following sons bearing this name. אֱלִיפֶלֶט, shortened in xiv. 6 into אֶלְפֶּלֶט, and נוֹגָה, are wanting in 2 Sam. v. 15, probably because they died early. אֱלְיָדָע, ver. 8, 2 Sam. v. 16, appears in chap. xiv. 7 as בְּעַלְיָדָע; the mother also of the four first named, בַּת־שׁוּעַ, the daughter of Ammiel, is elsewhere always בַּת־שֶׁבַע, *e.g.* 2 Sam. xi. 3, and 1 Kings i. 11, 15, etc.; and her father, Eliam (2 Sam. xi. 3). בַּת־שׁוּעַ has been derived from בַּתְשֻׁעָא, and בַּתְשׁוּעַ is softened from בַּתְשֶׁבַע; but אֱלִיעָם has arisen by transposition of the two parts of the name עַמִּיאֵל, or Ammiel has been altered to Eliam. Besides these, David had also sons by concubines, whose names, however, are nowhere met with. Of David's daughters only Tamar is mentioned as "their sister," *i.e.* sister of the before-mentioned sons, because she had become known in history through Amnon's crime (2 Sam. xiii.).

Vers. 10–16. The kings of the house of David from Solomon till the exile.—Until Josiah the individual kings are mentioned in their order, each with the addition בְּנוֹ, son of the preceding, vers. 10–14; the only omission being that of the

usurper Athaliah, because she did not belong to the posterity of David. But in ver. 15 four sons of Josiah are mentioned, not "in order to allow of a halt in the long line of David's descendants after Josiah the great reformer" (Berth.), but because with Josiah the regular succession to the throne in the house of David ceased. For the younger son Jehoahaz, who was made king after his father's death by the people, was soon dethroned by Pharaoh-Necho, and led away captive to Egypt; and of the other sons Jehoiakim was set up by Pharaoh, and Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar, so that both were only vassals of heathen lords of the land, and the independent kingship of David came properly to an end with the death of Josiah. Johanan, the first-born of the sons of Josiah, is not to be identified with Jehoahaz, whom the people raised to the throne. For, in the first place, it appears from the statement as to the ages of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim in 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2, 5, that Jehoahaz was two years younger than Jehoiakim, and consequently was not the first-born. In Jer. xxii. 11 it is expressly declared that Shallum, the fourth son of Josiah, was king of Judah instead of his father, and was led away into captivity, and never saw his native land again, as history narrates of Jehoahaz. From this it would appear that Shallum took, as king, the name Jehoahaz. Johanan, the first-born, is not met with again in history, either because he died early, or because nothing remarkable could be told of him. Jehoiakim was called Eliakim before he was raised to the throne (2 Kings xxiii. 24). Zedekiah was at first Mattaniah (2 Kings xxiv. 17). Zedekiah, on his ascending the throne, was younger than Shallum, and that event occurred eleven years after the accession of Shallum = Jehoahaz. Zedekiah was only twenty-one years old, while Jehoahaz had become king in his twenty-third year. But in our genealogy Zedekiah is introduced after Jehoiakim, and before Shallum, because, on the one hand, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah had occupied the throne for a longer period, each having been eleven years king; and on the other, Zedekiah and Shallum were sons of Hamutal (2 Kings xxiii. 31, xxiv. 18), while Jehoiakim was the son of Zebudah (2 Kings xxiii. 36). According to age, they should have followed each other in this order—Johanan, Jehoiakim, Shallum, and Zedekiah; and in respect to their kingship, Shallum should have stood before Jehoiakim. But in both cases those born of the same mother, Hamutal, would

have been separated. To avoid this, apparently, Shallum has been enumerated in the fourth place, along with his full brother Zedekiah. In ver. 6 it is remarkable that a son of Jehoiakim's son Jeconiah is mentioned, named Zedekiah, while the sons of Jeconiah follow only in vers. 17 and 18. Jeconiah (cf. Jer. xxiv. 1; shortened Coniah, Jer. xxii. 24, 28, and xxxvii. 1) is called, as king, in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, Jehoiachin, another form of the name, but having the same signification, "Jahve founds or establishes." Zedekiah can only be a son of Jeconiah, for the בְּנוֹ which is added constantly denotes that the person so called is the son of his predecessor. Many commentators, certainly, were of opinion that Zedekiah was the same person as the brother of Jehoiakim mentioned in ver. 15 under the name Zidkijahu, and who is here introduced as son of Jeconiah, because he was the successor of Jeconiah on the throne. For this view support was sought in a reference to ver. 10 ff., in which all Solomon's successors in the kingship are enumerated in order with בְּנוֹ. But all the kings who succeeded each other from Solomon to Josiah were also, without exception, sons of their predecessors; so that there בְּנוֹ throughout denotes a proper son, while King Zedekiah, on the contrary, was not the son, but an uncle of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin). We must therefore hold צִדְקִיָּה for a literal son of Jeconiah, and that so much the more, because the name צִדְקִיָּה differs also from צִדְקִיָּהוּ, as the name of the king is constantly written in 2 Kings xxiv. 17 ff. and in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. But mention is made of this Zedekiah in ver. 16 apart from the other sons of Jeconiah (vers. 17 and 18), perhaps because he was not led away captive into exile with the others, but died in Judah before the breaking up of the kingdom.

Vers. 17–24. The descendants of the captive and exiled Jeconiah, and other families.—Ver. 17. In the list of the sons of Jeconiah it is doubtful if אַסִּר be the name of a son, or should be considered, as it is by Luther and others, an appellative, "prisoner," in apposition to יְכָנְיָה, "the sons of Jeconiah, the captive, is Shealtiel" (A. V. Salathiel). The reasons which have been advanced in favour of this latter interpretation are: the lack of the conjunction with שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל; the position of בְּנוֹ after שׁאלת, not after אַסִּר; and the circumstance that Assir is nowhere to be met with, either in Matt. i. 12 or in *Seder olam zuta*, as an intervening member of the family between Jeconiah and Shealtiel (Berth.).

But none of these reasons is decisive. The want of the conjunction proves absolutely nothing, for in ver. 18 also, the last three names are grouped together without a conjunction; and the position of בְּנֵי after שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל is just as strange, whether Shealtiel be the first named son or the second, for in ver. 18 other sons of Jeconiah follow, and the peculiarity of it can only be accounted for on the supposition that the case of Shealtiel differs from that of the remaining sons. The omission of Assir in the genealogies in Matthew and the *Seder olam* also proves nothing, for in the genealogies intermediate members are often passed over. Against the appellative interpretation of the word, on the contrary, the want of the article is decisive; as apposition to יְכָנְיָה, it should have the article. But besides this, according to the genealogy of Jesus in Luke iii. 27, Shealtiel is a son of Neri, a descendant of David, of the lineage of Nathan, not of Solomon; and according to Hagg. i. 1, 12, Ezra iii. 2, v. 2, and Matt. i. 12, Zerubbabel is son of Shealtiel; while, according to vers. 18 and 19 of our chapter, he is a son of Pedaiah, a brother of Shealtiel. These divergent statements may be reconciled by the following combination. The discrepancy in regard to the enumeration of Shealtiel among the sons of Jeconiah, a descendant of Solomon, and the statement that he was descended from Neri, a descendant of Nathan, Solomon's brother, is removed by the supposition that Jeconiah, besides the Zedekiah mentioned in ver. 16, who died childless, had another son, viz. Assir, who left only a daughter, who then, according to the law as to heiresses (Num. xxvii. 8, xxxvi. 8 f.), married a man belonging to a family of her paternal tribe, viz. Neri, of the family of David, in the line of Nathan, and that from this marriage sprang Shealtiel, Malchiram, and the other sons (properly grandsons) of Jeconiah mentioned in ver. 18. If we suppose the eldest of these, Shealtiel, to come into the inheritance of his maternal grandfather, he would be legally regarded as his legitimate son. In our genealogy, therefore, along with the childless Assir, Shealtiel is introduced as a descendant of Jeconiah, while in Luke he is called, according to his actual descent, a son of Neri. The other discrepancy in respect to the descendants of Zerubbabel is to be explained, as has been already shown on Hagg. i. 1, by the law of Levirate marriage, and by the supposition that Shealtiel died without any male descendants, leaving his wife a widow. In such a case, according to the law (Deut. xxv. 5–10, cf. Matt.

xxii. 24–28), it became the duty of one of the brothers of the deceased to marry his brother's widow, that he might raise up seed, *i.e.* posterity, to the deceased brother; and the first son born of this marriage would be legally incorporated with the family of the deceased, and registered as his son. After Shealtiel's death, his second brother Pedaiah fulfilled this Levirate duty, and begat, in his marriage with his sister-in-law, Zerubbabel, who was now regarded, in all that related to laws of heritage, as Shealtiel's son, and propagated his race as his heir. According to this right of heritage, Zerubbabel is called in the passages quoted from Haggai and Ezra, as also in the genealogy in Matthew, the son of Shealtiel. The בְּנוֹ seems to hint at this peculiar position of Shealtiel with reference to the proper descendants of Jeconiah, helping to remind us that he was son of Jeconiah not by natural birth, but only because of his right of heritage only, on his mother's side. As to the orthography of the name שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל, see on Hagg. i. 1. The six persons named in ver. 18 are not sons of Shealtiel, as Kimchi, Hiller, and others, and latterly Hitzig also, on Hagg. i. 1, believe, but his brothers, as the cop. ו before מַלְכִּירָם requires. The supposition just mentioned is only an attempt, irreconcilable with the words of the text, to form a series, thus: Shealtiel, Pedaiah his son, Zerubbabel his son,—so as to get rid of the differences between our verse and Hagg. i. 1, Ezra iii. 2. In vers. 19 and 20, sons and grandsons of Pedaiah are registered. Nothing further is known of the Bne Jeconiah mentioned in ver. 18. Pedaiah's son Zerubbabel is unquestionably the prince of Judah who returned to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus in the year 536, at the head of a great host of exiles, and superintended their settlement anew in the land of their fathers (Ezra i.–vi.). Of Shimei nothing further is known. In vers. 19*b* and 20, the sons of Zerubbabel are mentioned, and in ver. 21*a* two grandsons are named. Instead of the singular וּבֶן some MSS. have וּבְנֵי, and the old versions also have the plural. This is correct according to the sense, although וּבֶן cannot be objected to on critical grounds, and may be explained by the writer's having had mainly in view the one son who continued the line of descendants. By the mention of their sister after the first two names, the sons of Zerubbabel are divided into two groups, probably as the descendants of different mothers. How Shelomith had gained such fame as to be received into the family register, we do not know. Those men-

tioned in ver. 20 are brought together in one group by the number "five." יוֹשַׁב חֶסֶד, "grace is restored," is one name. The grandsons of Zerubbabel, Pelatiah and Jesaiah, were without doubt contemporaries of Ezra, who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon seventy-eight years after Zerubbabel.

After these grandsons of Zerubbabel, there are ranged in ver. 21*b*, without any copula whatever, four families, the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc.; and of the last named of these, the sons of Shecaniah, four generations of descendants are enumerated in vers. 22-24, without any hint as to the genealogical connection of Shecaniah with the grandsons of Zerubbabel. The assertion of more modern critics, Ewald, Bertheau, and others, that Shecaniah was a brother or a son of Pelatiah or Jesaiah, and that Zerubbabel's family is traced down through six generations, owes its origin to the wish to gain support for the opinion that the Chronicle was composed long after Ezra, and is without any foundation. The argument of Bertheau, that "since the sons of Rephaiah, etc., run parallel with the preceding names Pelatiah and Jesaiah, and since the continuation of the list in ver. 22 is connected with the last mentioned Shecaniah, we cannot but believe that Pelatiah, Jesaiah, Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah are, without exception, sons of Hananiah," would be well founded if, and only if, the names Rephaiah, Arnan, etc., stood in our verse, instead of the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., for Pelatiah and Jesaiah are not parallel with the *sons* of Arnan. Pelatiah and Jesaiah may perhaps be sons of Hananiah, but not the sons of Rephaiah, Arnan, etc. These would be grandsons of Hananiah, on the assumption that Rephaiah, Arnan, etc., were brothers of Pelatiah and Jesaiah, and sons of Hananiah. But for this assumption there is no tenable ground; it would be justified only if our present Masoretic text could lay claim to infallibility. Only on the ground of a belief in this infallibility of the traditional text could we explain to ourselves, as Bertheau does, the ranging of the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., along with Pelatiah and Jesaiah, called sons of Hananiah, by supposing that Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, and Shecaniah are not named as individuals, but are mentioned together with their families, because they were the progenitors of famous races, while Pelatiah and Jesaiah either had no descendants at all, or none at least who were at all renowned. The text, as we have it, in which the sons

of Rephaiah, etc., follow the names of the grandsons of Zerubbabel without a conjunction, and in which the words וּבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה, and a statement of the names of one of these בָּנִים and his further descendants, follow the immediately preceding בְּנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה, has no meaning, and is clearly corrupt, as has been recognised by Heidegger, Vitringa, Carpzov, and others. Owing, however, to want of information from other sources regarding these families and their connection with the descendants of Zerubbabel, we have no means whatever of restoring the original text. The sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, etc., were, it may be supposed, branches of the family of David, whose descent or connection with Zerubbabel is for us unascertainable. The list from בְּנֵי רְפָיָה, ver. 21*b*, to the end of the chapter, is a genealogical fragment, which has perhaps come into the text of the Chronicle at a later time.[1] Many of the names which this fragment contains are met with singly in genealogies of other tribes, but nowhere in a connection from which we might draw conclusions as to the origin of the families here enumerated, and the age in which they lived. Bertheau, indeed, thinks "we may in any case hold Hattush, ver. 22, for the descendant of David of the same name mentioned in Ezra viii. 2, who lived at the time of Ezra;" but he has apparently forgotten that, according to his interpretation of our verse, Hattush would be a great-grandson of Zerubbabel, who, even if he were then born, could not possibly have been a man and the head of a family at the time of his supposed return from Babylon with Ezra, seventy-eight years after the return of his great-grandfather to Palestine. Other men too, even priests, have borne the name Hattush; cf. Neh. iii. 10, x. 5, xii. 2. There returned, moreover, from Babylon with Ezra sons of Shecaniah (Ezra viii. 3), who may as justly be identified with the sons of Shecaniah mentioned in ver. 22 of our chapter as forefathers or ancestors of Hattush, as the Hattush here is identified with the Hattush of Ezra viii. 2. But from the fact that, in the genealogy of Jesus, Matt. i., not a single one of the names of

[1] Yet at a very early time, for the LXX. had before them our present text, and sought to make sense of it by expressing the four times recurring בְּנֵי, ver. 21*b*, by the singular בְּנוֹ in every case, as follows: καὶ Ἰεσίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Ῥαφὰλ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Ὀρνὰ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, etc.; according to which, between Hananiah and Shecaniah seven consecutive generations would be enumerated, and Zerubbabel's family traced down through eleven generations. So also Vulg. and Syr.

descendants of Zerubbabel there enumerated coincides with the names given in our verses, we may conclude that the descendants of Shecaniah enumerated in vers. 22–24 did not descend from Zerubbabel in a direct line. Intermediate members are, it is true, often omitted in genealogical lists; but who would maintain that in Matthew seven, or, according to the other interpretation of our verse, nine, consecutive members have been at one bound overleapt? This weighty consideration, which has been brought forward by Clericus, is passed over in silence by the defenders of the opinion that our verses contain a continuation of the genealogy of Zerubbabel. The only other remark to be made about this fragment is, that in ver. 22 the number of the sons of Shecaniah is given as six, while only five names are mentioned, and that consequently a name must have fallen out by mistake in transcribing. Nothing further can be said of these families, as they are otherwise quite unknown.

CHAP. IV. 1–23.—FRAGMENTS OF THE GENEALOGIES OF DESCENDANTS AND FAMILIES OF JUDAH.

Ver. 1 is evidently intended to be a superscription to the genealogical fragments which follow. Five names are mentioned as sons of Judah, of whom only Pharez was his son (ii. 4); the others are grandchildren or still more distant descendants. Nothing is said as to the genealogical relationship in which they stood to each other; that is supposed to be already known from the genealogies in chap. ii. Hezron is the son of Pharez, and consequently grandson of Judah, ii. 8. Carmi, a descendant of Zerah, the brother of Pharez, see on ii. 6, 7. Hur is a son of Caleb, the son of Hezron, by Ephratah (see on ii. 19 and 50); and Shobal is the son of Hur, who has just been mentioned (ii. 50). These five names do not denote here, any more than in chap. ii., "families of the tribe of Judah" (Berth.), but signify persons who originated or were heads of families. The only conceivable ground for these five being called "sons of Judah," is that the families registered in the following lists traced their origin to them, although in the enumeration which follows the genealogical connection of the various groups is not clearly brought out. The enumeration begins,

Ver. 2, with *the descendants of Shobal.* As to Reaiah the son of Shobal, see ii. 52. He begat Jahath, a name often occurring

in Levite families, cf. vi. 5, 28, xxiii. 10 ff., xxiv. 22, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12; but of the descendant of David who bore this name nothing further is known. His sons Ahumai and Lahad founded the families of the Zorathites, *i.e.* the inhabitants of Zora, who also, according to ii. 53, were descended from sons of Shobal. Our verse therefore gives more detailed information regarding the lineage of these families.

Vers. 3 and 4 contain notices of the descendants of Hur. The first words of the third verse, "these, father of Etam, Jezreel," have no meaning; but the last sentence of the second verse suggests that מִשְׁפָּחוֹת should be supplied, when we read, "and these are the families of (from) Abi-Etam." The LXX. and Vulgate have אלה בני עיטם, which is also to be found in several codices, while other codices read אלה בני אבי עיטם. Both readings are probably only conjectures. Whether אבי עיטם is to be taken as the name of a person, or appellatively, father = lord of Etam, cannot be decided. עֵיטָם is in ver. 32, and probably also in Judg. xv. 8, 11, the name of a town of the Simeonites; and in 2 Chron. xi. 6, the name of a little town in the highlands of Judah, south of Jerusalem. If עיטם be the name of a place, only the last named can be here meant. The names Jezreel, Ishma, and Idbash denote persons as progenitors and head of families or branches of families. For יִזְרְעֶאל as the name of a person, cf. Hos. i. 4. That these names should be those of persons is required by the succeeding remark, "and their sister Hazelelponi." The formation of this name, with the derivative termination *i*, seems to express a relationship of race; but the word may also be an adjective, and as such may be a proper name: cf. Ew. § 273, *e*.—Ver. 4. Penuel, in Gen. xxii. 31 f., Judg. viii. 8, name of a place in the East-Jordan land, as here, and in viii. 25 the name of a man. Gedor is, we may suppose, the town of that name in the mountains of Judah, which is still to be found in the ruin Jedur (see on Josh. xv. 58). Penuel is here called father of Gedor, while in ver. 18 one Jered is so called, whence we must conclude that the inhabitants of Gedor were descended from both. Ezer (Help) occurs in vii. 21, xii. 9, Neh. iii. 19, of other men; father of Hushah, *i.e.* according to the analogy of Abi-Gedor, also the name of a place not elsewhere mentioned, where the hero Sibbecai had his birth, xi. 29, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27. Those thus named in vers. 3 and 4 are sons of Hur, the first-born of Ephratah (ii. 19), the father of Bethlehem. The inhabitants

of Bethlehem then, according to this, were descended from Hur through his son Salma, who is called in ii. 51 father of Bethlehem. The circumstance, too, that in our verses (3 and 4) other names of persons are enumerated as descendants of Hur than those given in ii. 50–55 gives rise to no discrepancy, for there is no ground for the supposition that in ii. 50–55 *all* the descendants of Hur have been mentioned.

Vers. 5–7. *Sons of Ashur*, the father of Tekoa, who, according to ii. 24, was a posthumous son of Hezron. Ashur had two wives, Helah and Naarah. Of the latter came four sons and as many families: Ahuzam, of whom nothing further is known; Hepher, also unknown, but to be distinguished from the Gileadite of the same name in chap. xi. 36 and Num. xxvi. 32 f. The conjecture that the name is connected with the land of Hepher (1 Kings iv. 10), the territory of a king conquered by Joshua (Josh. xii. 17) (Berth.), is not very well supported. Temani (man of the south) may be simply the name of a person, but it is probably, like the following, the name of a family. Haahashtari, descended from Ahashtar, is quite unknown.—Ver. 7. The first wife, Helah, bore three sons, Zereth, Jezoar, and Ethnan, who are not elsewhere met with. For the Kethibh יצחר there is in the Keri וְצֹחַר, the name of a son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10), and of a Hittite chief in the time of the patriarchs (Gen. xxiii. 8), with whom the son of Helah has nothing to do.

Vers. 8–10 contain a fragment, the connection of which with the sons of Judah mentioned in chap. ii. is not clear. Coz begat Anub, etc. The name קוֹץ occurs only here; elsewhere only הַקּוֹץ is found, of a Levite, xxiv. 10, cf. Ezra ii. 61 and Neh. iii. 4,—in the latter passage without any statement as to the tribe to which the sons of Hakkoz belonged. The names of the sons begotten by Coz, ver. 8, do not occur elsewhere. The same is to be said of Jabez, of whom we know nothing beyond what is communicated in vers. 9 and 10. The word יַעְבֵּץ denotes in ii. 55 a town or village which is quite unknown to us; but whether our Jabez were father (lord) of this town cannot be determined. If there be any genealogical connection between the man Jabez and the locality of this name or its inhabitants (ii. 55), then the persons named in ver. 8 would belong to the descendants of Shobal. For although the connection of Jabez with Coz and his sons is not clearly set forth, yet it may be conjectured from the statements as to Jabez being connected

with the preceding by the words, "Jabez was more honoured than his brethren." The older commentators have thence drawn the conclusion that Jabez was a son or brother of Coz. Bertheau also rightly remarks: "The statements that he was more honoured than his brethren (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 19), that his mother called him Jabez because she had borne him with sorrow; the use of the similarly sounding word עֹצֶב along with the name יַעְבֵּץ (cf. Gen. iv. 25, xix. 37 f., xxix. 32, 33, 35, xxx. 6, 8, etc.); and the statement that Jabez vowed to the God of Israel (cf. Gen. xxxiii. 20) in a prayer (cf. Gen. xxviii. 20),—all bring to our recollection similar statements of Genesis, and doubtless rest upon primeval tradition." In the terms of the vow, לְבִלְתִּי עָצְבִּי, "so that sorrow may not be to me," there is a play upon the name Jabez. But of the vow itself only the conditions proposed by the maker of the vow are communicated: "If Thou wilt bless me, and enlarge my coast, and Thy hand shall be with me, and Thou wilt keep evil far off, not to bring sorrow to me,"—without the conclusion, Then I vow to do this or that (cf. Gen. xxviii. 20 f.), but with the remark that God granted him that which he requested. The reason of this is probably that the vow had acquired importance sufficient to make it worthy of being handed down only from God's having so fulfilled his wish, that his life became a contradiction of his name; the son of sorrow having been free from pain in life, and having attained to greater happiness and reputation than his brothers.

Vers. 11, 12. The genealogy of the men of Rechah.—As to their connection with the larger families of Judah nothing has been handed down to us. Chelub, another form of the name Caleb or Chelubai (see ii. 9 and 18), is distinguished from the better known Caleb son of Hezron (ii. 18 and 42), and Mehir son of Jephunneh (ver. 15), by the additional clause "brother of Shuah." Shuah is not met with elsewhere, but is probably identified with Hushah, ver. 4, by the old Mehir the father of Eshton is likewise unknown. He begat the house (the family) of Rapha, of whom also nothing further is said; for they can be connected neither with the Benjamite Rapha (viii. 2) nor with the children of Rapha (xx. 4, 6, 8). Paseah and Tehinnah are also unknown, for it is uncertain whether the sons of Paseah mentioned among the Nethinim, Ezra ii. 49, Neh. vii. 51, have any connection with our Paseah. Tehinnah is called "father of the city of Nahash." The latter

name is probably not properly the name of a town, but rather the name of a person Nahash, not unlikely the same as the father of Abigail (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the step-sister of David (cf. ii. 16). The men (or people) of Rechah are unknown.

Vers. 13–15. *Descendants of Kenaz.*—קְנַז is a descendant of Hezron the son of Pharez, as may be inferred from the fact that Caleb the son of Jephunneh, a descendant of Hezron's son Caleb, is called in Num. xxxii. 12 and Josh. xiv. 6 קְנִזִּי, and consequently was also a descendant of Kenaz. Othniel and Seraiah, introduced here as בְּנֵי קְנַז, are not sons (in the narrower sense of the word), but more distant descendants of Kenaz; for Othniel and Caleb the son of Jephunneh were, according to Josh. xv. 17 and Judg. i. 13, brothers.[1] Kenaz, therefore, can neither have been the father of Othniel nor father of Caleb (in the proper sense of the word), but must at least have been the grandfather or great-grandfather of both. Othniel is the famous first judge of Israel, Judg. iii. 9 ff. Of Seraiah nothing further is known, although the name is often met with of different persons. The sons of Othniel are Hathath. The plural

[1] The words used in Judg. i. 13, cf. Josh. xv. 17, of the relationship of Othniel and Caleb, בֶּן־קְנַז אֲחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטֹן, may be, it is true, taken in different senses, either as signifying *filius Kenasi fratris Caleb*, according to which, not Othniel, but Kenaz, was a younger brother of Caleb; or in this way, *filius Kenasi, frater Calebi minor*, as we have interpreted them in the text, and also in the commentary on Josh. xv. 17. This interpretation we still hold to be certainly the correct one, notwithstanding what Bachmann (*Buch der Richter*, on i. 13) has brought forward against it and in favour of the other interpretation, and cannot see that his chief reasons are decisive. The assertion that we must predicate of Othniel, if he be a younger brother of Caleb, an unsuitably advanced age, is not convincing. Caleb was eighty-five years of age at the division of the land of Canaan (Josh. xiv. 10). Now if we suppose that his younger or youngest brother Othniel was from twenty-five to thirty years younger, as often happens, Othniel would be from sixty to sixty-one or fifty-five to fifty-six years of age at the conquest of Debir,—an age at which he might well win a wife as the reward of valour. Ten years later came the invasion of the land by Cushan Rishathaim, which lasted eight years, till Othniel had conquered Cushan R., and there were judges in Israel. This victory he would thus gain at the age of seventy-eight or seventy-three; and even if he filled the office of judge for forty years—which, however, Judg. iii. 11 does not state—he would have reached no greater age than 118 or 113 years, only three or eight years older than Joshua had been. If we consider what Caleb said of himself in his eighty-fifth year, Josh. xiv. 11, "I am still strong as in the day that Moses sent me (*i.e.* forty years before); as my strength was then, even so is my strength now for war, both to go out and to come in," we cannot think that Othniel, in the seventy-third or seventy-

בְּנֵי, even when only one name follows, is met with elsewhere (*vide* on ii. 7); but the continuation is somewhat strange, "and Meonothai begat Ophrah," for as Meonothai is not before mentioned, his connection with Othniel is not given. There is evidently a hiatus in the text, which may most easily be filled up by repeating וּמְעוֹנֹתַי at the end of ver. 13. According to this conjecture two sons of Othniel would be named, Hathath and Meonothai, and then the posterity of the latter is given. The name מְעוֹנֹתַי (my dwellings) is not met with elsewhere. It is not at all probable that it is connected with the town Maon, and still less that it is so in any way with the Mehunim, Ezra ii. 50. Ophrah is unknown, for of course we must not think of the towns called Ophrah, in the territory of Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 23, and in that of Manasseh, Judg. vi. 11, 24. Seraiah, who is mentioned in ver. 13, begat Joab the father (founder) of the valley of the craftsmen, "for they (*i.e.* the inhabitants of this valley, who were descended from Joab) were craftsmen." The valley of the חָרָשִׁים (craftsmen) is again mentioned in Neh. xi. 35,

eighth years of his age, was too old to be a military leader. But the other reason: "that Caleb is always called son of Jephunneh, Othniel always son of Kenaz, should cause us to hesitate before we take Othniel to be the proper brother of Caleb," loses all its weight when we find that Caleb also is called in Num. xxxii. 12 and Josh. xiv. 6 קנזי=בֶּן־קְנַז, and it is seen that Caleb therefore, as well as Othniel, was a son of Kenaz. Now if the Kenazite Caleb the son of Jephunneh were a brother of Kenaz, the father of Othniel, we must suppose an older Kenaz, the grandfather or great-grandfather of Caleb, and a younger Kenaz, the father of Othniel. This supposition is certainly feasible, for, according to ver. 15 of our chapter, a grandson of Caleb again was called Kenaz; but if it be probable is another question. For the answering of this question in the affirmative, Bachmann adduces that, according to 1 Chron. iv. 13, Othniel is undoubtedly the son of Kenaz in the proper sense of the word; but it might perhaps be difficult to prove, or even to render probable, this "undoubtedly." In the superscriptions of the single genealogies of the Chronicle, more than elsewhere, בְּנֵי has in general a very wide signification. In ver. 1 of our chapter, for instance, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Judah are all grouped together as בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה. But besides this, the ranging of the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (ver. 15) after the enumeration of the sons of Kenaz in vers. 13 and 14, is clearly much more easily explicable if Caleb himself belonged to the בְּנֵי קְנַז mentioned in ver. 13, than if he was a brother of Kenaz. In the latter case we should expect, after the analogy of ii. 42, to find an additional clause אֲחִי קְנַז after כָּלֵב בֶּן־יְפֻנֶּה; while if Caleb was a brother of Othniel, his descent from Kenaz, or the fact that he belonged to the בְּנֵי קְנַז, might be assumed to be known from Num. xxxii. 12.

whence we may conclude that it lay at no great distance from Jerusalem, in a northern direction.—Ver. 15. Of Iru, Elah, and Naam, the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (cf. on ver. 13), nothing more is known. To connect Elah with the Edomite chief of that name (i. 52) is arbitrary. Of Elah's sons only "and Kenaz" is mentioned; the ו copul. before קְנַז shows clearly that a name has been dropped out before it.

Vers. 16–20. *Descendants of various men*, whose genealogical connection with the sons and grandsons of Judah, mentioned in ver. 1, is not given in the text as it has come to us.—Ver. 16. Sons of Jehaleleel, a man not elsewhere mentioned. Ziph, Ziphah, etc., are met with only here. There is no strong reason for connecting the name זִיף with the towns of that name, Josh. xv. 24, 55.—Ver. 17. Ezra, whose four sons are enumerated, is likewise unknown. The singular בֶּן is peculiar, but has analogies in iii. 19, 21, and 23. Of the names of his sons, Jether and Epher again occur, the former in ii. 53, and the latter in i. 33 and v. 24, but in other families. Jalon, on the contrary, is found only here. The children of two wives of Mered are enumerated in vers. 17*b* and 18, but in a fashion which is quite unintelligible, and shows clear traces of a corruption in the text. For (1) the name of a woman as subject of וַתַּהַר, "and she conceived (bare)," is wanting; and (2) in ver. 18 the names of two women occur, Jehudijah and Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh. But the sons of Jehudijah are first given, and there follows thereupon the formula, "and these are the sons of Bithiah," without any mention of the names of these sons. This manifest confusion Bertheau has sought to remove by a happy transposition of the words. He suggests that the words, "and these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered had taken," should be placed immediately after וַיָּלֶד. "By this means we obtain (1) the missing subject of וַתַּהַר; (2) the definite statement that Mered had two wives, with whom he begat sons; and (3) an arrangement by which the sons are enumerated after the names of their respective mothers." After this transposition the 17th verse would read thus: "And the sons of Ezra are Jether, Mered, . . . and Jalon; and these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took; and she conceived (and bare) Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Eshtemoa (ver. 18), and his wife Jehudijah bore Jered the father of Gedor, etc." This conjecture commends itself by its sim-

plicity, and by the clearness which it brings into the words. From them we then learn that two families, who dwelt in a number of the cities of Judah, were descended from Mered the son of Ezra by his two wives. We certainly know no more details concerning them, as neither Mered nor his children are met with elsewhere. From the circumstance, however, that the one wife was a daughter of Pharaoh, we may conclude that Mered lived before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. The name Miriam, which Moses' sister bore, is here a man's name. The names introduced by אֲבִי are the names of towns. Ishbah is father (lord) of the town Eshtemoa, in the mountains of Judah, now Semua, a village to the south of Hebron, with considerable ruins dating from ancient times (cf. on Josh. xv. 50). הַיְּהוּדִיָּה means properly "the Jewess," as distinguished from the Egyptian woman, Pharaoh's daughter. Gedor is a town in the high lands of Judah (cf. on ver. 4). Socho, in the low land of Judah, now Shuweikeh, in Wady Sumt (cf. on Josh. xv. 35). Zanoah is the name of a town in the high lands of Judah, Josh. xv. 56 (which has not yet been discovered), and of a town in the low land, now Zanua, not far from Zoreah, in an easterly direction (cf. on Josh. xv. 34). Perhaps the latter is here meant. In ver. 19, "the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham, are the father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maachathite." The *stat. constr.* אֵשֶׁת before הוֹדִיָּה shows that Hodiah is a man's name. Levites of this name are mentioned in Neh. viii. 7, ix. 5, x. 11. The relationship of Hodiah and Naham to the persons formerly named is not given. קְעִילָה is a locality in the low land of Judah not yet discovered (see on Josh. xv. 44). The origin of the epithet הַנַּרְמִי we do not know. Before אֶשְׁתְּמֹעִי, אֲבִי with ו copul. is probably to be repeated; and the Maachathite, the chief of a part of the inhabitants of Eshtemoa, is perhaps a descendant of Caleb by Maachah (ii. 48).—Ver. 20. Of Shimon and his four sons, also, nothing is known. בֶּן־חָנָן is one name. Ishi is often met with, *e.g.* ver. 42 and ii. 31, but nowhere in connection with Zoheth (not further noticed). The names of the sons are wanting after בֶּן־זוֹחֵת.

Vers. 21–23. *Descendants of Shelah*, the third son of Judah, ii. 3, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.—All the families of Judah enumerated in vers. 2–20 are connected together by the conjunction ו, and so are grouped as descendants of the sons and grandsons of Judah named in ver. 1. The conjunction is omitted, however, before

בְּנֵי שֵׁלָה, as also before בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה in ver. 3, to show that the descendants of Shelah form a second line of descendants of Judah, co-ordinate with the sons of Judah enumerated in vers. 1-19, concerning whom only a little obscure but not unimportant information has been preserved. Those mentioned as sons are Er (which also was the name of the first-born of Judah, ii. 3 f.), father of Lecah, and Laadan, the father of Mareshah. The latter name denotes, beyond question, a town which still exists as the ruin Marash in the Shephelah, Josh. xv. 44 (see on ii. 42), and consequently Lecah (לֵכָה) also is the name of a locality not elsewhere mentioned. The further descendants of Shelah were, "the families of the Byssus-work of the house of Ashbea," *i.e.* the families of Ashbea, a man of whom nothing further is known. Of these families some were connected with a famous weaving-house or linen (Byssus) manufactory, probably in Egypt; and then further, in ver. 22, "Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, which ruled over Moab, and Jashubi-lehem." Kimchi conjectured that כֹּזֵבָה was the place called כְּזִיב in Gen. xxxviii. 5 = אַכְזִיב, Josh. xv. 44, in the low land, where Shelah was born. יָשְׁבִי לֶחֶם is a strange name, "which the punctuators would hardly have pronounced in the way they have done if it had not come down to them by tradition" (Berth.). The other names denote heads of families or branches of families, the branches and families being included in them.[1] Nothing is told us of them beyond what is found in our verses, according to which the four first named ruled over Moab during a period in the primeval time; for, as the historian himself remarks, "these things are old."—Ver. 23. "These are the potters and the inhabitants of Netaim and Gedera." It is doubtful whether הֵמָּה refers to all the descendants of Shelah, or only to those named in ver. 22. Bertheau holds the latter to be the more probable reference; "for as those named in ver. 21 have already been denominated Byssus-workers, it appears fitting that those in ver. 22 should be regarded as the potters, etc." But all

[1] Jerome has given a curious translation of ver. 22, "*et qui stare fecit solem, virique mendacii et securus et incendens, qui principes fuerunt in Moab et qui reversi sunt in Lahem: hæc autem verba vetera*,"—according to the Jewish Midrash, in which אֲשֶׁר בָּעֲלוּ לְמוֹאָב was connected with the narrative in the book of Ruth. For יוֹקִים, *qui stare fecit solem*, is supposed to be Elimelech, and the *viri mendacii* Mahlon and Chilion, so well known from the book of Ruth, who went with their father into the land of Moab and married Moabitesses.

those mentioned in ver. 22 are by no means called Byssus-weavers, but only the families of Ashbea. What the descendants of Er and Laadan were is not said. The הֵמָּה may consequently very probably refer to all the sons of Shelah enumerated in vers. 21 and 22, with the exception of the families designated Byssus-weavers, who are, of course, understood to be excepted. נְטָעִים signifies "plantings;" but since גְּדֵרָה is probably the name of a city Gedera in the lowlands of Judah (cf. Josh. xv. 36; and for the situation, see on 1 Chron. xii. 4), Netaim also will most likely denote a village where there were royal plantations, and about which these descendants of Shelah were employed, as the words "with the king in his business to dwell there" expressly state. הַמֶּלֶךְ is not an individual king of Judah, for we know not merely "of King Uzziah that he had country lands, 2 Chron. xxvi. 10" (Berth.); but we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 25–31 that David also possessed great estates and country lands, which were managed by regularly appointed officers. We may therefore with certainty assume that all the kings of Judah had domains on which not only agriculture and the rearing of cattle, but also trades, were carried on.[1]

[1] From the arrangement of the names in vers. 2–20, in which Bertheau finds just twelve families grouped together, he concludes, S. 44 f., that the division of the tribe of Judah into these twelve families did actually exist at some time or other, and had been established by a new reckoning of the families which the heads of the community found themselves compelled to make after deep and wide alterations had taken place in the circumstances of the tribe. He then attempts to determine this time more accurately by the character of the names. For since only a very few names in these verses are known to us from the historical books, from Genesis to 2d Kings, and the few thus known refer to the original divisions of the tribe, which may have maintained themselves till post-exilic times, while, on the contrary, a great number of the other names recur in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; and since localities which in the earliest period after the exile were important for the new community are frequently met with in our verses, while such as were constantly being mentioned in præ-exilic times are nowhere to be found,—Bertheau supposes that a division of the tribe of Judah is here spoken of, which actually existed at some time in the period between Zerubbabel and Ezra. This hypothesis has, however, no solid foundation. The assumption even that the names in vers. 2–20 belong to just twelve families is very questionable; for this number can only be arrived at by separating the descendants of Caleb, ver. 15, from the descendants of Kenaz, vers. 13 and 14, of whom Caleb himself was one, and reckoning them separately. But the circumstance that in this reckoning only the names in vers. 12–20 are taken into consideration, while no notice is taken of the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah,

CHAP. IV. 24–43.—THE FAMILIES AND THE DWELLING-PLACES OF THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

In 25–27 we have, traced down through several generations, the genealogy of only one of all the families of the tribe of Simeon. There follows thereupon, in vers. 28–33, an enumeration of the ancient dwelling-places of this tribe; and finally, in vers. 34–43, information is given concerning the emigrations of Simeonite families into other neighbourhoods.

Vers. 24–27. *The families of Simeon.*—Of the six sons of Simeon, Gen. xlvi. 10 and Ex. vi. 15, only the five are here named who, according to Num. xxvi. 12–14, founded the families of this tribe. The third son, Ohad, is omitted even in Num. xxvi. 12 in the list of the families of Simeon, at the numbering of the people in the fortieth year of the journey through the wilderness, clearly only because the posterity of Ohad had either died out, or had so dwindled away that it could form no inde-

enumerated in vers. 21–23, is much more important. Bertheau considers this verse to be merely a supplementary addition, but without reason, as we have pointed out on ver. 21. For if the descendants of Shelah form a second line of families descended from Judah, co-ordinate with the descendants of Pharez and Zerah, the tribe of Judah could not, either before or after the exile, have been divided into the twelve families supposed by Bertheau; for we have no reason to suppose, on behalf of this hypothesis, that all the descendants of Shelah had died out towards the end of the exile, and that from the time of Zerubbabel only families descended from Pharez and Zerah existed. But besides this, the hypothesis is decisively excluded by the fact that in the enumeration, vers. 2–20, no trace can be discovered of a division of the tribe of Judah into twelve families; for not only are the families mentioned not ranged according to the order of the sons and grandsons of Judah mentioned in ver. 1, but also the connection of many families with Judah is not even hinted at. An enumeration of families which rested upon a division either made or already existing at any particular time, would be very differently planned and ordered. But if we must hold the supposition of a division of the tribe of Judah into twelve families to be unsubstantiated, since it appears irreconcilable with the present state of these genealogies, we must also believe the opinion that this division actually existed at any time between Zerubbabel and Ezra to be erroneous, and to rest upon no tenable grounds. The relation of the names met with in these verses to the names in the books from Genesis to 2d Kings on the one hand, and to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah on the other, is not really that which Bertheau represents it to be. If we turn our attention in the first place to the names of places, we find that, except a few quite unknown villages or towns, the localities mentioned in vers. 2–20 occur also in the book of Joshua, and many of them even here and there throughout Genesis, in the book of Judges, and in the books of Samuel and Kings. In

pendent family. The names of the five sons agree with the names in Num. xxvi. 12–14, except in the case of Jarib, who in Num. xxvi. 12, which coincides here with Gen. xlvi. 10 and Ex. vi. 15, is called Jachin; יָרִיב, consequently, must be looked upon as a transcriber's error for יָכִין. Nemuel and Zerah (זֶרַח, the rising of the sun) are called in Genesis and Exodus Jemuel (a different form of the same name) and Zohar (צֹחַר, *i.e. candor*), another name of similar meaning, which, at first used only as a by-name, afterwards supplanted the original name. — Ver. 25. "Shallum (was) his son;" without doubt the son of the last named Shaul, who in Genesis and Exodus is called the son of a Canaanitish woman, and is thereby distinguished from the other sons. His family is traced down, in vers. 25 and 26, through six generations to one Shimei. But this list is divided into two groups by the words "and the sons of Mishma," inserted at the beginning of ver. 26, but the reasons for the division are unknown. The plural, sons of Mishma, refers to Hammuel and his

these latter they are somewhat more rarely met with, but only because they played no great part in history. The fact of a disproportionate number of these towns occurring also in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is connected with the peculiar character of the contents of these books, containing as they do a number of registers of the families of Judah which had returned out of exile. Then if we consider the names of persons in vers. 2-20, we find that not a few of them occur in the historical narratives of the books of Samuel and Kings. Others certainly are found only in the family registers of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while others again are peculiar to our verses. This phenomenon also is completely accounted for by the contents of the various historical books of the Old Testament. For example, had Nehemiah not received into his book the registers of all the families who had returned from Babylon, and who took part in the building of the walls of Jerusalem, no more names would be met with in his book than are found in the books of Samuel and Kings. Bertheau attempts to find support for his hypothesis in the way in which the names are enumerated, and their loose connection with each other, inasmuch as the disconnected statements abruptly and intermittently following one another, which to us bring enigma after enigma, must have been intended for readers who could bring a key to the understanding of the whole from an accurate knowledge of the relations which are here only hinted at; but the strength of this argument depends upon the assumption that complete family registers were at the command of the author of the Chronicle, from which he excerpted unconnected and obscure fragments, without any regard to order. But such an assumption cannot be justified. The character of that which is communicated would rather lead us to believe that only fragments were in the hands of the chronicler, which he has given to us as he found them. We must therefore pronounce this attempt at an explanation of the contents and form of vers. 2–20 to be an utter failure.

descendants Zacchur and Shimei. Perhaps these two together form, with the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons mentioned in ver. 25, a single larger family.—Ver. 27. Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters, by whom he became the father of a numerous race. "His brothers," *i.e.* the other Simeonites, on the contrary, had not many sons. Hence it happens that they made not their whole race, *i.e.* the whole race of the Simeonites, numerous unto the sons of Judah, *i.e.* that the Simeonites were not so numerous as the descendants of Judah. This account is corroborated by the statement made at the numberings of the people under Moses; see on Num. i.–iv. (i. 2, S. 192).

Vers. 28–33. *The ancient dwelling-places of the Simeonites*, which they received within the tribal domain of Judah at the division of the land by Joshua; cf. Josh. xix. 1 ff.—There are in all eighteen cities, divided into two groups, numbering thirteen and five respectively, as in Josh. xix. 2–6, where these same cities are enumerated in the same order. The only difference is, that in Joshua thirteen cities are reckoned in the first group and four in the second, although the first group contains fourteen names. Between Beersheba and Moladah there stands there a שֶׁבַע which is not found in our list, and which might be considered to be a repetition of the second part of בְּאֵר־שֶׁבַע, if it were not that in the list of the cities, Josh. xv. 26, the name שְׁמַע before Moladah corresponds to it. The other differences between the two passages arise partly from different forms of the same name being used,—as, for example, בָּלָהָה for בִּלְהָה (Josh.), תּוֹלָד for אֶלְתּוֹלַד, בְּתוּאֵל for בְּתוּל; and partly from different names being used of the same city,—*e.g.* בֵּית־בִּרְאִי (ver. 31) instead of בֵּית־לְבָאוֹת, "the house of lions" (Josh.), שַׁעֲרִים instead of שָׁרוּחֵן (Josh.). All these cities lie in the south land of Judah, and have therefore been named in Josh. xv. 26–32 among the cities of that district. As to Beersheba, now Bir es Seba, see on Gen. xxi. 31; and for Moladah, which is to be identified with the ruin el Milh to the south of Hebron, on the road to Ailah, see on Josh. xv. 26. Bilhah (in Josh. xv. 29, בַּעֲלָה), Ezem, Tolad, and Bethuel (for which in Josh. xv. 31 כְּסִיל is found), have not yet been discovered; cf. on Josh. xv. 29 and 30. Hormah, formerly Sephat, is now the ruin Sepata, on the western slope of the Rakhma table-land, 2½ hours south of Khalasa (Elusa); cf. on Josh. xii. 14. Ziklag is most probably to be sought in the ancient village Aschludsch or Kasludsch, to the east of Sepata; cf. on Josh. xv. 31. Beth-Mar-

caboth, *i.e.* "carriage-house," and Hazar-Susim (or Susa), *i.e.* horse-village, both evidently by-names, are called in Josh. xv. 31 Madmannah and Sansannah. Their position has not yet been discovered. Beth-Birei, or Beth-Leboath, is also as yet undiscovered; cf. on Josh. xv. 32. Shaaraim, called in Josh. xv. 32 Shilhim, is supposed to be the same as Tell Sheriah, between Gaza and Beersheba; cf. Van de Velde, *Reise*, ii. S. 154. The enumeration of these thirteen cities concludes in ver. 31 with the strange subscription, "These (were) their cities until the reign of David, and their villages." וַחֲצֵרֵיהֶם, which, according to the Masoretic division of the verses, stands at the beginning of ver. 32, should certainly be taken with ver. 31; for the places mentioned in ver. 32 are expressly called cities, and in Josh. xix. 6, cities and their villages, חַצְרֵיהֶם, are spoken of. This subscription can hardly "only be intended to remind us, that of the first-mentioned cities, one (viz. Ziklag, 1 Sam. xxvii. 6), or several, in the time of David, no longer belonged to the tribe of Simeon;" nor can it only be meant to state that "till the time of David the cities named were in possession of the tribe of Simeon, though they did not all continue to be possessed by this tribe at a later time" (Berth.). Ziklag had been, even before the reign of David, taken away from the Simeonites by the Philistines, and had become the property of King Achish, who in the reign of Saul presented it to David, and through him it became the property of the kings of Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 6). The subscription can only mean that till the reign of David these cities rightfully belonged to the Simeonites, but that during and after David's reign this rightful possession of the Simeonites was trenched upon; and of this curtailing of their rights, the transfer of the city of Ziklag to the kings of Judah gives one historically attested proof. This, however, might not have been the only instance of the sort; it may have brought with it other alterations in the possessions of the Simeonites as to which we have no information. The remark of R. Salomo and Kimchi, that the men of Judah, when they had attained to greater power under David's rule, drove the Simeonites out of their domains, and compelled them to seek out other dwelling-places, is easily seen to be an inference drawn from the notices in vers. 33–43 of emigrations of the Simeonites into other districts; but it may not be quite incorrect, as these emigrations under Hezekiah presuppose a pressure upon or diminution of their territory. We would indeed

expect this remark to occur after ver. 33, but it may have been placed between the first and second groups of cities, for the reason that the alterations in the dwelling-places of the Simeonites which took place in the time of David affected merely the first group, while the cities named in ver. 32 f., with their villages, remained at a later time even the untouched possession of the Simeonites.—Ver. 32. Instead of the five cities, Etam, Ain, Rimmon, Tochen, and Ashan, only four are mentioned in Josh. xix. 7, viz. Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan; עֶתֶר is written instead of תּוֹכֶן, and עֵיטָם is wanting. According to Movers, p. 73, and Berth. in his commentary on the passage, the list of these cities must have been at first as follows: עֵין רִמּוֹן (one city), עֶתֶר, תּוֹכֶן, and עָשָׁן; in Joshua תּוֹכֶן must have fallen out by mistake, in our text עֶתֶר has been erroneously exchanged for the better known city עֵיטָם in the tribe of Judah, while by reckoning both עין and רִמּוֹן the number four has become five. These conjectures are shown to be groundless by the order of the names in our text. For had עֶתֶר been exchanged for עֵיטָם, עיטם would not stand in the first place, at the head of the four or five cities, but would have occupied the place of עֶתֶר, which is connected with עָשָׁן in Josh. xix. 7 and xv. 43. Then again, the fact that in Josh. xv. 32 רִמּוֹן is separated from עֵין by the ו cop., and in Josh. xix. 7 is reckoned by itself as one city as in our verse, is decisive against taking עֵין and רִמּוֹן together as one name. The want of the conjunction, moreover, between the two names here and in Josh. xix. 7, and the uniting of the two words into one name, עֵין־רִמּוֹן, Neh. xi. 29, is explained by the supposition that the towns lay in the immediate neighbourhood of each other, so that they were at a later time united, or at least might be regarded as one city. Rimmon is perhaps the same as the ruin Rum er Rummanim, four hours to the north of Beersheba; and Ain is probably to be identified with a large half-ruined and very ancient well which lies at from thirty to thirty-five minutes distance. cf. on Josh. xv. 32. Finally, the assertion that the name עֵיטָם has come into our text by an exchange of the unknown עֶתֶר for the name of this better known city of Judah, is founded upon a double geographical error. It rests (1) upon the erroneous assumption that besides the Etam in the high lands of Judah to the south of Bethlehem, there was no other city of this name, and that the Etam mentioned in Judg. xv. 8, 11 is identical with that in the high lands of Judah; and (2) on the mistaken idea that Ether was also situated in the high

lands of Judah, whereas it was, according to Josh. xv. 42, one of the cities of the Shephelah; and the Simeonites, moreover, had no cities in the high lands of Judah, but had their dwelling-places assigned to them in the Negeb and the Shephelah. The existence of a second Etam, besides that in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, is placed beyond doubt by Judg. xv. 8 and 11; for mention is there made of an Etam in the plain of Judah, which is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Khuweilife, on the border of the Negeb and the mountainous district: cf. on Judg. xv. 8. It is this Etam which is spoken of in our verse, and it is rightly grouped with Ain and Rimmon, which were situated in the Negeb, while Tochen and Ashan were in the Shephelah. The statement of Josh. xix. 7 and xv. 42 leaves no doubt as to the fact that the תּוֹכֶן of our verse is only another name for עָתָר. Etam must therefore have come into the possession of the Simeonites after Joshua's time, but as to when, or under what circumstances, we have no information.—Ver. 33. Concerning the villages belonging to these cities, cf. on Josh. xix. 8, where for בַּעַל we have the more accurate בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, and Ramah of the south. The position of these places has not yet been certainly ascertained. "These are their dwelling-places, and their family register was to them;" *i.e.* although they were only a small tribe and dwelt in the midst of Judah, they yet had their own family register (Berth.). הִתְיַחֵשׂ infin. is used substantively, "the entering in the family register."

Vers. 34–43. *Emigrations of Simeonite families into other districts.*—Vers. 34–41 record an expedition of the Simeonites, in the time of Hezekiah, undertaken for purposes of conquest. In vers. 34–36, thirteen princes of the tribe of Simeon are enumerated who undertook this expedition. The families of some of them are traced through several generations, but in no case are they traced down so far as to show their connection with the families named in vers. 24–26.—Ver. 38. "These mentioned by their names were princes in their families; whose fathers'-houses had increased to a multitude. And they went," etc. הַבָּאִים בְּשֵׁמוֹת, properly "those who have come with their names," *i.e.* those who have been mentioned by name; for בּוֹא with בְּ = to come with, is to bring something in, to introduce: cf. Ps. lxxi. 16. This formula is synonymous with הַכְּתוּבִים בְּשֵׁמוֹת, ver. 41; but we cannot consider it, as J. H. Mich., Berth., and others do, identical in meaninng with אֲשֶׁר נִקְבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת, xii. 31, Num. i. 17, etc. The predicate to אֵלֶּה is נְשִׂיאִים, and הַבָּאִים is a relative sentence, more

accurately defining the subject אֵלֶּה. Princes in their families are not heads of families, but heads of fathers'-houses, into which the families had divided themselves. בֵּית־אָבוֹת is not construed with the plural, as being collective (Berth.), but as the plural of the word בֵּית־אָב: cf. Ew. § 270, *c.*—Ver. 39. The princes named "went westward from Gedor to the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks." מִבּוֹא גְדֹר does not mean the entrance of Gedor (Mich., Berth., and others); but is, as the corresponding מִמִּזְרַח, "rising" of the sun, *i.e.* east, requires, a designation of the west, and is abridged from מִבּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, as in statements with reference to places מִמִּזְרַח is used instead of מִמִּזְרַח הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ. The locality itself, however, is to us at present unknown. So much is clear, that by Gedor, the Gedor mentioned in Josh. xv. 58, situated in the high lands of Judah, north of Hebron, cannot be intended, for in that district there is no open valley stretching out on either hand; and the Simeonites, moreover, could not have carried on a war of conquest in the territory of the tribe of Judah in the reign of Hezekiah. But where this Gedor is to be sought cannot be more accurately determined; for הַגָּיְא is certainly not "the valley in which the Dead Sea lies, and the southern continuation of that valley," as Ewald and Berth. think: that valley has, in the Old Testament, always the name הָעֲרָבָה. From the use of the article, "the valley," no further conclusion can be drawn, than that a definite valley in the neighbourhood of Gedor is meant.[1] Even the further statements, in ver. 30, with regard to the district, that they found there fat and good pasture, and that the land extended on both sides (*i.e.* was wide), and at rest and secure, because formerly the Hamites dwelt there, and the statement of ver. 41, that the Simeonites found the Meunim there, and smote them, give us no firm foothold for the ascertainment of the district referred to. The whole Negeb of Judah has been as yet too little travelled over and explored by modern travellers, to allow

[1] The LXX. have rendered גְּדֹר by Γεράρ, whence Ewald and Bertheau conclude that גדר is a transcriber's error for גרר. But a slip of the pen which would make the Gerar so famed in the history of the patriarchs into Gedor is *à priori* not very probable; and the defective writing גדר, while Gedor in the high lands is written גְּדוֹר, cannot be adduced, as Bertheau thinks, in support of the hypothesis, since Gedor even in ver. 18 is written defectively. It is decisive against Gerar, that the dwelling-places of the Simeonites demonstrably did not extend till towards sunset (westward) from Gerar, for the cities assigned to them all lie to the east of Gerar.

of our forming any probable conjecture as to Gedor and the wide valley stretching out on both sides. The description of the Hamite inhabitants, שֹׁקְטֵת וּשְׁלָוָה, reminds us of the inhabitants of the ancient Laish (Judg. xviii. 7, 27). Those מִן חָם are people from Ham, *i.e.* Hamites, and they may have been Egyptians, Cushites, or even Canaanites (chap. i. 8). This only is certain, that they were a peaceful shepherd people, who dwelt in tents, and were therefore nomads. לְפָנִים, "formerly," before the Simeonites took possession of the land.—Ver. 41. The above-mentioned Simeonite princes, with their people, fell upon the peaceful little people of the Hamites in the days of Hezekiah, and smote, *i.e.* destroyed, their tents, and also the Meunites whom they found there. The Meunites were strangers in this place, and were probably connected with the city Maan in the neighbourhood of Petra, to the east of Wady Musa (cf. on 2 Chron. xx. 1 and xxvi. 7), who dwelt in tents as nomads, with the Hamites in their richly pastured valley. וַיַּחֲרִימֵם, and they destroyed them utterly, as the Vulgate rightly renders it, *et deleverunt;* and J. H. Mich., *ad internecionem usque eos exciderunt.* The word הֶחֱרִים, to smite with the curse, having gradually lost its original religious signification, came to be used in a wider sense, to denote complete extirpation, because all accursed persons were slain. Undoubted examples are 2 Chron. xx. 23, xxxii. 14, 2 Kings xix. 11, Isa. xxxvii. 11; and it is to be so understood here also.[1] "Until this day," *i.e.* till the composition of the historical work used by the author of the Chronicle, *i.e.* till the time before the exile.—Vers. 42 and 43. A part of the Simeonites undertook a second war of conquest against Mount Seir. Led by four chiefs of the sons of Shimei (cf. ver. 27), 500 men marched thither, smote the remainder of the Amalekites who had escaped, and they dwell there to this day (as in ver. 41). מֵהֵם is more accurately defined by

[1] Bertheau ignores this secondary use of the word, and has drawn from יַחֲרִימֵם the extremely wide inference, that the Simeonites, impelled by holy enthusiasm, arising from the wondrous deliverance of Judah from the attack of the Assyrian power, and the elevation of feeling which it produced in the community, and filled with the thought awakened by the discourses of the great prophets, that the time had come to extend Israel's rule, and to bring the conquered peoples under the curse, just as was done in the time of Joshua, had undertaken this war of annexation. But there is unfortunately not a single trace of this enthusiastic thought in the narrative of our verse, for it knows no other motive for the whole undertaking than the purely earthly need to seek and find new pasture lands.

מִבְּנֵי שִׁ', and is therefore to be referred to the Simeonites in general, and not to that part of them only mentioned in ver. 33 (Berth.). From the circumstance that the leaders were sons of Shimei, we may conclude that the whole troop belonged to this family. The escaped of Amalek are those who had escaped destruction in the victories of Saul and David over this hereditary enemy of Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 7; 2 Sam. viii. 12). A remnant of them had been driven into the mountain land of Idumea, where they were smitten, *i.e.* extirpated, by the Simeonites. It is not said at what time this was done, but it occurred most probably in the second half of Hezekiah's reign.

CHAP. V. 1–26.—THE FAMILIES OF REUBEN, GAD, AND THE HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH BEYOND JORDAN.

Vers. 1–10. *The families of the tribe of Reuben.*—Vers. 1, 2. Reuben is called the first-born of Israel, because he was the first-born of Jacob, although, owing to his having defiled his father's bed (Gen. xlix. 4), his birthright, *i.e.* its privileges, were transferred to the sons of Joseph, who were not, however, entered in the family register of the house of Israel according to the birthright, *i.e.* as first-born sons. The inf. הִתְיַחֵשׂ with לְ expresses "shall" or "must," cf. Ew. § 237, *e*, "he was not to register," *i.e.* "he was not to be registered." The subject is Joseph, as the Rabbins, *e.g.* Kimchi, have perceived. The clauses after כִּי הוּא form a parenthesis, containing the reason of Reuben's being called בְּכוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל, which is still further established by its being shown (in ver. 2) how it happened that Joseph, although the birthright was given to him, according to the disposition made by the patriarch (Gen. xlviii. 5 ff.), yet was not entered in the family registers as first-born. The reason of this was, "for Judah was strong among his brethren, and (one) from him became the Prince;" *scil.* on the strength of the patriarchal blessing (Gen. xlix. 8–12), and by means of the historic fulfilment of this blessing. The "prevailing" of Judah among his brethren showed itself even under Moses at the numbering of the people, when the tribe of Judah considerably outnumbered all the other tribes (cf. t. i. 2, S. 192). Then, again, it appeared after the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes of Israel, Judah being called by a declaration of the divine will to be the vanguard of the army in the war against the Canaanites

(Judg. i. 1 f.); and it was finally made manifest by the נָגִיד over Israel being chosen by God from the tribe of Judah, in the person of David (cf. xxviii. 4 with 1 Sam. xiii. 14, xxv. 30). From this we gather that the short, and from its brevity obscure, sentence וּלְנָגִיד מִמֶּנּוּ bears the signification we have given it. "But the birthright was Joseph's;" *i.e.* the rights of the progenitor were transferred to or remained with him, for two tribal domains were assigned to his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh, according to the law of the first-born (Deut. xxi. 15–17).

After this parenthetic explanation, the words "the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel," ver. 1, are again taken up in ver. 3, and the sons are enumerated. The names of the four sons correspond to those given in Gen. xlvi. 9, Ex. vi. 14, and Num. xxvi. 5–7.—Vers. 4–6. From one of these sons descended Joel, whose family is traced down through seven generations, to the time of the Assyrian deportation of the Israelites. But we are neither informed here, nor can we ascertain from any information elsewhere given in the Old Testament, from which of the four sons Joel was descended. For although many of the names in vers. 4–6 frequently occur, yet they are nowhere met with in connection with the family whose members are here registered. The last-named, Beerah, was נָשִׂיא לָרְאוּבֵנִי, a prince of the Reubenites, not a prince of the tribe of Reuben, but a prince of a family of the Reubenites. This is expressed by לְ being used instead of the *stat. constr.*; cf. Ew. § 292, *a*. In reference to the leading away of the trans-Jordanic tribes into captivity by Tiglath-pilneser, cf. on 2 Kings xv. 29. The name of this king as it appears in the Chronicles is always Tiglath-pilneser, and in the book of Kings Tiglath-pileser, but its meaning has not yet been certainly ascertained. According to Oppert's interpretation, it = תִּגְלַת־פַּלֵּא־סְחַר, *i.e.* "worship of the son of the Zodiac" (*i.e.* the Assyrian Hercules); *vid.* Delitzsch on Isaiah, Introd.—Vers. 7–9. "And his brothers, (each) according to his families in the registration, according to their descent (properly their generations; *vide* for תּוֹלְדוֹת on Gen. ii. 4), are (were) the head (the first) Jeiel and Zechariah, and Bela, . . . the son of Joel," probably the Joel already mentioned in ver. 4. "His (*i.e.* Beerah's) brothers" are the families related to the family of Beerah, which were descended from the brothers of Joel. That they were not, however, properly "brothers," is clear from the fact that Bela's descent is traced back to Joel as the third of the preceding

members of his family; and the conclusion would be the same, even if this Joel be another than the one mentioned in ver. 4. The singular suffix with לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָיו is to be taken distributively, or אִישׁ may be supplied before it in thought; cf. Num. ii. 34, xi. 10. The word רֹאשׁ, "head," for the first-born, stands here before the name, as in xii. 3, xxiii. 8; elsewhere it stands after the name, *e.g.* ver. 12 and ix. 17. The dwelling-places of Bela and his family are then given in vers. 8*b* and 9. "He dwelt in Aroer," on the banks of the brook Arnon (Josh. xiii. 9, xii. 2), now the ruin Araayr on the northern bank of the Mojeb (*vide* on Num. xxxii. 34). "Until Nebo and Baal-meon" westward. Nebo, a village on the hill of the same name in the mountains of Abarim, opposite Jericho (cf. on Num. xxxii. 38). Baal-meon is probably identical with the ruin Myun, three-quarters of an hour south-east from Heshbon.—Ver. 9. "Eastward to the coming to the desert (*i.e.* till towards the desert) from the river Euphrates," *i.e.* to the great Arabico-Syrian desert, which stretches from the Euphrates to the eastern frontier of Perea, or from Gilead to the Euphrates. Bela's family had spread themselves so far abroad, "for their herds were numerous in the land of Gilead," *i.e.* Perea, the whole trans-Jordanic domain of the Israelites.—Ver. 10. "In the days of Saul they made war upon the Hagarites, and they fell into their hands, and they dwelt in their tents over the whole east side of Gilead." The subject is not determined, so that the words may be referred either to the whole tribe of Reuben or to the family of Bela (ver. 8). The circumstance that in vers. 8 and 9 Bela is spoken of in the singular (הוּא יוֹשֵׁב and יָשַׁב), while here the plural is used in reference to the war, is not sufficient to show that the words do not refer to Bela's family, for the narrative has already fallen into the plural in the last clause of ver. 9. We therefore think it better to refer ver. 10 to the family of Bela, seeing that the wide spread of this family, which is mentioned in ver. 9, as far as the desert to the east of the inhabited land, presupposes the driving out of the Hagarites dwelling on the eastern plain of Gilead. The notice of this war, moreover, is clearly inserted here for the purpose of explaining the wide spread of the Belaites even to the Euphrates desert, and there is nothing which can be adduced against that reference. The אֲחֵיהֶן in ver. 7 does not, as Bertheau thinks probable, denote that Bela was a contemporary of Beerah, even if the circumstance that from Bela to Joel only three

generations are enumerated, could be reconciled with this supposition. The spread of Bela's family over the whole of the Reubenite Gilead, which has just been narrated, proves decisively that they were not contemporaries. If Bela lived at the time of the invasion of Gilead by Tiglath-pileser, when the prince Beerah was carried away into exile, it is certainly possible that he might have escaped the Assyrians; but he could neither have had at that time a family "which inhabited all the east land," nor could he himself have extended his domain from "Aroer and Nebo towards the wilderness," as the words הוּא יוֹשֵׁב, ver. 8, distinctly state. We therefore hold that Bela was much older than Beerah, for he is introduced as a great-grandson of Joel, so that his family might have been as widely distributed as vers. 8, 9 state, and have undertaken and carried out the war of conquest against the Hagarites, referred to in ver. 10, as early as the time of Saul. Thus, too, we can most easily explain the fact that Bela and his brothers Jeiel and Zechariah are not mentioned. As to הַהֲגְרִאִים, cf. on ver. 19.

Vers. 11–17. *The families of the tribe of Gad, and their dwelling-places.*—Ver. 11. In connection with the preceding statement as to the dwelling-places of the Reubenites, the enumeration of the families of Gad begins with a statement as to their dwelling-places: "Over against them (the Reubenites) dwelt the Gadites in Bashan unto Salcah." Bashan is used here in its wider signification of the dominion of King Og, which embraced the northern half of Gilead, *i.e.* the part of that district which lay on the north side of the Jabbok, and the whole district of Bashan; cf. on Deut. iii. 10. Salcah formed the boundary towards the east, and is now Szalchad, about six hours eastward from Bosra (see on Deut. iii. 10).—Ver. 12. The sons of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16) are not named here, because the enumeration of the families of Gad had been already introduced by ver. 11, and the genealogical connection of the families enumerated in ver. 12 ff., with the sons of the tribal ancestor, had not been handed down. In ver. 12 four names are mentioned, which are clearly those of heads of families or fathers'-houses, with the addition "in Bashan," *i.e.* dwelling, for יֹשְׁבוּ is to be repeated or supplied from the preceding verse.—In ver. 13 seven other names occur, the bearers of which are introduced as brothers of those mentioned (ver. 12), according to their fathers'-houses. They are therefore heads of fathers'-houses, but the district in which they dwelt is not given; whence

Bertheau concludes, but wrongly, that the place where they dwelt is not given in the text. The statement which is here omitted follows in ver. 16 at a fitting place; for in vers. 14 and 15 their genealogy, which rightly goes before the mention of their dwelling-place, is given. אֵלֶּה, ver. 14, is not to be referred, as Bertheau thinks, to the four Gadites mentioned in vers. 12 and 13, but only to those mentioned in ver. 13. Nothing more was known of those four (ver. 12) but that they dwelt in Bashan, while the genealogy of the seven is traced up through eight generations to a certain Buz, of whom nothing further is known, as the name בּוּז occurs nowhere else, except in Gen. xxii. 21 as that of a son of Nahor. The names of his ancestors also are not found elsewhere among the Gadites.—Ver. 15. The head of their fathers'-houses (*i.e.* of those mentioned in ver. 13) was Ahi the son of Abdiel, the son of Guni, who is conjectured to have lived in the time of King Jotham of Judah, or of Jeroboam II. of Israel, when, according to ver. 17, genealogical registers of the Gadites were made up.—Ver. 16. The families descended from Buz "dwelt in Gilead," in the part of that district lying to the south of the Jabbok, which Moses had given to the Gadites and Reubenites (Deut. iii. 12); "in Bashan and her daughters," that is, in the villages belonging to the cities of Bashan and Gilead inhabited by them (for the suffix in בְּבְנוֹתֶיהָ is to be referred distributively to both districts, or the cities in them). "And in all the pasture grounds (מִגְרָשׁ, cf. on Num. xxxv. 2) of Sharon unto their outgoings." שָׁרוֹן, Sharon, lay not in Perea, but is a great plain on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, extending from Carmel to near Joppa, famed for its great fertility and its rich growth of flowers (Song ii. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, lxv. 10). "*A Cæsarea Palæstinæ usque ad oppidum Joppe omnis terra, quæ cernitur, dicitur Saronas.*" Jerome in *Onom.*; cf. v. Raumer, *Pal.* S. 50, and Robins. *Phys. Geog.* S. 123. It is this plain which is here meant, and the supposition of the older commentators that there was a second Sharon in the east-Jordan land is without foundation, as Reland, *Palestina illustr.* p. 370 sq., has correctly remarked. For it is not said that the Gadites possessed cities in Sharon, but only pastures of Sharon are spoken of, which the Gadites may have sought out for their herds even on the coast of the Mediterranean; more especially as the domain of the cis-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh stretched into the plain of Sharon, and it is probable that at all times

there was intercourse between the cis- and trans-Jordanic Manassites, in which the Gadites may also have taken part. תּוֹצְאוֹתָם are the outgoings of the pastures to the sea, cf. Josh. xvii. 9.—Ver. 17. "All these (כֻּלָּם, all the families of Gad, not merely those mentioned in ver. 13 ff.) were registered in the days of Jotham king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel." These two kings did not reign contemporaneously, for Jotham ascended the throne in Judah twenty-five years after the death of Jeroboam of Israel. Here, therefore, two different registrations must be referred to, and that carried on under Jotham is mentioned first, because Judah had the legitimate kingship. That set on foot by Jeroboam was probably undertaken after that king had restored all the ancient boundaries of the kingdom of Israel, 2 Kings xiv. 25 ff. King Jotham of Judah could prepare a register of the Gadites only if a part of the trans-Jordanic tribes had come temporarily under his dominion. As to any such event, indeed, we have no accurate information, but the thing in itself is not unlikely. For as the death of Jeroboam II. was followed by complete anarchy in the kingdom of the ten tribes, and one ruler overthrew the other, until at last Pekah succeeded in holding the crown for ten years, while in Judah until Pekah ascended the throne of Israel Uzziah reigned, and raised his kingdom to greater power and prosperity, the southern part of the trans-Jordanic land might very well have come for a time under the sway of Judah. At such a time Jotham may have carried out an assessment and registration of the Gadites, until his contemporary Pekah succeeded, with the help of the Syrian king Rezin, in taking from the king of Judah the dominion over Gilead, and in humbling the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Ahaz.

Vers. 18–22. *War of the trans-Jordanic tribes of Israel with Arabic tribes.*—As the half-tribe of Manasseh also took part in this war, we should have expected the account of it after ver. 24. Bertheau regards its position here as a result of striving after a symmetrical distribution of the historical information. "In the case of Reuben," he says, "the historical information is in ver. 10; in the case of the half-tribe of Manasseh, in vers. 25 and 26; as to Gad, we have our record in vers. 18–22, which, together with the account in vers. 25 and 26, refers to all the trans-Jordanic Israelites." But it is much more likely that the reason of it will be found in the character of the authorities which the author of the Chronicle made use of, in which, probably, the

notes regarding this war were contained in the genealogical register of the Gadites.—Ver. 18. מִן־בְּנֵי חַיִל belongs to the predicate of the sentence, "They were the sons of valour," *i.e.* they belonged to the valiant warriors, "men bearing shield and sword (weapons of offence and defence), and those treading (or bending) the bow," *i.e.* skilful bowmen. לְמוּדֵי מִלְחָמָה, people practised in war; cf. the portrayal of the warlike valour of Gad and Manasseh, chap. xii. 8, 21. "The number 44,760 must be founded upon an accurate reckoning" (Berth.); but in comparison with the number of men capable of bearing arms in those tribes in the time of Moses, it is somewhat inconsiderable: for at the first numbering under him Reuben alone had 46,500 and Gad 45,650, and at the second numbering Reuben had 43,730 and Gad 40,500 men; see on Num. i.–iv. (i. 2, S. 192).—Ver. 19. "They made war with the Hagarites and Jetur, Nephish and Nodab." So early as the time of Saul the Reubenites had victoriously made war upon the Hagarites (see ver. 10); but the war here mentioned was certainly at a later time, and has no further connection with that in ver. 10 except that both arose from similar causes. The time of the second is not given, and all we know from ver. 22*b* is that it had broken out before the trans-Jordanic Israelites were led captive by the Assyrians. הַגְּרִיאִים, in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 contracted into הַגְּרִים, are the *Ἀγραῖοι*, whom Strabo, xvi. p. 767, introduces, on the authority of Eratosthenes, as leading a nomadic life in the great Arabico-Syrian desert, along with the Nabatæans and Chaulotæans. Jetur, from whom the Itureans are descended, and Nephish, are Ishmaelites; cf. on Gen. xxv. 15. Nodab, mentioned only here, is a Bedouin tribe of whom nothing more is known. —Ver. 20. The Israelites, with God's help, gained the victory. וַיֵּעָזְרוּ, "it was helped to them," *i.e.* by God "against them"—the Hagarites and their allies. שֶׁעֲמָהֶם contracted from אֲשֶׁר עִמָּהֶם. נֵעָתֵר is not an uncommon form of the perf. Niph., which would not be suitable in a continuous sentence, but the inf. absol. Niph. used instead of the third pers. perf. (cf. Gesen. *Heb. Gramm.* § 131, 4): "and (God) was entreated of them, because they trusted in Him." From these words we may conclude that the war was a very serious one, in which the possession of the land was at stake. As the trans-Jordanic tribes lived mainly by cattle-breeding, and the Arabian tribes on the eastern frontier of their land were also a shepherd people, quarrels could easily arise as to the possession of the pasture grounds, which might lead to a war

of extermination.—Ver. 21. The conquerors captured a great booty in herds, 50,000 camels, 250,000 head of small cattle (sheep and goats), 2000 asses, and 100,000 persons—all round numbers; cf. the rich booty obtained in the war against the Midianites, Num. xxxi. 11, 32 ff.—Ver. 22. This rich booty should not surprise us, "for there fell many slain," *i.e.* the enemy had suffered a very bloody defeat. "For the war was from God," *i.e.* conducted to this result: cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 20; 1 Sam. xvii. 47. "And they dwelt in their stead," *i.e.* they took possession of the pasture grounds, which up to that time had belonged to the Arabs, and held them until they were carried away captive by the Assyrians; see ver. 26.

Vers. 23–26. *The families of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, and the leading away of the East-Jordan Israelites into the Assyrian exile.*—Ver. 23. The half-tribe of Manasseh in Bashan was very numerous (הִפָּה רָבוּ), "and they dwelt in the land of Bashan (*i.e.* the Bashan inhabited by Gad, ver. 12) (northwards) to Baal Hermon,"—*i.e.*, according to the more accurate designation of the place in Josh. xii. 7 and xiii. 5, in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon, probably the present Bânjas, at the foot of Hermon (see on Num. xxxiv. 8),—"and Senir and Mount Hermon." שְׂנִיר, which according to Deut. iii. 9 was the name of Hermon or Antilibanus in use among the Amorites, is here and in Ezek. xxvii. 5 the name of a part of those mountains (*vide* on Deut. iii. 9), just as "Mount Hermon" is the name of another part of this range.—Ver. 24. Seven heads of fathers'-houses of the half-tribe of Manasseh are enumerated, and characterized as valiant heroes and famous men. The enumeration of the names begins strangely with ו (וְעֵפֶר); perhaps a name has fallen out before it. Nothing has been handed down as to any of these names.—Vers. 25 and 26 form the conclusion of the register of the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes. The sons of Manasseh are not the subject to וַיִּמְעֲלוּ, but the Reubenites and Manassites, as is clear from ver. 26. These fell away faithlessly from the God of their fathers, and went a whoring after the gods of the people of the land, whom God had destroyed before them, *i.e.* the Amorites or Canaanites. "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of the Assyrian kings Pul and Tiglath-pilneser, and he (this latter) led them away captives to Halah and Habor," etc. וַיָּעַר אֶת־רוּחַ, Lavater has rightly rendered, "*in mentem illis dedit, movit eos, ut expeditionem facerent contra illos;*" cf. 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

Pul is mentioned as being the first Assyrian king who attacked the land of Israel, cf. 2 Kings xv. 19 f. The deportation began, however, only with Tiglath-pileser, who led the East-Jordan tribes into exile, 2 Kings xv. 29. To him וַיַּגְלֵם sing. refers. The suffix is defined by the following acc., לְרֹאובְנִי וגו׳; לְ is, according to the later usage, *nota acc.*; cf. Ew. § 277, *e*. So also before the name חֶלַח, "to Halah," *i.e.* probably the district *Καλαχήνη* (in Strabo) on the east side of the Tigris near Adiabene, to the north of Nineveh, on the frontier of Armenia (cf. on 2 Kings xvii. 6). In the second book of Kings (xv. 29) the district to which the two and a half tribes were sent as exiles is not accurately determined, being only called in general Asshur (Assyria). The names in our verse are there (2 Kings xvii. 6) the names of the districts to which Shalmaneser sent the remainder of the ten tribes after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. It is therefore questionable whether the author of the Chronicle took his account from an authority used by him, or if he names these districts only according to general recollection, in which the times of Shalmaneser and of Tiglath-pilneser are not very accurately distinguished (Berth.). We consider the first supposition the more probable, not merely because he inverts the order of the names, but mainly because he gives the name הָרָא instead of "the cities of Media," as it is in Kings, and that name he could only have obtained from his authorities. חָבוֹר is not the river Chaboras in Mesopotamia, which falls into the Euphrates near Circesium, for that river is called in Ezekiel חָבַר, but is a district in northern Assyria, where Jakut mentions that there is both a mountain *Χαβώρας* on the frontier of Assyria and Media (Ptolem. vi. 1), and a river Khabur Chasaniæ, which still bears the old name Khâbur, rising in the neighbourhood of the upper Zab, near Amadijeh, and falling into the Tigris below Jezirah. This Khâbur is the river of Gozan (*vide* on 2 Kings xvii. 6). The word הָרָא appears to be the Aramaic form of the Hebrew הָר, mountains, and the vernacular designation usual in the mouths of the people of the mountain land of Media, which is called also in Arabic el Jebâl (the mountains). This name can therefore only have been handed down from the exiles who dwelt there.

CHAP. V. 27–VI. 66.—THE FAMILIES OF LEVI, AND THEIR CITIES.

As to the tribe of Levi, we have several communications: (1.) the genealogy of the high-priestly family of Aaron, down to Jehozadak, who was led away into exile by Nebuchadnezzar (v. 27–41); (2.) a short register of the families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, which does not extend far into later times (vi. 1–15); (3.) the genealogies of the musicians Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (vi. 16–32), with remarks on the service of the other Levites (vers. 33, 34); (4.) a register of the high priests from Eleazar to Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (vi. 35–38), with a register of the cities of the Levites (vi. 39–66). If we look into these genealogies and registers, we see, both from a repetition of a part of the genealogy of the high priest (vi. 35–38), and also from the name of the eldest son of Levi appearing in two different forms—in v. 27 ff. Gershon; in vi. 1, 2, 5, etc., Gershom—that the register in v. 27–41 is drawn from another source than the registers in chap. vi., which, with the exception of the genealogies of David's chief musicians, are throughout fragmentary, and in parts corrupt, and were most probably found by the author of the Chronicle in this defective state.

Chap. v. 27–41. *The family of Aaron, or the high-priestly line of Aaron, to the time of the Babylonian exile.*—Vers. 27–29. In order to exhibit the connection of Aharon (or Aaron) with the patriarch Levi, the enumeration begins with the three sons of Levi, who are given in ver. 27 as in Gen. xlvi. 11, Ex. vi. 16, and in other passages. Of Levi's grandchildren, only the four sons of Kohath (ver. 28) are noticed; and of these, again, Amram is the only one whose descendants—Aaron, Moses, and Miriam—are named (ver. 29); and thereafter only Aaron's sons are introduced, in order that the enumeration of his family in the high-priestly line of Eleazar might follow. With ver. 28 cf. Ex. i. 18, and on ver. 19 see the commentary on Ex. vi. 20. With the sons of Aaron (29*b*) compare besides Ex. vi. 23, also Num. iii. 2–4, and 1 Chron. xxiv. 1, 2. As Nadab and Abihu were slain when they offered strange fire before Jahve (Lev. x. 1 ff.), Aaron's race was continued only by his sons Eleazar and Ithamar. After Aaron's death, his eldest son Eleazar was chosen by God to be his successor in the high priest's office, and thus the line of Eleazar came into possession of the high-priestly dignity.

In vers. 30–41 the descendants of Eleazar are enumerated.

in twenty-two generations; the word הוֹלִיד, "he begat," being repeated with every name. The son so begotten was, when he lived after his father, the heir of the high-priestly dignity. Thus Phinehas the son of Eleazar (Ex. vi. 25) is found in possession of it in Judg. xx. 28. From this the older commentators have rightly drawn the inference that the purpose of the enumeration in vers. 30–40 was to communicate the succession of high priests from Eleazar, who died shortly after Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 33), to Jehozadak, whom Nebuchadnezzar caused to be carried away into Babylon. From the death of Aaron in the fortieth year after Israel came forth from Egypt, till the building of the temple in the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, 440 years elapsed (480 − 40 = 440, 1 Kings vi. 1). From the building of the temple to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple by the Chaldæans there was an interval of 423 years (36 years under Solomon, and 387 years during which the kingdom of Judah existed; see the chronological table to 1 Kings xii.). Between the death of Aaron, therefore, and the time when Jehozadak was led away into captivity, supposing that that event occurred only under Zedekiah, lay a period of 440 + 423 = 863 years. For this period twenty-two generations appear too few, for then the average duration of each life would be $39\frac{1}{4}$ years. Such an estimate would certainly appear a very high one, but it does not pass the bounds of possibility, as cases may have occurred in which the son died before the father, when consequently the grandson would succeed the grandfather in the office of high priest, and the son would be omitted in our register. The ever-recurring הוֹלִיד cannot be brought forward in opposition to this supposition, because הוֹלִיד in the genealogical lists may express mediate procreation, and the grandson may be introduced as begotten by the grandfather. On the supposition of the existence of such cases, we should have to regard the average above mentioned as the average time during which each of the high priests held the office. But against such an interpretation of this list of the posterity of Eleazar two somewhat serious difficulties are raised. The less serious of these consists in this, that in the view of the author of our register, the line of Eleazar remained in uninterrupted possession of the high-priestly dignity; but in the historical books of the Old Testament another line of high priests, beginning with Eli, is mentioned, which, according to 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, and Joseph. *Antt.* v. 11. 5, belonged to the

family of Ithamar. The list is as follows: Eli (1 Sam. ii. 20); his son Phinehas, who, however, died before Eli (1 Sam. iv. 11); his son Ahitub (1 Sam. xiv. 3); his son Ahijah, who was also called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxii. 9, 11, 20); his son Abiathar (1 Sam. xxii. 20), from whom Solomon took away the high-priesthood (1 Kings ii. 26 f.), and set Zadok in his place (1 Kings ii. 35). According to Josephus, *loc. cit.*, the high-priestly dignity remained with the line of Eleazar, from Eleazar to Ozi (עֻזִּי, ver. 31 f.); it then fell to Eli and his descendants, until with Zadok it returned to the line of Eleazar. These statements manifestly rest upon truthful historical tradition; for the supposition that at the death of Ozi the high-priesthood was transferred from the line of Eleazar to the line of Ithamar through Eli, is supported by the circumstance that from the beginning of the judgeship of Eli to the beginning of the reign of Solomon a period of 139 years elapsed, which is filled up in both lines by five names,—Eli, Phinehas, Ahitub, Ahijah, and Abiathar in the passages above quoted; and Zerahiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok in vers. 32–34 of our chapter. But the further opinion expressed by Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 1. 3, that the descendants of Eleazar, during the time in which Eli and his descendants were in possession of the priesthood, lived as private persons, plainly rests on a conjecture, the incorrectness of which is made manifest by some distinct statements of the Old Testament: for, according to 2 Sam. viii. 17 and xx. 25, Zadok of Eleazar's line, and Abiathar of the line of Ithamar, were high priests in the time of David; cf. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5 f. The transfer of the high-priestly dignity, or rather of the official exercise of the high-priesthood, to Eli, one of Ithamar's line, after Ozi's death, was, as we have already remarked on 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff., probably brought about by circumstances or relations which are not now known to us, but without an extinction of the right of Ozi's descendants to the succession in the dignity. But when the wave of judgment broke over the house of Eli, the ark was taken by the Philistines; and after it had been sent back into the land of Israel, it was not again placed beside the tabernacle, but remained during seventy years in the house of Abinadab (1 Sam. iv. 4–vii. 2). Years afterwards David caused it to be brought to Jerusalem, and erected a separate tent for it on Zion, while the tabernacle had meanwhile been transferred to Gibeon, where it continued to be the place where sacrifices were

offered till the building of the temple. Thus there arose two places of worship, and in connection with them separate spheres of action for the high priests of both lines;—Zadok performing the duties of the priestly office at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39; cf. 1 Kings iii. 4 ff.), while Abiathar discharged its functions in Jerusalem. But without doubt not only Zadok, but also his father Ahitub before him, had discharged the duties of high priest in the tabernacle at Gibeon, while the connection of Eli's sons with the office came to an end with the slaughter of Ahijah (Ahimelech) and all the priesthood at Nob (1 Sam. xxii.); for Abiathar, the only son of Ahimelech, and the single survivor of that massacre, fled to David, and accompanied him continuously in his flight before Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 20–23). But, not content with the slaughter of the priests in Nob, Saul also smote the city itself with the edge of the sword; whence it is probable, although all definite information to that effect is wanting, that it was in consequence of this catastrophe that the tabernacle was removed to Gibeon and the high-priesthood entrusted to Zadok's father, a man of the line of Eleazar, because the only son of Ahimelech, and the only representative of Ithamar's line, had fled to David. If this view be correct, of the ancestors of Ahitub, only Amariah, Meraioth, and Zerahiah did not hold the office of high priest. But if these had neither been supplanted by Eli nor had rendered themselves unworthy of the office by criminal conduct; if the only reason why the possession of the high-priesthood was transferred to Eli was, that Ozi's son Zerahiah was not equal to the discharge of the duties of the office under the difficult circumstances of the time; and if Eli's grandson Ahitub succeeded his grandfather in the office at a time when God had already announced to Eli by prophets the approaching ruin of his house, then Zerahiah, Meraioth, and Amariah, although not *de facto* in possession of the high-priesthood, might still be looked upon as *de jure* holders of the dignity, and so be introduced in the genealogies of Eleazar as such. In this way the difficulty is completely overcome.

But it is somewhat more difficult to explain the other fact, that our register on the one hand gives too many names for the earlier period and too few for the later time, and on the other hand is contradicted by some definite statements of the historical books. We find too few names for the time from the death of Aaron to the death of Uzzi (Ozi), when Eli became

high priest,—a period of 299 years (*vide* the *Chronological View of the Period of the Judges*, ii. 1, S. 217). Five high priests —Eleazar, Phinehas, Abishua, Bukki, and Uzzi—are too few; for in that case each one of them must have discharged the office for 60 years, and have begotten the son who succeeded him in the office only in his 60th year, or the grandson must have regularly succeeded the grandfather in the office,—all of which suppositions appear somewhat incredible. Clearly, therefore, intermediate names must have been omitted in our register. To the period from Eli till the deposition of Abiathar, in the beginning of Solomon's reign—which, according to the chronological survey, was a period of 139 years—the last five names from Zerahiah to Zadok correspond; and as 24 years are thus assigned to each, and Zadok held the office for a number of years more under Solomon, we may reckon an average of 30 years to each generation. For the following period of about 417 years from Solomon, or the completion of the temple, till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldæans, the twelve names from Ahimaaz the son of Zadok to Jehozadak, who was led away into captivity, give the not incredible average of from 34 to 35 years for each generation, so that in this part of our register not many breaks need be supposed. But if we examine the names enumerated, we find (1) that no mention is made of the high priest Jehoiada, who raised the youthful Joash to the throne, and was his adviser during the first years of his reign (2 Kings xi., and 2 Chron. xxii. 10, xxiv. 2), and that under Ahaz, Urijah, who indeed is called only הַכֹּהֵן, but who was certainly high priest (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.), is omitted; and (2) we find that the name Azariah occurs three times (vers. 35, 36, and 40), on which Berth. remarks: "Azariah is the name of the high priest in the time of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 2), in the time of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 17), and in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 10)." Besides this, we meet with an Amariah, the fifth after Zadok, whom Lightf., Oehler, and others consider to be the high priest of that name under Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 11. And finally, (3) in the historical account in 2 Kings xxii. 4 ff., Hilkiah is mentioned as high priest under Josiah, while according to our register (ver. 39) Hilkiah begat Azariah; whence we must conclude either that Hilkiah is not the high priest of that name under Josiah, or Azariah is not the person of that name who lived in the time of Hezekiah. As regards

the omission of the names Urijah and Jehoiada in our register. Urijah may have been passed over as an unimportant man; but Jehoiada had exerted far too important an influence on the fate of the kingdom of Judah to allow of his being so overlooked. The only possibilities in his case are, either that he occurs in our register under another name, owing to his having had, like so many others, two different names, or that the name יְהוֹיָדָע has fallen out through an old error in the transcription of the genealogical list. The latter supposition, viz. that Jehoiada has fallen out before Johanan, is the more probable. Judging from 2 Kings xii. 3 and 2 Chron. xxiv. 2, Jehoiada died under Joash, at least five or ten years before the king, and consequently from 127 to 132 years after Solomon, at the advanced age of 130 years (2 Chron. xxiv. 15). He was therefore born shortly before or after the death of Solomon, being a great-grandson of Zadok, who may have died a considerable time before Solomon, as he had filled the office of high priest at Gibeon under David for a period of 30 years.

Then, if we turn our attention to the thrice recurring name Azariah, we see that the Azariah mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 2 cannot be regarded as the high priest; for the word כֹּהֵן in this passage does not denote the high priest, but the viceroy of the kingdom (*vide* on the passage). But besides, this Azariah cannot be the same person as the Azariah in ver. 35 of our genealogy, because he is called a son of Zadok, while our Azariah is introduced as the son of Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and consequently as a grandson of Zadok; and the grandson of Zadok who is mentioned as being high priest along with Abiathar, 1 Kings iv. 4, could not have occupied in his grandfather's time the first place among the highest public officials of Solomon. The Azariah mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 2 as the son of Zadok must not be considered to be a brother of the Ahimaaz of our register, for we very seldom find a nephew and uncle called by the same name. As to the Azariah of ver. 36, the son of Johanan, it is remarked, "This is he who was priest (or who held the priest's office; כְּהֵן, cf. Ex. xl. 13, Lev. xvi. 32) in the house (temple) which Solomon had built in Jerusalem." R. Sal. and Kimchi have connected this remark with the events narrated in 2 Chron. xxvi. 17, referring it to the special jealousy of King Uzziah's encroachments on the priest's office, in arrogating to himself in the temple the priestly function of offering incense in the holy place. Against this, indeed, J. H.

Mich. has raised the objection, *quod tamen chronologiæ rationes vix admittunt;* and it is true that this encroachment of Uzziah's happened 200 years after Solomon's death, while the Azariah mentioned in our register is the fourth after Zadok. But if the name Jehoiada has been dropped out before Johanan, and Jehoiada held the high priest's office for a considerable time under Joash, the high-priesthood of his grandson Azariah would coincide with Uzziah's reign, when of course the chronological objection to the above-mentioned explanation of the words הוּא אֲשֶׁר כֹּהֵן וגו׳ is removed.[1] But lastly, the difficulty connected with the fact that in our passage Azariah follows Hilkiah, while in 2 Kings xxii. 4 ff. and 2 Chron. xxxi. 10, 13, Azariah occurs as high priest under King Hezekiah, and Hilkiah in the time of his great-grandson Josiah, cannot be cleared away by merely changing the order of the names Hilkiah and Azariah. For, apart altogether from the improbability of such a transposition having taken place in a register formed as this is, "Shallum begat Hilkiah, and Hilkiah begat Azariah, and Azariah begat," the main objection to it is the fact that between Azariah, ver. 26, who lived under Uzziah, and Hilkiah, four names are introduced; so that on this supposition, during the time which elapsed between Uzziah's forcing his way into the temple till the passover under Hezekiah, *i.e.* during a period of from 55 to 60 years,

[1] Bertheau's explanation is inadmissible. He says: "If we consider that in the long line of the high priests, many of them bearing the same name, it would naturally suggest itself to distinguish the Azariah who first discharged the duties of his office in the temple, in order to bring a fixed chronology into the enumeration of the names; and if we recollect that a high priest Azariah, the son, or according to our passage more definitely the grandson, of Zadok, lived in the time of Solomon; and finally, if we consider the passage chap. vi. 17, we must hold that the words, 'He it is who discharged the duties of priest in the temple which Solomon had built in Jerusalem,' originally stood after the name Azariah in ver. 35; cf. 1 Kings iv. 2." All justification of the proposed transposition is completely taken away by the fact that the Azariah of 1 Kings iv. 2 was neither high priest nor the same person as the Azariah in ver. 35 of our register; and it is impossible that a grandson of Zadok whom Solomon appointed to the high-priesthood, instead of Abiathar, can have been the first who discharged the duties of high priest in the temple. Oehler's opinion (in *Herzog's Realencyklop.* vi. 205), that the Amariah who follows Azariah (ver. 37) is identical with the Amariah under Jehoshaphat, is not less improbable; for Jehoshaphat was king sixty-one years after Solomon's death, and during these sixty-one years the four high priests who are named between Zadok and Amariah could not have succeeded each other.

four generations must have followed one another, which is quite impossible. In addition to this, between Hezekiah and Josiah came the reigns of Manasseh and Amon, who reigned 55 years and 2 years respectively; and from the passover of Hezekiah to the finding of the book of the law by the high priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of Josiah, about 90 years had elapsed, whence it is clear that on chronological grounds Hilkiah cannot well have been the successor of Azariah in the high-priesthood. The Azariah of ver. 39 f., therefore, cannot be identified with the Azariah who was high priest under Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 10); and no explanation seems possible, other than the supposition that between Ahitub and Zadok the begetting of Azariah has been dropped out. On this assumption the Hilkiah mentioned in ver. 39 may be the high priest in the time of Josiah, although between him and the time when Jehozadak was led away into exile three names, including that of Jehozadak, are mentioned, while from the eighteenth year of Josiah till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldæans only 30 years elapsed. For Hilkiah may have been in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign very old; and at the destruction of Jerusalem, not Jehozadak, but his father Seraiah the grandson of Hilkiah, was high priest, and was executed at Riblah by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 18, 21), from which we may conclude that Jehozadak was led away captive in his early years. The order in which the names occur in our register, moreover, is confirmed by Ezra vii. 1–5, where, in the statement as to the family of Ezra, the names from Seraiah onwards to Amariah ben-Azariah occur in the same order. The correspondence would seem to exclude any alterations of the order, either by transposition of names or by the insertion of some which had been dropped; but yet it only proves that both these genealogies have been derived from the same authority, and does not at all remove the possibility of this authority itself having had some defects. The probability of such breaks as we suppose in the case of Jehoiada and Azariah, who lived under Hezekiah, is shewn, apart altogether from the reasons which have been already brought forward in support of it, by the fact that our register has only eleven generations from Zadok, the contemporary of Solomon, to Seraiah, who was slain at the destruction of Jerusalem; while the royal house of David shows seventeen generations, viz. the twenty kings of Judah, omitting Athaliah, and Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, the last two as being brothers of Jehoiakim (1 Chron.

iii. 10–27). Even supposing that the king's sons were, as a rule, earlier married, and begat children earlier than the priests, yet the difference between eleven and seventeen generations for the same period is too great, and is of itself sufficient to suggest that in our register of the high priests names are wanting, and that the three or four high priests known to us from the historical books who are wanting—Amariah under Jehoshaphat, Jehoiada under Joash, (Urijah under Ahaz,) and Azariah under Hezekiah·—were either passed over or had fallen out of the list made use of by the author of the Chronicle.[1]—Ver. 41. Jehozadak is the father of Joshua who returned from exile with Zerubbabel, and was the first high priest in the restored community (Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Hagg. i. 1). After הָלַךְ, "he went forth," בַּגּוֹלָה is to be supplied from בְּהַגְלוֹת וגו׳, "he went into exile" to Babylon; cf. Jer. xlix. 3.

Chap. vi. *The families and cities of the Levites.*—Vers. 1–34. *Register of the families of the Levites.*—This is introduced by an enumeration of the sons and grandsons of Levi (vers. 1–4), which is followed by lists of families in six lines of descent: (*a*) the descendants of Gershon (vers. 5–7), of Kohath (vers. 1–13), and of Merari (vers. 14 and 15); and (*b*) the genealogies of David's chief musicians (vers. 16 and 17), of Heman the Kohathite (vers. 18–23), of Asaph the Gershonite (vers. 24–28), and of Ethan the Merarite (vers. 29–32); and in vers. 33, 34, some notes as to the service performed by the other Levites and the priests are added.

Vers. 1–4. The sons of Levi are in ver. 1 again enumerated as in v. 27; then in vers. 2–4*a* the sons of these three sons, *i.e.* the grandsons of Levi, are introduced, while in chap. v. 28 only the sons of Kohath are mentioned. The only object of this enumeration is to make quite clear the descent of the Levitic families which follow. The name of the first son of Levi is in vers. 1, 2, 4, etc. of this chapter גֵּרְשֹׁם, which was the name of Moses' son, cf. xxiii. 15 f.; whereas in v. 27 and in the Pentateuch we find a different pronunciation, viz. גֵּרְשׁוֹן. The names of Levi's grandsons in vers. 2–4*a* coincide with the statements of the Pentateuch, Ex. vi. 17–19, and Num. iii. 17–20, cf. xxvi. 57 f. Bertheau and other commentators consider the words in 4*b*, "and these are the

[1] The extra-biblical information concerning the præ-exilic high priests in Josephus and the Seder Olam, is, in so far as it differs from the account of the Old Testament, without any historical warrant. *Vide* the comparison of these in Lightfoot, *Ministerium templi*, Opp. ed. ii. vol. i. p. 682 sqq.; Selden, *De success. in pontific.* lib. i.; and Reland, *Antiquitatt. ss.* ii. c. 2.

families of Levi according to their fathers," to be a "concluding subscription" to the statements of vers. 1–4*a*, and would remove וְ before אֵלֶּה, as not compatible with this supposition. But in this he is wrong: for although the similar statement in Ex. vi. 20 is a subscription, yet it is in Num. iii. 20 a superscription, and must in our verse also be so understood; for otherwise the enumeration of the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, which follows, would be brought in very abruptly, without any connecting particle, and the וְ before אֵלֶּה points to the same conclusion.

Vers. 5–15. The three lists of *the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari* are similar to one another in plan, and in all, each name is connected with the preceding by בְּנוֹ, "his son," but they differ greatly in the number of the names.—Vers. 5 and 6. The לְ before גֵּרְשׁוֹם is introductory: "as to Gershom." Those of his descendants who are here enumerated belong to the family of his oldest son Libni, which is traced down through seven generations to Jeaterai, a name not elsewhere met with. Of the intermediate names, Johath, Zimmah, and Zerah occur also among the descendants of Asaph, who is descended from the line of Shimei, vers. 24–28.—Vers. 7–13. The genealogy of the descendants of Kohath consists of three lists of names, each of which commences afresh with בְּנֵי, vers. 7, 10, and 13; yet we learn nothing from it as to the genealogical connection of these three lines. The very beginning, "The sons of Kohath, Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son," is somewhat strange. For, according to Ex. vi. 18, 21, and 24, Kohath's second son is called Izhar, whose son was Korah, whose sons were Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph. Amminadab is nowhere met with as a son of Kohath; but among the descendants of Uzziel, a prince of a father's-house is met with in the time of David who bore this name. The name Amminadab occurs also in the time of Moses, in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah, chap. ii. 10, Num. i. 7, Ruth i. 19, as that of the father of the prince Nahshon, and of Elisheba, whom Aaron took to wife, Ex. vi. 23. But since the names Korah and Assir point to the family of Izhar, the older commentators supposed the Amminadab of our verse to be only another name for Izhar; while Bertheau, on the contrary, conjectures "that as an Amminadab occurs in the lists of the descendants of Kohath as father-in-law of Aaron, Amminadab has been substituted for Izhar by an ancient error, which might very easily slip into an abridgment of more detailed

lists." But we have here no trace of an abridgment of more detailed lists. According to Ex. vi. 21 and 24, Korah was a son of Izhar, and Assir a son of Korah; and consequently in our genealogies only the name Izhar is wanting between Korah and Kohath, while instead of him we have Amminadab. An exchange or confusion of the names of Izhar and Amminadab the father-in-law of Aaron, is as improbable as the supposition that Amminadab is another name for Izhar, since the genealogies of the Pentateuch give only the name Izhar. Yet no third course is open, and we must decide to accept either one or the other of these suppositions. For that our verses contain a genealogy, or fragments of genealogies, of the Kohathite line of Izhar there can be no doubt, when we compare them with the genealogy (vers. 18–23) of the musician Heman, a descendant of Kohath, which also gives us the means of explaining the other obscurities in our register. In vers. 7 and 8 the names of Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, and again Assir, follow that of Korah, with בְּנֵי after each. This בְּנֵי cannot be taken otherwise than as denoting that the names designate so many consecutive generations; and the only peculiarity in the list is, that the conjunction וְ is found before Abiasaph and the second Assir, while the other names do not have it. But if we compare the genealogy in Ex. vi. with this enumeration, we find that there, in ver. 24, the same three names, Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, which are here enumerated as those of the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Korah, are said to be the names of the sons of the Izharite Korah. Further, from Heman's genealogy in ver. 22, we learn that the second Assir of our list is a son of Abiasaph, and, according to ver. 22 and ver. 8, had a son Tahath. Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph must consequently be held to have been brothers, and the following Assir a son of the last-named Abiasaph, whose family is in ver. 9 further traced through four generations (Tahath, Uriel, Uzziah, and Shaul). Instead of these four, we find in vers. 22 and 21 the names Tahath, Zephaniah, Azariah, and Joel. Now although the occurrence of Uzziah and Azariah as names of the same king immediately suggests that in our register also Uzziah and Azariah are two names of the same person, yet the divergence in the other names, on the one hand Zephaniah for Joel, and on the other Uriel for Shaul, is strongly opposed to this conjecture. The discrepancy can scarcely be naturally explained in any other way, than by supposing that after Tahath

the two genealogies diverge,—ours introducing his son Uriel and his descendants; the other, in ver. 21 f., mentioning a second son of Tohath, Zephaniah, of whose race Heman came.—Ver. 10. "And the sons of Elkanah, Amasai and Ahimoth." As it is clear that with וּבְנֵי אֶלְקָ a new list begins, and that the preceding enumeration is that of the descendants of Abiasaph, it is at once suggested that this Elkanah was the brother of the Abiasaph mentioned in ver. 8. If, however, we compare the genealogy of Heman, we find there (vers. 21 and 20) a list of the descendants of Joel in an ascending line, thus,—Elkanah, Amasai, Mahath, Elkanah, Zuph; from which it would seem to follow that our Elkanah is the son of Joel mentioned in ver. 21, for Ahimoth may be without difficulty considered to be another form of the name Mahath. This conclusion would be assured if only the beginning of ver. 11 were in harmony with it. In this verse, indeed, אֶלְקָנָה בְנוֹ, as we read in the Kethibh, may be without difficulty taken to mean that Elkanah was the son of Ahimoth, just as in ver. 20 Elkanah is introduced as son of Mahath. But in this way no meaning can be assigned to the אֶלְקָנָה which follows בני, and Bertheau accordingly is of opinion that this אלקנה has come into the text by an error. The Masoretes also felt the difficulty, and have substituted for the Kethibh בנו the Keri בְּנֵי, but then nothing can be made of the first אלקנה in ver. 11. Beyond doubt the traditional text is here corrupt, and from a comparison of vers. 20 and 19 the only conclusion we can draw with any certainty is that the list from צוּפַי onwards contains the names of descendants of Elkanah the son of Mahath, which is so far favourable to the Keri בְּנֵי אֶלְקָנָה. The name Elkanah, on the contrary, which immediately precedes בנו, seems to point to a hiatus in the text, and gives room for the conjecture that in ver. 10 the sons of Elkanah, the brother of Abiasaph and Assir, were named, and that there followed thereupon an enumeration of the sons or descendants of the Elkanah whom we meet with in ver. 21 as son of Joel, after which came the names Elkanah בְּנוֹ, Zophai בְּנוֹ, etc. נַחַת and אֶלִיאָב we consider to be other forms of תּוֹחַ and אֱלִיאֵל, ver. 19, and צוּפַי is only another form of צוּף. The succeeding names, Jeroham and Elkanah (ver. 12), agree with those in ver. 19; but between the clauses "Elkanah his son" (ver. 12), and "and the sons of Samuel" (ver. 13), the connecting link שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנוֹ, cf. ver. 18, is again wanting, as is also, before or after הַבְּכֹר (ver. 13), the name of the first-born, viz.

Joel; cf. ver. 18 with 1 Sam. viii. 2. Now, although the two last-mentioned omissions can be supplied, they yet show that the enumeration in vers. 7–13 is not a continuous list of one Kohathite family, but contains only fragments of several Kohathite genealogies.—In vers. 14 and 15, descendants of Merari follow; sons of Mahli in six generations, who are not mentioned elsewhere. Bertheau compares this list of names, Mahli, Libni, Shimei, Uzza, Shimea, Haggiah, and Asaiah, with the list contained in vers. 29–32, Mushi, Mahli, Shamer, Bani, Amzi, Hilkiah, and Amaziah, and attempts to maintain, notwithstanding the great difference in the names, that the two lists were originally identical, in order to find support for the hypothesis "that the three lists in vers. 5–15 have not found a place in the Chronicle from their own intrinsic value, or, in other words, have not been introduced there in order to give a register of the ancestors of Jeaterai, the sons of Samuel and Asaiah, but have been received only because they bring us to Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, vers. 19, 24, 29, in another fashion than the lists of names in vers. 18–32." But this hypothesis is shown to be false, apart altogether from the other objections which might be raised against it, by the single fact of the total discrepancy between the names of the Merarites in vers. 14 and 15 and those found in vers. 29–32. Of all the six names only Mahli is found in both cases, and he is carefully distinguished in both—in the genealogy of Ethan as the son of Mushi and grandson of Merari; in our list as the son of Merari. When we remember that Merari had two sons, Mahli and Mushi, after whom the fathers'-houses into which his descendants divided themselves were named (Num. iii. 20, xxvi. 58), and that the same names very frequently occur in different families, it would never suggest itself to any reader of our register to identify the line of Mushi with the line of Mahli, seeing that, except the name of Mahli the son of Mushi, which is the same as that of his uncle, all the other names are different. Vers. 14 and 15 contain a register of the family of Mahli, while the ancestors of Ethan, vers. 29–32, belonged to the family of Mushi. Our list then absolutely cannot be intended to form a transition to Ethan or Ethan's ancestors. The same may be said of the two other lists vers. 5–7 and vers. 8–13, and this transition hypothesis is consequently a mere airspun fancy. The three lists are certainly not embodied in the Chronicle on account of the persons with whose

names they end—Jeaterai, the sons of Samuel, and Asaiah; but the author of the Chronicle has thought them worthy of being received into his work as registers of ancient families of the three sons of Levi which had been transmitted from ancient times.

Vers. 16–34. *The genealogies of the Levite musicians—Heman, Asaph, and Ethan.*—These registers are introduced by an account of the service of the Levites about the sanctuary (vers. 16, 17), and conclude with remarks on the service of the remaining Levites (vers. 33, 34).—Ver. 16. "These are they whom David set for the leading of the song in the house of Jahve, after the resting of the ark," cf. 15, 17. עַל יְדֵי "upon the hands," "to the hands;" that is, both for leading, and, according to arrangement. To the hands of the song, *i.e.* to manage the singing, to carry it on, to conduct it. מִמְּנוּחַ הָאָרוֹן, "from the resting of the ark," *i.e.* from the time that the ark of the covenant, which in the præ-Davidic time had been carried about from one place to another, had received a permanent resting-place on Zion, and had become the centre of the worship instituted by David, 2 Sam. vi. 17. "And they served before the dwelling of the tabernacle with song." לִפְנֵי מִשְׁכַּן, "before the dwelling," for the sacrificial worship, with which the singing of psalms was connected, was performed in the court before the dwelling. The genitive אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is to be taken as explanatory: "The dwelling (of Jahve), which was the tent of the meeting (of God with His people)." אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד was the usual designation of the tabernacle built by Moses, which was at first set up in Shiloh, then in the time of Saul at Nob, and after the destruction of that city by Saul (1 Sam. xxii.) in Gibeon (1 Chron. xxi. 29). It denotes here the tent which David had erected upon Mount Zion for the ark of the covenant, because from its containing the ark, and by the institution of a settled worship in it (cf. xvi. 1–4 ff.), it thenceforth took the place of the Mosaic tabernacle, although the Mosaic sanctuary at Gibeon continued to be a place of worship till the completion of the temple (1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 3),—"till Solomon built the house of Jahve in Jerusalem," into which the ark was removed, and to which the whole of the religious services were transferred. In their services they stood כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם, according to their right, *i.e.* according to the order prescribed for them by David; cf. xvi. 37 ff.—Vers. 18–23. "These (following three men, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan) are they who stood (in service) with their sons." The three were the heads of the three Levitic families, to

whom the execution of the liturgic singing was entrusted. The names of their sons, *vide* chap. xxv. 1–6. The object of the following genealogies is to show their descent from Levi. "Of the sons of the Kohathite family (is) Heman the singer." הֵימָן הַמְשֹׁרֵר, ὁ ψαλτῳδός LXX. Heman is named first as being the head of the choir of singers who stood in the centre, while Asaph and his choir stood on his right hand, and on the left Ethan and his choir, so that when they sang in concert the conducting of the whole fell to Heman. His family is traced back in vers. 18–23 through twenty members to "Kohath the son of Levi, the son of Israel" (Jacob).—Vers. 24–28. "His brother Asaph," who is Heman's brother only in the more general sense of being closely connected with him, partly by their common descent from Levi, partly by their common calling, was a descendant of Gershon from his younger son Shimei. His genealogy contains only fifteen names to Gershon, five less than that of his contemporary Heman, probably because here and there intermediate names are omitted.—Vers. 29–32. "And the sons of Merari their brethren (*i.e.* the brethren of the choirs of Heman and Asaph) on the left (*i.e.* forming the choir which stood on the left hand) were Ethan and his sons." As in the case of Asaph, so also in that of Ethan, וּבְנֵיהֶם (ver. 18) is omitted, but is to be supplied; when the introductory clause "and the sons of Merari" is at once explained. Ethan is a Merarite of the younger line of Mushi (see above). The name of his father is here קִישִׁי, and in chap. xv. 17 it is קוּשָׁיָהוּ, which latter is clearly the original form, which has been shortened into Kishi. Instead of the name Ethan (אֵיתָן) as here and in chap. xv. 19, we find in other passages a Jeduthun mentioned as third chief-musician, along with Heman and Asaph (cf. xxv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxv. 15; Neh. xi. 17, cf. 1 Chron. vi. 41); from which we see that Jeduthun was another name for Ethan, probably a by-name—יְדוּתוּן, "praiseman"—which he had received from his calling, although nothing is said in the Old Testament as to the origin of this name. His genealogy contains only twelve names to Merari, being thus still more abridged than that of Asaph.—Vers. 33 and 34. "And their brethren the Levites," *i.e.* the other Levites besides the singers just mentioned, "were נְתוּנִים given for every service of the dwelling of the house of God," *i.e.* given to Aaron and his sons (the priests) for the performance of service in the carrying on of the worship; cf. Num. iii. 9, viii. 16–19, xviii. 6. But Aaron and his sons had three duties to perform:

(1) they burnt the offerings on the altar of burnt-offering and on the altar of incense, cf. Num. xviii. 1–7; (2) they looked after all the service of the holy place; (3) they had to atone for Israel by offering the atoning-sacrifices, and performing the cleansings according to all that Moses commanded. This last clause refers to all the three above-mentioned duties of the priests. Moses is called the servant of God, as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, Josh. i. 1, 13.

Vers. 35–38. The remarks as to the service of the priests are followed by a catalogue of the high priests, which runs from Eleazar to Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (cf. 2 Sam. xv. 27), who probably succeeded his father in the high-priesthood even in the time of Solomon. This genealogy is similar in form to the genealogies given in vers. 5–15, and has therefore most probably been derived from the same source as this, and has been drawn in here to form a transition to the enumeration of the cities of the Levites; for it begins in ver. 39 with the dwelling-places of the sons of Aaron, and the וְאֵלֶּה מוֹשְׁבוֹתָם . . . לִבְנֵי אַהֲרֹן of ver. 39 corresponds to the וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן of ver. 35. The order of the names coincides exactly with that of the longer register in chap. v. 30–34.

Vers. 39–66. *Register of the cities of the Levites*, which agrees on the whole with the register in Josh. xxi., if we except different forms of some names of cities, and many corruptions of the text, but differing in many ways from it in form; whence we gather that it is not derived from the book of Joshua, but from some other ancient authority.—Ver. 39 contains the superscription, "These are their dwelling-places according to their districts, in their boundaries." So far the superscription belongs to the whole catalogue of cities. The suffixes point back to the בְּנֵי לֵוִי, ver. 1. חֲצֵרָה, from חצר, to surround in a circle, signifies in the older language a "nomad village" (cf. Gen. xxv. 16; Num. xxxi. 10); here, on the contrary, it is used in a derivative sense for "district," to denote the circle of dwellings which were granted to the Levites in the cities of the other tribes. The following words, "For the sons of Aaron of the family of Kohath," etc., are the superscription to vers. 42–45, and together with the confirmatory clause, "for to him the (first) lot had fallen," are a repetition of Josh. xxi. 10, where, however, רִאשֹׁנָה is found after הַגּוֹרָל, and has perhaps been here dropped out.—Vers. 40 and 41 correspond almost verbally with Josh. xxi. 11 and 12, as vers. 42–45 also do with Josh. xxi. 13–19. As we have already in our remarks on Joshua

commented upon the whole catalogue, it will not be necessary to do more here than to group together the errors and defects of our text.—Ver. 42. The plural עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט is incorrect, for only one of the cities thereafter named, viz. Hebron, was a city of refuge for homicides, and in Josh. xxi. 13 it is correctly written עִיר מִקְלָט. After יַתִּיר the usual addition וְאֶת־מִגְרָשֶׁיהָ is omitted, ver. 44 f. Before Bethshemesh the name Juttah has been lost, and before Geba (ver. 45) the name Gibeon, so that only eleven cities are mentioned, but the sum is rightly given as thirteen. Instead of the name חִילֶן, ver. 43, there is found in Josh. xxi. 15 and xv. 51 חֹלֹן; instead of עַיִן, Josh. xxi. 16, we have in ver. 44 the more correct name עָשָׁן; and the name עַלְמֶת, ver. 45, is in Josh. xxi. 18 עַלְמוֹן.—Vers. 46–48. Summary statements of the number of cities which the remaining Kohathites, the Gershonites, and the Merarites received in the domains of the various tribes, corresponding to vers. 5–7 in Josh. xxi. In ver. 46 occurs a hiatus; between הַמַּטֶּה and מִמִּשְׁפַּחְצִית the words "Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan and" have been omitted. In ver. 48 the words "of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan" are quite intelligible without חֲצִי, which is found in Joshua.—Vers. 49 and 50 are not here in their proper place; for their contents show that they should be in the middle of the thirty-ninth verse, after the general superscription, and before the words "for the sons of Aaron." They are found also in Josh. xxi. 8, 9, as a superscription before the enumeration by name of the cities assigned to the priests; but how the confusion has arisen in our text cannot be certainly ascertained. Bertheau thinks "the wish to make mention of the cities of the high-priestly family at the beginning of the enumeration, has induced the author of the Chronicle to communicate the introductory remarks belonging to the lists of cities with their statements as to the tribal domains, only after the enumeration of the cities of the sons of Aaron." By that supposition the position of vers. 46–48 is certainly explained, but not that of vers. 49 and 50; for even with the supposed desire, vers. 49 and 50 should have been placed before vers. 46–48. But besides this, the clause לִבְנֵי אַהֲרֹן וגו׳ in ver. 39 neither has anything to connect it with the preceding superscription nor a verb; and the subject of וַיִּתְּנוּ, ver. 40, is also wanting. That which was missed before ver. 39*b* and in ver. 40 is contained in vers. 49 and 50; whence it is manifest that vers. 49 and 50 ought to stand before ver. 39*b*, and have by some inexplicable accident

fallen out of their proper place, and have come into an unsuitable position after ver. 48. The plurals יִקְרְאוּ and שְׁמוֹת, instead of the singulars יִקְרָא and שֵׁם, as in Josh. xxi. 9*b*, bring the words into more manifest correspondence with the circumstances, since the subject of יִקְרְאוּ, "the sons of Israel," may be easily supplied from ver. 48, and *many* names of cities are mentioned. The masc. אֹתָם instead of the fem. אֹתָן is probably only an oversight. With ver. 51 begins the enumeration of the cities of the other Levitic families only summarily given in vers. 46–48, which forms a very suitable continuation of ver. 48.

Vers. 51–55. *The cities of the remaining Kohathites;* cf. Josh. xxi. 20–26. For וּמִמִּשְׁפְּחוֹת we must read וְלִמִשְׁפְּחוֹת, for the preposition מִן gives no suitable sense: it is never used to introduce a subject. The sense is, "as regards the families of the sons of Kohath, the cities of their dominion in the tribe of Ephraim were (the following). They gave them." The plur. עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט instead of the sing., as in ver. 42. As to the four cities of the tribe of Ephraim, vers. 52, 53, see on Josh. xxi. 21, 22, where instead of יָקְמְעָם we find the name קִבְצַיִם. Before ver. 54 a whole verse has been lost, which was as follows: "And of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh and her pastures, Gibbethon and her pastures;" cf. Josh. xxi. 23. Then follows ver. 54, which contains the names of the two other cities of the tribe of Dan. In ver. 55 we have the names of the cities of half Manasseh, Aner and Bileam, *i.e.* Ibleam (Josh. xvii. 11), correctly given; but the names Taanach and Gath-rimmon in Josh. xxi. 25 are incorrect, and have been inserted through a transcriber's error, arising from the copyist's eye having wandered to the preceding verse. The singular לְמִשְׁפַּחַת, ver. 55, is incorrect; and the plural לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹת is to be substituted (as in ver. 51). The words לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹת לִבְנֵי וגו׳ are a subscription, which corresponds to וַיִּתְּנוּ לָהֶם in ver. 52.

Vers. 56–61. *The cities of the Gershonites;* cf. Josh. xxi. 27–33. "To the sons of Gershon (they gave) out of the family of the half-tribe of Manasseh, Golan and Ashtaroth;" see on Josh. xxi. 27. In ver. 57, קֶדֶשׁ is a mistake for קִשְׁיוֹן, Josh. xxi. 28 (see on Josh. xix. 20); in ver. 58, רָאמוֹת for the more correct יַרְמוּת, Josh. xxi. 29, a city which was also called רֵמֶת, Josh. xix. 21, or had been so called originally; and עָנֵם for עֵין־גַּנִּים (Josh.), as the city is called also in Josh. xix. 21. It cannot be determined whether ענם is a transcriber's error, or another name for עֵין־גַּנִּים. In ver. 59, מַשָּׁל (which should perhaps

be pointed מִשְׁעָל) is a contracted form of מִשְׁאָל, Josh. xxi. 30, xix. 26; and in ver. 60, חוּקֹק is probably an error for חֶלְקָת, Josh. xxi. 31, xix. 25, occasioned by its being confounded with חֻקֹּק in the tribe of Naphtali, Josh. xix. 34. In ver. 61 the fact that Kadesh was a city of refuge is not mentioned, as it is in Josh. xxi. 32. חַמּוֹן is a shortened form of חַמּוֹת־דֹּאר, Josh. xxi. 32; for this city is called in Josh. xix. 35 חַמַּת, from the warm springs in the neighbourhood. Finally, Kirjathaim is contracted in Josh. xxi. 32 into קַרְתָּן.

Vers. 62–66. *The cities of the Merarites;* cf. Josh. xxi. 34–37. "To the sons of Merari the remaining," *sc.* Levites. In Josh. xxi. 34 it is more clearly put הַלְוִיִּם הַנּוֹתָרִים, for the remaining Merarites are not spoken of. What is intended to be said is, that the Merarites, alone of the Levites, are still to be mentioned. In the tribe of Zebulun, in ver. 62, only two cities are named, Rimmon and Tabor, instead of the four — Jokneam, Karthah, Dimnah, and Nahalal—in Josh. xxi. 34. The first two names have been dropped out of our text, while רִמּוֹנוֹ corresponds to the דִּמְנָה of Joshua, but is a more correct reading, since רִמּוֹן occurs in Josh. xix. 13 among the cities of Zebulun, while דִּמְנָה is not mentioned; and תָּבוֹר must consequently correspond to the נַהֲלָל in Joshua. Nahalal occurs in Josh. xix. 15 and in Judg. i. 30, in the form Nahalol, among the cities of Zebulun, and consequently seems to be the more correct name, but has not yet been pointed out with certainty, since its identification with Mâlul (معلول), south-west from Nazareth, rests upon very slender foundation. Bertheau's conjecture that the name of the city has been dropped out, and that of a more exact description of its position, perhaps עַל גְּבוּל כִּסְלֹת תָּבֹר, Josh. xix. 12, only the last word has remained, is no more probable than that of Movers, that instead of the name of the city, only the neighbourhood in which the city lay, viz. Mount Tabor, is mentioned.—Vers. 63 and 64 are wanting in some editions of the book of Joshua, but are found in many MSS. and in the oldest printed copies, and have been omitted only by an oversight; see on Josh. xxi. 30 f., note 2. As to the city Bezer, see on Deut. iv. 43; and concerning Jahzah, Kedemoth, Mephaath, *vide* on Josh. xiii. 18.—Ver. 65 f. For Ramoth in Gilead, a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 36), and Mahanaim, see on Josh. xiii. 26; and for Heshbon and Jazer, on Num. xxi. 28, 32.

CHAP. VII.—FAMILIES OF ISSACHAR, BENJAMIN, NAPHTALI, HALF MANASSEH, EPHRAIM, AND ASHER.

Vers. 1–5. *Sons and families of Issachar.*—Ver. 1. Instead of וְלִבְנֵי, we must certainly read בְּנֵי, as in vers. 14, 30, or וּבְנֵי, as in ver. 20, chap. v. 11, and elsewhere. The לבני has come into the text only by the recollection of the copyist having dwelt on the so frequently recurring לבני in vi. 42, 46, 47, cf. vers. 48, 56, 62, for it is not possible to take ל as the ל of introduction, because the names of the sons follow immediately. The names of the four sons are given as in Num. xxvi. 23 f., while in Gen. xlvi. 13 the second is written פֻּוָה, and the third יוֹב; *vide* on Gen. *loc. cit.*—Ver. 2. The six sons of Tola are not elsewhere met with in the Old Testament. They were "heads of their fathers'-houses of Tola." לְתוֹלָע after לְבֵית אֲבוֹתָם (with the suffix) is somewhat peculiar; the meaning can only be, "of their fathers'-houses which are descended from Tola." It is also surprising, or rather not permissible, that לְתוֹלְדוֹתָם should be connected with גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל. לְתוֹלְדוֹתָם belongs to the following: "(registered) according to their births, they numbered in the days of David 22,600." The suffixes ־ם do not refer to רָאשִׁים, but to the בֵּית־אָבוֹת, the fathers'-houses, the males in which amounted to 22,600 souls. As David caused the people to be numbered by Joab (2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi.), this statement probably rests on the results of that census.—Ver. 3. From Uzzi, the first-born of Tola, are descended through Izrahiah five men, all heads of groups of related households (ver. 4); "and to them (*i.e.* besides these) according to their generations, according to their fathers'-houses, bands of the war host, 36,000 (men), for they (these chiefs) had many wives and sons." From the fact that Izrahiah is introduced as grandson of Tola, Bertheau would infer that vers. 3, 4 refer to times later than David. But this is an erroneous inference, for Tola's sons did not live in David's time at all, and consequently it is not necessary that his grandson should be assigned to a later time. The only assertion made is, that the descendants of Tola's sons had increased to the number mentioned in ver. 2 in the time of David. By that time the descendants of his grandson Izrahiah might have increased to the number given in ver. 4. That the number, 36,000, of the descendants of the grandson Izrahiah was greater than the number of those descended from the sons of Tola (22,600), is

explained in the clause, "for they had many wives and sons." That the two numbers (in vers. 2, 4) refer to the same time, *i.e.* to the days of David, is manifest from ver. 5, "and their brethren of all the families of Issachar, valiant heroes; 87,000 their register, as regards everything," *i.e.* the sum of those registered of all the families of Issachar. Whence we gather that in the 87,000 both the 22,600 (ver. 2) and the 36,000 (ver. 4) are included, and their brethren consequently must have amounted to 28,400 (22,600 + 36,000 + 28,400 = 87,000). In the time of Moses, Issachar numbered, according to Num. i. 29, 54,400; and at a later time, according to Num. xxvi. 25, already numbered 64,300 men.

Vers. 6–11. *Sons and families of Benjamin.*—In ver. 6 only three sons of Benjamin—Bela, Becher, and Jediael—are mentioned; and in vers. 7–11 their families are registered. Besides these, there are five sons of Benjamin spoken of in chap. viii. 1, 2,—Bela the first, Ashbel the second, Aharah the third, Nohah the fourth, and Rapha the fifth; while in vers. 3–5 five other בָּנִים are enumerated, viz. אַרְד, גֵּרָא (twice), נַעֲמָן, שְׁפוּפָן, and חוּרָם. If we compare here the statements of the Pentateuch as to the genealogy of Benjamin, we find in Gen. xlvi. 21 the following sons of Benjamin: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi (אֲחִי) and Rosh, Muppim and Huppim and Ard (אַרְדְּ); and in Num. xxvi. 38–40 seven families, of which five are descended from his sons Bela, Ashbel, Ahiram, Shephupham, and Hupham (חוּפָם); and two from his grandsons, the sons of Bela, Ard and Naaman. From this we learn, not only that of the בָּנִים mentioned in Gen. xlvi. 21 at least two were grandsons, but also that the names אֲחִי and מֻפִּים (Gen.) are only other forms of אֲחִירָם and שְׁפוּפָם (Num.). It is, however, somewhat strange that among the families (in Num.) the names בֶּכֶר, גֵּרָא, and רֹאשׁ are wanting. The explanation which at once suggests itself, that their descendants were not numerous enough to form separate families, and that they on that account were received into the families of the other sons, though it may be accepted in the case of Gera and Rosh, of whom it is nowhere recorded that they had numerous descendants, cannot meet the case of Becher, for in vers. 8 and 9 of our chapter mention is made of nine sons of his, with a posterity of 20,200 men. The supposition that the name of Becher and his family has been dropped from the genealogical register of the families in Num. xxvi., will not appear in the

slightest degree probable, when we consider the accuracy of this register in other respects. The only remaining explanation therefore is, that the descendants of Becher were in reality not numerous enough to form a מִשְׁפָּחָה by themselves, but had afterwards so increased that they numbered nine fathers'-houses, with a total of 20,200 valiant warriors. The numbers in our register point unquestionably to post-Mosaic times; for at the second numbering by Moses, all the families of Benjamin together numbered only 45,600 men (Num. xxvi. 41), while the three families mentioned in our verses number together 59,434 (22,034 + 20,200 + 17,200). The tribe of Benjamin, which moreover was entirely destroyed, with the exception of 600 men, in the war which it waged against the other tribes in the earlier part of the period of the judges (Judg. xx. 47), could not have increased to such an extent before the times of David and Solomon. The name of the third son of Benjamin, Jediael, occurs only here, and is considered by the older commentators to be another name of Ashbel (Gen. xlvi. 21 and Num. xxvi. 38), which cannot indeed be accepted as a certainty, but is very probable.—Ver. 7. The five heads of fathers'-houses called sons of Bela are not sons in the proper sense of the word, but more distant descendants, who, at the time when this register was made up, were heads of the five groups of related households of the race of Bela. גִּבּוֹרֵי חֲיָלִים is synonymous with גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, ver. 9, and is a plural, formed as if from a *nomen compositum*, which arose after the frequent use of the words as they are bound together in the *status constructus* had obscured the consciousness of the relation between them.—Ver. 8. Becher's descendants. Of these nine names there are two, עֲנָתוֹת and עַלֶּמֶת, which occur elsewhere as names of cities (cf. for עַלֶּמֶת in the form עַלְמֹת, vi. 45; and for עֲנָתוֹת, Josh. xxi. 18, Isa. x. 30, Jer. i. 1). We may, without doubt, accept the supposition that in these cases the cities received their names from the heads of the families which inhabited them. In ver. 9, רָאשֵׁי בֵית אֲבוֹתָם stands in apposition to, and is explanatory of, לְתוֹלְדוֹתָם: "And their register, according to their generations," viz. according to the generations, that is, the birth-lists, "of the heads of their fathers'-houses, is (amounts to) in valiant heroes 20,200 men."—Ver. 10 f. Among the descendants of Jediael we find Benjamin and Ehud, the first of whom is named after the patriarch; but the second is not the judge Ehud (Judg. iii. 15), who was indeed a Benjamite,

but of the family of Gera. Chenaanah does not necessarily indicate a Canaanite family. Tharshish, which is elsewhere a precious stone, is here the name of a person; Ahishahar, that is, Brother of the Dawn, perhaps so named because *sub auroram natus*.—In ver. 11 the expression is contracted, as often happens in formulæ which frequently recur; and the meaning is, "All these are sons of Jediael (for as sons of Bilhan the son of Jediael, they are at the same time sons of the latter), (registered) according to the heads of their fathers'-houses, valiant heroes 17,200, going forth in the host to war." רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת is contracted from רָאשֵׁי בֵּית־אָבוֹת, *vide* on Ex. vi. 25; and the לְ before רָאשֵׁי, which Bertheau from a misinterpretation wishes to remove, depends upon the הִתְיַחְשָׂם (ver. 9) to be supplied in thought.

Ver. 12 is unintelligible to us. The first half, "And Shuppim and Huppim, sons of Ir," would seem, if we may judge from the ו cop., to enumerate some other descendants of Benjamin. And besides, (1) the names מֻפִּים וְחֻפִּים occur in Gen. xlvi. 21 among those of the sons of Benjamin, and in Num. xxvi. 39, among the families of Benjamin, one called שׁוּפָמִי from שְׁפוּפָם, and another חוּפָמִי from חוּפָם, are introduced; we must consequently hold מֻפִּים to be an error for שְׁפָם or שׁוּפָם. And (2) the name עִיר is most probably identical with עִירִי in ver. 7. The peculiar forms of those names, viz. שֻׁפָּם וְחֻפָּם, seem to have arisen from an improper comparison of them with לְחֻפִּים וּלְשֻׁפִּים in ver. 15, in which the fact was overlooked that the Huppim and Shuppim of ver. 15 belong to the Manassites. Here, therefore, two other families descended from the Benjamite Ir or Iri would seem to be mentioned, which may easily be reconciled with the purpose (ver. 6) to mention none of the Benjamites but the descendants of Bela, Becher, and Jediael. The further statement, "Hushim, sons of Aher," is utterly enigmatical. The name חֻשִׁים is found in Gen. xlvi. 23 as that of Dan's only son, who, however, is called in Num. xxvi. 42 שׁוּחָם, and who founded the family of the Shuhami. But as the names חוּשִׁים and חֻשִׁים are again met with in chap. viii. 8, 11 among the Benjamites, there is no need to imagine any connection between our חֻשָּׁם and that family. The word אַחֵר, *alius*, is not indeed found elsewhere as a *nomen proprium*, but may notwithstanding be so here; when we might, notwithstanding the want of the conjunction ו, take the Hushim sons of Aher to be another Benjamite family. In that case, certainly, the tribe of Dan would be omitted

from our chapter; but we must not allow that to lead us into arbitrary hypotheses, as not only Dan but also Zebulun is omitted.[1]

Ver. 13. *The sons of Naphtali.*—Only the sons of Naphtali are named, the families descended from them being passed over. The names correspond to those in Gen. xlvi. 24 and Num. xxv. 48 f., except that there the first is יַחְצְאֵל, and the last שִׁלֵּם instead of שַׁלּוּם.

Vers. 14–19. *Families of the half-tribe of Manasseh.*—The families of Manasseh which dwelt in Gilead and Bashan have already been mentioned in chap. v. 23, 14. Our verses deal with the families of this tribe which received their inheritance in Canaan, on this side Jordan. These were, according to Num. xxvi. 30, 34, and Josh. xvii. 2, six families, of which, however, only two are here spoken of—Ashriel, ver. 14, and Shemidah, ver. 19; or perhaps three, if Abiezer, ver. 18, be the same person as Jeezer (Num. xxvi. 30), who is called Abiezer in Josh. xvii. 2. The statements

[1] Bertheau's judgment in the matter is different. Starting from the facts that חֻשִׁים (Gen. xlvi. 27) is called a son of Dan, and that further, in the enumeration of the tribes in Gen. xlvi. and Num. xxvi., Dan follows after Benjamin; that in Gen. xlvi. Dan stands between Benjamin and Naphtali, and that in our chapter, in ver. 13, the sons of Naphtali follow immediately; and that the closing words of this verse, "sons of Bilhah," can, according to Gen. xlvi. 25, refer only to Dan and Naphtali, and consequently presuppose that Dan or his descendants have been mentioned in our passage,—he thinks there can be no doubt that originally Danites were mentioned in our verse, and that חוּשִׁם was introduced as the son of Dan. Moreover, from the word אַחֵר, "the other," he draws the further inference that it may have been, according to its meaning, the covert designation of a man whose proper name fear, or dislike of some sort, prevented men from using, and was probably a designation of the tribe of Dan, which set up its own worship, and so separated itself from the congregation of Israel; cf. Judg. xvii. f. The name is avoided, he says, in our chapter, in chap. vi. 46 and 54, and is named only in chap. ii. 2 among the twelve tribes of Israel, and in chap. xii. 35. The conjecture, therefore, is forced upon us, that חֻשִׁם בֶּן אַחֵר, "Hushim the son of the other," viz. of the other son of Bilhah, whose name he wished to pass over in silence, stands for וּבְנֵי דָן חֻשִׁם. The name Aher, then, had so completely concealed the tribe of Dan, that later readers did not mark the new commencement, notwithstanding the want of the conjunction, and had no scruple in adding the well-known names of the Benjamites, שֻׁפָּם and חֻפָּם, to the similarly-sounding חוּשִׁם, though probably at first only in the margin. This hypothesis has no solid foundation. The supposed dislike to mention the name of Dan rests upon an erroneous imagination, as is manifest from the thrice repeated mention of that name, not merely in chap. ii. 2 and xii. 35,

of vers. 14 and 15 are very obscure. At the head of the register of the Manassites stands Ashriel, who, according to Num. xxvi. 31, belonged to the sons of Gilead the son of Manasseh and the grandson of Joseph (cf. Gen. l. 23), and founded one of the six families of the cis-Jordanic Manassites. But the words which follow are obscure; the words are אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה וגו׳, "whom his Aramaic concubine bore; she bore Machir the father of Gilead." But since Ashriel, according to this, was the great-grandson of Manasseh, while Machir was his son, the relative clause can refer only to Manasseh, to whom his concubine bore Machir. Movers and Berth. would therefore erase אַשְׂרִיאֵל, as a gloss arising out of a doubling of the following אשר יל. By this expedient the difficulty as to the connection of the relative clause is certainly got rid of, but the obscurities of the following verse (15) are not thereby removed. The analogy of the other registers in our chapter requires, rather, that immediately after בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה there should stand the name of a descendant,—a fact which speaks

but also in chap. xxvii. 22. The omission of the tribe of Dan in chap. vi. 46, 54, is only the result of a corruption of the text in these passages; for in ver. 46 the words, "Ephraim and of the tribe of Dan," and after ver. 54 a whole verse, have been dropped out in the copying. In neither of these verses can there be any idea of omitting the name Dan because of a dislike to mention it; for in ver. 46 the name Ephraim is lacking, and in ver. 54 the names of two cities are also omitted, where even Berth. cannot suppose any "dislike." When Berth. quotes Judg. xviii. 30 in favour of his concealment hypothesis, where under the Keri מנשה the name משה is supposed to be concealed, he has forgotten that the opinion that in this passage משה has been altered into מנשה from a foolish dislike, is one of the rabbinic caprices, which we cannot attribute as a matter of course to the authors of the biblical writings. With this groundless suspicion falls of itself the attempt which he bases upon it "to solve the enigma of our verse." If the words in question do really contain a remark concerning the family of Dan, we must suppose, with Ewald (*Gesch.* i. S. 242), that the text has become corrupt, several words having been dropped out. Yet the בְּנֵי בִלְהָה at the end of ver. 13 is not sufficient to warrant such a supposition. Had the register originally contained not only the sons of Naphtali, but also the sons of Dan, so that בני בלהה would have to be referred to both, the conj. ו could not have been omitted before בְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי. The want of this conjunction is, however, in conformity with the whole plan of our register, in which all the tribes follow, one after the other, without a conjunction; cf. vers. 6, 14, 30. ו is found only before בְּנֵי אֶפְרַיִם, ver. 20, because Ephraim and Manasseh are closely connected, both continuing to form the one tribe of Joseph. We must accordingly hold בני נפ, ver. 13, without ו cop., to have been the original reading, when the conjecture that בני בלהה includes also the sons of Dan is at once disposed of.

strongly in favour of the authenticity of אַשְׁרִיאֵל. It is therefore a much more probable suggestion, that after the name אשריאל, some additional clause, such as בֶּן־מְנַשֶּׁה, has been dropped, or regarded as superfluous by a copyist, and so omitted. To such an omitted בן מנשה, the relative sentence, which gives more details as to the descent of Ashriel, would be attached in a simple and natural manner, since it was known from Num. xxvi. 30 f. that Ashriel was descended from Manasseh through Gilead.—Ver. 15 is literally, "And Machir took a wife to Huppim and Shuppim, and the name of his sister was Maachah, and the name of the second Zelophehad." According to ver. 16, on the contrary, Maachah is the wife of Machir, and we should consequently expect to find in ver. 15 only the simple statement, "And Machir took a wife whose name was Maachah." From the words לחפים ולשפים ושם אחתו מעכה no meaning which harmonizes with the context can be obtained. Since לָקַח אִשָּׁה לְ signifies "to take a wife for one" (cf. Judg. xiv. 2), we can only suppose that by the names Huppim and Shuppim Machir's sons are meant, to whom he, as their father, gave wives. But we cannot suppose that the sons of Machir are referred to, for the birth of the sons is first mentioned in ver. 16. But we have found the names חפם and שפם spoken of as descendants of Benjamin; and Bertheau consequently conjectures that these names have been brought thence into our verse by some gloss, and that the beginning of our verse originally stood thus: ומכיר לקח אשה ושמה מעכה ושם אחתו המלכת, "And Machir took a wife whose name is Maachah, and the name of his sister is Hammoleketh" (the last according to ver. 18). By this means we certainly bring some meaning into the words; but we cannot venture to maintain that this conjecture corresponds to the original text, but rather incline to doubt it. For, in the first place, the following words, "And the name of the second (is) Zelophehad," do not suit the proposed reading. Berth. must here alter הַשֵּׁנִי into אָחִיו (the name of his brother). But even after this alteration, the mention of the brother of Machir is not suitable to the context; and moreover Zelophehad was not a true brother, but only a nephew of Machir, the son of his brother Hepher; cf. Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1. And besides this, according to the concluding formula, "These are the sons of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh" (ver. 17), we should expect to find in vers. 15, 16, not merely sons or descendants of Machir, but rather descendants of Gilead. We therefore hold the state-

ment of ver. 15*b*, "And the name of the second is Zelophehad, and Zelophehad had (only) daughters," to be correct and beyond criticism, and the first part of ver. 15 to be corrupt and defective; and conjecture that a son of Gilead's was mentioned in it, to whose name the words, "And the name of the second," etc., belonged. This son who was mentioned in the text, which has been handed down to us only in a defective state, was probably the Ashriel mentioned in ver. 14, a son of Gilead, whose descent from Machir was given more in detail in the corrupt and consequently meaningless first half of ver. 15. In vers. 16, 17, other descendants of Machir by his wife Maachah are enumerated, which favours the probable conjecture that the wife whom Machir took, according to ver. 15, was different from Maachah, that Machir had two wives, and that in ver. 15 originally the sons of the first were enumerated, and in vers. 16, 17, the sons of the second. Peresh and Shelesh are mentioned only here. בְּנָיו, "his sons" (that is, the sons of the last-named, Shelesh), were Ulam and Rakem, names which are also met with only here. The name בְּדָן is found in our Masoretic text, 1 Sam. xii. 11, as the name of a judge, but probably בָּרָק should be read instead.—Ver. 18. A third branch of the descendants of Gilead were descended from Machir's sister Hammoleketh, a name which the Vulgate has taken in an appellative sense. Of her sons, Ishod, *i.e.* "man of splendour," is not elsewhere mentioned. The name Abiezer occurs, Josh. xvii. 2, as that of the head of one of the families of Manasseh. In Num. xxvi. 30, however, he is called Jeezer, which is probably the original reading, and consequently our Abiezer is different from that in Josh. xvii. 2. Another circumstance which speaks strongly against the identification of the two men is, that the family descended from Jeezer holds the first place among the families of Manasseh, which is not at all consonant with the position of the son of Machir's sister here mentioned. Of the family of Abiezer came the judge Gideon, Judg. xi. 15. A daughter of Zelophehad is called Mahlah in Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, but she is not the person here mentioned. —Ver. 19. The sons of Shemida, the founder of the fourth family of the Manassites, Num. xxvi. 32. His four sons are nowhere else referred to, for שֶׁכֶם, the founder of a family of the Manassites (Num. xxvi. 31 and Josh. xvii. 2), is to be distinguished from the Shechem of our verse; nor is there any greater reason to identify Likhi with Helek, Num. xxvi. 30 (Berth.), than there

is for connecting אֲנִיעָם with נְעָה, the daughter of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, Josh. xvii. 3.

Vers. 20–29. *The families of Ephraim.*—Ver. 20 f. Among the Ephraimites, the descendants of Shuthelah, the founder of one of the chief families of this tribe, Num. xxvi. 35, are traced down through six generations to a later Shuthelah. The names וְעֶזֶר וְאֶלְעָד which follow שׁוּתֶלַח בְּנוֹ, "And his son Shuthelah," after which בְּנוֹ is wanting, are not to be considered descendants of the second Shuthelah, but are heads of a family co-ordinate with that of Shuthelah, or of two fathers'-houses intimately connected with each other. These names are to be taken as a continuation of the list of the sons of Ephraim, which commenced with שׁוּתֶלַח. The suffix in וַיַּהַרְגוּם refers to both these names: "The men of Gath, that were born in the land, smote Ezer and Elead." These "men born in the land" Ewald and Bertheau take to be the Avvites, the aboriginal inhabitants of that district of country, who had been extirpated by the Philistines emigrating from Caphtor (Deut. ii. 23). But there is no sufficient ground for this supposition; for no proof can be brought forward that the Avvæans (Avvites) had ever spread so far as Gath; and the Philistines had taken possession of the south-west part of Canaan as early as the time of Abraham, and consequently long before Ephraim's birth. "The men of Gath who were born in the land" are rather the Canaanite or Philistine inhabitants of Gath, as distinguished from the Israelites, who had settled in Canaan only under Joshua. "For they (Ezer and Elead) had come down to take away their cattle" (to plunder). The older commentators assign this event to the time that Israel dwelt in Egypt (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. S. 490), or even to the pre-Egyptian time. But Bertheau has, in opposition to this, justly remarked that the narratives of Genesis know nothing of a stay of the progenitors of the tribe of Ephraim in the land of Palestine before the migration of Israel into Egypt, for Ephraim was born in Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 20). It would be more feasible to refer it to the time of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, as it is not impossible that the Israelites may have undertaken predatory expeditions against Canaan from Goshen; but even this supposition is not at all probable. Certainly, if in vers. 23–27 it were said, as Ewald thinks, that Ephraim, after the mourning over the sons thus slain, became by his wife the father of three other sons, from the last named of whom Joshua was descended

in the seventh generation, we should be compelled to refer the expedition to the pre-Egyptian period. But the opinion that Rephah and Resheph, ver. 25, were begotten only after that misfortune has no foundation Moreover, the statement that Ephraim, after he was comforted for the loss of his slain sons, went in unto his wife and begat a son, to whom he gave the name Beriah, because he was born in misfortune in his house, does not at all presuppose that the patriarch Ephraim was still alive when Ezer and Elead were slain. Were that the case, the necessary result would of course be, that this event could only be referred to the time when the Israelites dwelt in Egypt. In opposition to this, Bertheau's remark that the event in that case would be *per se* enigmatical, as we would rightly have great hesitation in accepting the supposition of a war, or rather a plundering expedition to seize upon cattle carried out by the Ephraimites whilst they dwelt in Egypt, against the inhabitants of the Philistine city of Gath, is certainly not all decisive, for we know far too little about those times to be able to judge of the possibility or probability of such an expedition. The decision to which we must come as to this obscure matter depends, in the first place, on how the words כִּי יָרְדוּ וגו׳ are to be understood; whether we are to translate "for they had gone," or "when they had gone down to fetch their cattle," *i.e.* to plunder. If we take the כִּי as *partic. ration.*, for, because, we can only take the sons of Ephraim, Ezer and Elead, for the subject of יָרְדוּ, and we must understand the words to mean that they had gone down to carry off the cattle of the Gathites. In that case, the event would fall in the time when the Ephraimites dwelt in Canaan, and went down from Mount Ephraim into the low-lying Gath, for a march out of Egypt into Canaan is irreconcilable with the verb יָרַד. If, on the contrary, we translate כִּי יָרְדוּ "when they had gone down," we might then gather from the words that men of Gath went down to Goshen, there to drive away the cattle of the Ephraimites, in which case the Gathites may have slain the sons of Ephraim when they were feeding their cattle and defending them against the robbers. Many of the old commentators have so understood the words; but we cannot hold this to be the correct interpretation, for it deprives the words "those born in the land," which stand in apposition to גַּת, of all meaning, since there can be absolutely no thought of men of Gath born in Egypt. We therefore take the words to mean,

that the sons of Ephraim who are named in our verse attempted to drive away the cattle of the Gathites, and were by them slain in the attempt. But how can the statement that Ephraim after this unfortunate event begat another son, Beriah, be reconciled with such a supposition, since the patriarch Ephraim was dead long before the Israelites came forth out of Egypt? Bertheau understands the begetting figuratively, of the whole of the tribe of Ephraim, and would interpret the begetting of Beriah of the reception either of a Benjamite family into the tribe of Ephraim, or of a small Ephraimite family, which at first was not numbered with the others, into the number of the famous families of this tribe. But this straining of the words by an allegorical interpretation is not worthy of serious refutation, since it is manifestly only a makeshift to get rid of the difficulty. The words, "And Ephraim went in unto his wife, and she conceived and bare a son," are not to be interpreted allegorically, but must be taken in their proper sense; and the solution of the enigma will be found in the name Ephraïm. If this be taken to denote the actual son of Joseph, then the event is incomprehensible; but just as a descendant of Shuthelah in the sixth generation was also called Shuthelah, so also might a descendant of the patriarch Ephraim, living at a much later time, have received the name of the progenitor of the tribe; and if we accept this supposition, the event, with all its issues, is easily explained. If Ezer and Elead went down from Mount Ephraim to Gath, they were not actual sons of Ephraim, but merely later descendants; and their father, who mourned for their death, was not Ephraim the son of Joseph, who was born in Egypt, but an Ephraimite who lived after the Israelites had taken possession of the land of Canaan, and who bore Ephraim's name. *He* may have mourned for the death of his sons, and after he had been comforted for their loss, may have gone in unto his wife, and have begotten a son with her, to whom he gave the name Beriah, "because it was in misfortune in his house," *i.e.* because this son was born when misfortune was in his house.—Ver. 24. "And his daughter Sherah," the daughter of the above-mentioned Ephraim, "built Beth-horon the nether and the upper," the present Beit-Ur-Foka and Tachta (see on Josh. x. 10), "and Uzzen-sherah," a place not elsewhere referred to, which she probably founded, and which was called after her. The building of the two Beth-horons is merely an enlarging and

fortifying of these towns. Sherah was probably an heiress, who had received these places as her inheritance, and caused them to be enlarged by her family. In vers. 25–27 the ancestors of Joshua the son of Nun, who brought Israel into the land of Canaan, are enumerated. As the word בְּנוֹ is wanting after רָפָח, we must hold Rephah and Resheph to be brothers, but we are not informed from which of the four Ephraimite stocks enumerated in Num. xxvi. 35 f. they were descended. "Telah his son," Bertheau holds to be a son of Rephah. The name Tahan occurs in Num. xxvi. 35 as that of the founder of one of the families of Ephraim; but he can hardly be identical with our Tahan, who was probably a son of that Tahan from whom an Ephraimite family descended. If this conjecture be correct, Joshua would be of the family of Tahan.—Ver. 26. Elishama the son of Ammihud was a contemporary of Moses, Num. i. 10, and prince of the tribe of Ephraim, Num. vii. 48, x. 22. נוֹן (Non) is so pronounced only in this place; in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua it is נוּן (Nun).

In vers. 28 and 29 the possessions and dwelling-places of the tribe of Ephraim (and as we learn from the superscription, ver. 29), also those of West Jordan Manasseh, are given, but in a very general way; only the chief places on the four sides being mentioned. Bethel, now Beitin, on the frontier of the tribal domains of Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 2, xviii. 13), and assigned to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22), is here mentioned as an Ephraimite city on the southern frontier of the Ephraimite territory, as it belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes; whence we gather that this register was prepared after that kingdom had come into existence. As to its position, see on Josh. vii. 2. Her daughters are the smaller villages which belonged to Bethel. Naaran, without doubt the same place which is called in Josh. xvi. 17 נַעֲרָתָה (with ה *loc.*), is the eastern frontier city lying to the north-east of Jericho; see on Josh. xvi. 7. "And westward Gezer," according to Josh. xvi. 13, lying between Beth-horon and the sea (see on Josh. x. 33), is the frontier city on the south-west; and Shechem and Avvah (עַוָּה), with their daughters, are places which mark the boundary on the north-west. As to שְׁכֶם, Shechem, the present Nabulus, see on Josh. xvii. 7. Instead of עַוָּה, most of the editions of the Bible agree with LXX. and Vulg. and Chald. in having עַזָּה, but not the Philistine Gaza: it is only an error of the transcribers

and printers, as all the more accurate MSS. and the better printed copies have עוה; see De Rossi, *Variæ Lectt. ad h. l.* The locality עַוָּה or עַיָּה is certainly met with nowhere else, but, if we may judge by Josh. xvi. 6 and xvii. 17, is to be sought not far from Shechem in a north-western direction, perhaps on the site of the there mentioned Michmethah, the position of which has, however, not yet been ascertained.—Ver. 29. According to Josh. xvii. 11, the Manassites had received the four cities here named, lying within the territory of Issachar and Asher. This is attested also by עַל־יְדֵי בְנֵי מ׳, to the hands, *i.e.* in possession of the sons of Manasseh. As to its position, see Josh. xvii. 11. These cities formed the boundaries on the extreme north, of the dwellings "of the sons of Joseph," *i.e.* of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

Vers. 30–40. *The sons and several families of Asher.*—Ver. 30. The names of the four sons of Asher and that of their sister coincide with the statement of Gen. xlvi. 17; but in Num. xxvi. 44–47, on the contrary, the name Ishuai does not occur among the families of Asher.—Ver. 31. The sons of Beriah, Heber and Malchiel, are also to be found in Gen. xlvi. 17 and Num. xxvi. 45 as the heads of two families; but the further statement, "he (*i.e.* Malchiel) the father of Birzavith," is found only here. How ברזות, the Kethibh, is to be pronounced, cannot be with certainty determined. Gesen. in *Thes.* p. 239 makes it בִּרְזוֹת, and considers the word to be the name of a woman; Bertheau, on the contrary, conjectures that it is a compound of בְּאֵר = בר and זַיִת, "well of the olive-tree," and so the name of a place. In vers. 32–34 the descendants of Heber are enumerated in three generations, which are mentioned nowhere else. In ver. 32 we have four sons and one daughter. The name יְפְלֵט is not to be connected with יַפְלֵטִי, Josh. xvi. 3, "because a family of Asher is not to be sought for in the neighbourhood there referred to" (Berth.). In ver. 33 we have four sons of Japhlet, and in ver. 34 the sons of his brother Shemer. It is somewhat remarkable that שֹׁמֶר, ver. 32, is called here שֶׁמֶר. אֲחִי is not an appellative, but a proper name, as the ו before the following name shows; cf. another Ahi in v. 15. For יְחִבָּה we should read וְחֹבָה.—Vers. 35–39. Descendants of Helem—in ver. 35 sons, in vers. 36–38 grandsons. As Helem is called אֲחִיו, "his brother" (*i.e.* the brother of the Shemer mentioned in ver. 34), חֵלֶם would seem to be the third son of Heber, who is called in ver. 32 חוֹתָם. If so, one of the two names must have resulted from an error in transcription;

but it is now impossible to determine which is the original and correct form of the name. Eleven names are introduced as those of the sons of Zophah (vers. 36, 37); and in ver. 38 we have, besides, three sons of Jether (יֶתֶר), who is called in ver. 38 יִתְרָן. In ver. 39 there follow three names, those of the sons of Ulla; on which Bertheau rightly remarks, the whole character of our enumeration would lead us to conjecture that עֵלָא had already occurred among the preceding names, although we find neither this name nor any similar one, with which it might be identified, in the preceding list.—Ver. 40 contains a comprehensive concluding statement as to the descendants of Asher: "All these (those just mentioned by name) were heads of fathers'-houses, chosen valiant heroes (גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, as in ver. 5), chief of the princes," Vulg. *duces ducum*, *i.e.* probably leaders of the larger divisions of the army, under whom were other נְשִׂיאִים. "And their genealogical register is for service of the host in war," *i.e.* was prepared with reference to the men capable of bearing arms, and had not, like other registers, reference to the number of inhabitants of the various localities; cf. ix. 22. It amounted to 26,000 men. According to Num. i. 41, Asher numbered 41,500, and according to Num. xxvi. 47, 53,000 men. But we must observe that the number given in our verse is only that of the men capable of bearing arms belonging to one of the greater families of Asher, the family of Heber, of which alone a register had been preserved till the time of the chronicler.

CHAP. VIII.—FAMILIES OF BENJAMIN, AND GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF SAUL.

The families of Benjamin enumerated in this chapter were probably separated from those in chap. vii. 6–11, merely on the ground that all the registers which are grouped together in chap. vii. were taken from another genealogical document than that from which the registers in our chapter, which form a supplement to the short fragments in chap. vii. 6–11, have been derived.

Vers. 1–5. *The sons of Benjamin and Bela.*—The manner in which the five sons begotten by Benjamin are enumerated is remarkable, "Bela his first-born, Ashbel the second," etc., since, according to Gen. xlvi. 21, after the first-born Bela, Becher follows as the second son, and Ashbel is the third; while Aharah, Nohah, and Rapha are not met with there, quite other

names occupying their place. In אַחְרַח we can easily recognise the אֲחִירָם of Num. xxvi. 38, whence the enumeration in ver. 1 f. harmonizes with the order in Num. xxvi. 38. It is therefore clear, that in our genealogy only those sons are mentioned who founded the families of Benjamin. The names נוֹחָה and רָפָא are nowhere else met with among the sons of Benjamin; but we may conclude, partly from the agreement of the first three names with the heads of the families of Benjamin enumerated in Num. xxvi. 38, and partly from the agreement as to the number, which is five in both passages, that נוֹחָה and רָפָא are intended to correspond to the שְׁפוּפָם and חוּפָם of Num. xxvi. 39. The only question which then remains is, whether the variation in the names arises from these two sons of Benjamin having had different names, or from the families which issued from Shephupham and Hupham having afterwards perhaps received new names from famous chiefs, instead of the original designations, so that Nohah and Rapha would be later descendants of Shephupham and Hupham. Even this second supposition seems possible, since הוֹלִיד in such genealogical registers may denote mediate procreation. If, *e.g.*, Nohah were a grandson or great-grandson of Shephupham the son of Benjamin, he might well be introduced in the genealogical lists of the families as begotten by Benjamin.—Vers. 3–5. The sons of Bela. Of the six names borne by these sons, גֵּרָא is twice met with; נַעֲמָן is found in Gen. xlvi. 21 as the son, and in Num. xxvi. 40 as grandson of Benjamin; שְׁפוּפָן is another form of שְׁפוּפָם, Num. xxvi. 39; and חוּרָם may be a transcriber's error for חוּפָם, Num. xxvi. 39, just as אַדָּר probably stands for אַרְדָּ, Gen. xlvi. 21. The occurrence of the name Gera would be incomprehensible only if בָּנִים denoted sons in the narrower sense of the word; but if בָּנִים are sons in the wider sense, *i.e.* descendants who founded fathers'-houses (groups of related households), two cousins might have the same name. In that case, Addar, Shephuphan, and Huram also may be different persons from Ard, Shephupham, and Hupham. Abihud and Abishua are met with as descendants of Benjamin only here, and אֲחוּחַ may be connected with אֲחִיָּה, ver. 7.

Vers. 6, 7. *Sons of Ehud.*—The descent of Ehud from the sons, grandsons, and descendants of Benjamin, enumerated in vers. 1–5, is not given. The names of Ehud's sons follow only at the end of the 7th verse, "And he begat Uzza and Ahihud," while the intermediate clauses contain historical remarks. These

sons were "heads of fathers'-houses of the inhabitants of Geba," *i.e.* Geba of Benjamin (1 Sam. xiii. 16), the Levite city, vi. 45, which still remains as the half-ruinous village Jeba, about three leagues to the north of Jerusalem; see on Josh. xviii. 24. "And they led them captive to Manahath, viz. Naaman and Ahiah and Gera, this man led them captive." The subject to וינלום are the men mentioned in the following verse, while the הוא which follows shows that, of the three above mentioned, the last, Gera, was the author of their captivity. The place Manahath is not known, but is conjectured to be connected with Hazi-Hammanahti and Hazi-Hammenuhoth, ii. 54 and 52; but we cannot ascertain with certainty whether the name denotes a city or a district, and the situation of it has not yet been discovered. Of the hostile collision of these Benjamite families also, no more detailed accounts have come down to us.

Vers. 8–12. *The descendants of Shaharaim.*—The descent of Shaharaim from the sons and grandsons named in vers. 1–3 is obscure, and the conjecture which connects him with Ahishahar of chap. vii. 10 is unsupported. He was the father of a considerable number of heads of fathers'-houses, whom his two or three wives bore to him. According to ver. 8, he begat "in the country of Moab after he had sent them, Hushim and Baara his wives, away; (ver. 9) there begat he with Hodesh his wife, Jobab," etc. When and how Shaharaim, a Benjamite, came into the country of Moab, is not known; all that can be gathered from our verse is that he must have lived there for a considerable time. שִׁלְּחוֹ is *infin. Pi.*, the "*i*" being retained, and the Daghesh forte omitted with Sheva (cf. as to this formation, Ew. § 238, *d*). אֹתָם, accus. of the pronoun, which, as it precedes its noun, is in *gen. masc.*, although the names of women follow (cf. for this use of the pronoun, Ew. § 309, *c*). חוּשִׁים and בַּעֲרָה are women, as we learn from the following נָשָׁיו. By this parenthesis, the beginning of the main sentence has been lost sight of, and the הוֹלִיד is taken up again in וַיּוֹלֶד. As to הוֹלִיד with מִן, cf. the remark on ii. 8. הֹדֶשׁ is the third wife, which he took instead of those he had sent away. The seven names in vers. 9, 10 are grouped together as sons or descendants of the last-named wife, by the concluding remark, "These his sons are heads of fathers'-houses." Then, further, in vers. 11, 12, the sons and grandsons of the first (divorced) wives, one of whom built the cities Ono and Lydda, are enumerated; but we have no means of determining whether

the הוּא בָּנָה refers to Shemer, the last mentioned, or to Elpaal the father of the three sons, Eber, and Misham, and Shemer. It would, however, naturally suggest itself, that the words referred to the first. לֹד (Lod) is without doubt the city Lydda, where Peter healed the paralytic (Acts ix. 32 ff.). It belonged in the Syrian age to Samaria, but it was added to Judea by the King Demetrius Soter, and given to Jonathan for a possession (1 Macc. xi. 34, cf. with x. 30, 38). In the Jewish war it was destroyed by the Roman general Cestius (Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 1), but was rebuilt at a later time, and became the site of a toparchy of Judea. In still later times it was called Diospolis, but is now a considerable Mohammedan village, lying between Jafa and Jerusalem to the north of Ramleh, which bears the old name Ludd, by the Arabs pronounced also Lidd. See v. Raumer, *Pal.* S. 10; Robins. *Pal. sub voce;* and Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, S. 69 f. Ono is mentioned elsewhere only in Ezra ii. 33, Neh. vii. 37 and xi. 35, along with Lod, and must have been a place in the neighbourhood of Lydda.

Vers. 13–28. *Heads of fathers'-houses of the tribe of Benjamin*, who dwelt partly in Aijalon (ver. 13) and partly in Jerusalem.—Their connection with the heads of fathers'-houses already mentioned is not clear. The names בְּרִיעָה וְשֶׁמַע might be taken for a fuller enumeration of the sons of Elpaal (ver. 12), were it not that the names enumerated from ver. 14 or 15 onwards, are at the end of ver. 16 said to be those of sons of Beriah; whence we must conclude that with וּבְרִיעָה, ver. 13, a new list of heads of Benjamite fathers'-houses begins. This view is supported by the fact that the names from ver. 14 or 15 to ver. 27 are divided into five groups of families: the sons of Beriah (ver. 16), of Elpaal (ver. 18), of Shimhi (ver. 21), of Shashak (ver. 25), and of Jeroham (ver. 27). But as two of these, Beriah and Shashak, occur in vers. 13, 14, and שִׁמְעִי is probably another form of שֶׁמַע, Bertheau conjectures that the last two names, Shashak and Jeroham, are represented by אַחְיוֹ and יֶרְמוֹת (ver. 14). יְרֹחָם and יֶרְמוֹת may be explained by the supposition of a transcriber's error, or by one person having two names; but the word אַחְיוֹ is rendered by the LXX. by ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ (= אָחִיו); and the view that אחיו is a *nom. prop.* is opposed, as in ver. 31, by the fact that the ו cop. is not found before the following שָׁשָׁק, for here, throughout, the names are all connected with each other by the ו cop. Bertheau therefore conjectures that the text originally

ran thus, וְאֶלְפַּעַל אֲחִיו וְשָׁשָׁק, and that the name Elpaal was dropped out; and that in consequence of that, אחיו had been punctuated as a *nom. prop.* These conjectures seem satisfactory, especially as it may be adduced in their favour that אֲחִיו has been added to the name Elpaal to connect the names in ver. 14 with the enumeration (ver. 13) interrupted by the parenthetical remarks. No certainty, however, can be attained in a matter so obscure. If a new series of groups of families begins with ver. 13, we should expect an introductory formula, as in ver. 6. Beriah and Shema are called heads of the fathers'-houses of the inhabitants of Aijalon, *i.e.* heads of the groups of related households inhabiting Aijalon, the present Jalo to the west of Gibeon (see on Josh. xix. 42). It is quite consistent with this that their sons or descendants dwelt in Jerusalem. Next a heroic deed of theirs is related, viz. that they (in some war or other) turned to flight the inhabitants of Gath (without doubt Philistines). This remark reminds us of the statement in chap. vii. 21, that sons of Ephraim were slain by those born in Gath, because they had gone down to drive away the herds of the inhabitants. But Bertheau draws an erroneous conclusion from this fact, when he says that because in both passages the name Beriah occurs, both refer to the same event, and thereafter attempts by various hypotheses to make the Benjamites mentioned in our verse into Ephraimites. For the name Beriah is not at all so rare as to allow of our inferring from that alone that the various persons so called are identical, for Jacob's son Asher also named one of his sons Beriah; cf. vii. 30 with Gen. xlvi. 17. The notion that the Benjamites Beriah and Shema defeated those inhabitants of Gath who had slain the sons of Ephraim (vii. 21) is quite unsupported, as the Philistines lived at war and in feud with the Israelites for hundreds of years.—Vers. 15, 16. Several of the names of these six sons of Beriah who are mentioned in our verse occur elsewhere, but nowhere else are they met with as sons of Beriah. —Vers. 17, 18. Bertheau would identify three of the sons of Elpaal—Meshullam, Heber, and Ishmerai—with Misham, Eber, and Shemer, ver. 12, but without any sufficient reason; for it is questionable if even the Elpaal whose sons are named in our verses be the same person as the Elpaal mentioned in ver. 12. Of these descendants of Elpaal, also, nothing further is known, and the same may be said of the nine sons of Shimhi, vers. 19–21; of the eleven sons of Shashak, vers. 22–25; and of the six sons

of Jeroham, vers. 26, 27, although some of these names are met with elsewhere singly. The concluding remark, ver. 28, "These are heads of fathers'-houses," refers, without doubt, to all the names from ver. 15 or 14 to ver. 27. "According to their generations—heads" is in apposition to the preceding, as in ix. 24, but the meaning of the apposition is doubtful. The word רָאשִׁים can hardly be repeated merely for emphasis, as the old commentators understood it, in harmony with the Vulgate *principes inquam*, for why should this word be so emphasized? Bertheau thinks that "according to their births—heads" is to be taken to mean that those who are enumerated by name are not the heads living at the time of the preparation of this register, but the individual families, with the name of their progenitor after whom they were named in the genealogical lists. But how this meaning can be found in the words in question, I at least cannot understand. Can the individual families be called רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת, "heads of fathers'-houses"? The families are the fathers'-houses themselves, *i.e.* they are made up of the groups of related households comprehended under the name fathers'-houses. These groups of related households have, it is true, each of them their head, but cannot possibly be themselves called heads. The meaning seems rather to be that the persons named in the family registers, or registers of births, are introduced as heads (of fathers'-houses); and the reason why this is remarked would seem to be, to prevent those who are enumerated as the sons of this or that man from being regarded simply as members of fathers'-houses. The further remark, "these dwelt in Jerusalem," is manifestly not to be taken to mean that the heads alone dwelt there, while the households that were subordinated to them lived elsewhere; for it signifies that they dwelt in Jerusalem with the households which composed their respective fathers'-houses. That the households dwelt there also is not stated, merely because the register contains only the names of the heads.

Vers. 29–40. *The genealogy of Saul.*—Vers. 29–38 recur in chap. ix. 35–44 (see on that passage).—Vers. 29–32. The ancestors of Saul. They dwelt mainly in Gibeon, but a branch of them were settled in Jerusalem, ver. 32 f. In Gibeon, now El Jib, two hours north-west from Jerusalem (see on Josh ix. 3), dwelt the father of Gibeon, with his wife and his sons. The plural יֵשְׁבוּ is used because there dwelt there, besides the father of Gibeon, also his wife and his sons. The father, *i.e.* the lord

and possessor of Gibeon, was called, according to ix. 35, Jehiel (יְעִיאֵל, Keth. יעואל), and his wife Maachah, a not uncommon female name (see on ii. 48). The descent of Jehiel from Benjamin is not given. In ver. 30 eight names are given as those of his sons, while in ix. 36 f. ten are mentioned, the latter statement being correct; for a comparison of the two passages shows that in our verse two names have been dropped out,—Ner between Baal and Nadab, and Mikloth at the end, which must have originally stood in our register also,—for in vers. 32, 33 their descendants are mentioned. זֶבֶר is called in ix. 37 זְכַרְיָה. These names are evidently those of actual sons of Jehiel who were progenitors of fathers'-houses (groups of related households), but in the case of only two is the race descended from these further noticed. In ver. 32 we have that of the youngest Mikloth, who begat Shimeah, called in ix. 38 Shimeam. These also (viz. Shimeah and his family) dwelt in Jerusalem נֶגֶד אֲחֵיהֶם, "before their brethren," *i.e.* over against them, and עִם אֲחֵיהֶם, "with their brethren." The brethren are the other Benjamites in the first clause, those dwelling outside of Jerusalem and inhabiting the neighbouring country as far as Gibeon (ver. 30); in the second, those dwelling in Jerusalem (ver. 28). From this it is clear that of the descendants of Abi-Gibeon only that branch which was descended from Mikloth went to Jeusalem.—Ver. 33. The family of Ner. Ner begat Kish, and Kish Saul. According to 1 Sam. ix. 1 and xiv. 51, Kish was a son of Abiel. This statement, on account of which Bertheau proposes to make alterations in the text, may be reconciled with that in our verses, by the simple supposition that in our verse intermediate names mentioned in 1 Sam. ix. 1, and probably others besides, are passed over, and Ner the son of Abi-Gibeon is named only because he was the progenitor of the line by which Saul was descended from him. Saul (שָׁאוּל) is King Saul. Only three of his four sons, 1 Sam. xiv. 49, are mentioned,—those, namely, who fell with him in the battle against the Philistines, 1 Sam. xxxi. 2. The second is called, in 1 Sam. xiv. 49, Ishui, but in xxxi. 2 Abinadab, as in our register, whence we gather that Ishui is another name for Abinadab. The fourth, Eshbaal, is the same who is called in 2 Sam. ii. 8, and elsewhere, Ishbosheth, who was set up as king in opposition to David by Abner (see on 2 Sam. ii. 8).—Ver. 34. Jonathan's sons and grandsons. His son is called here and in ix. 40 Meribbaal, while in 2 Sam. iv. 4, ix. 6, xvi. 1 ff.,

xix. 25, he is called Mephibosheth, because the name "striver with Baal" has been changed into מְפִיבֹשֶׁת, *exterminans idolum*. This Meribbaal, who was lame in his feet (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 4), had a son Micha (מִיכָה, in 2 Sam. ix. 12 written מִיכָא), of whom came a numerous race. He had four sons (ver. 35), and the family of the last-named of these (Ahaz) is traced down, in vers. 36–40, through ten generations to the great-grandson of Eshek. First it is traced from Ahaz to Alemeth (ver. 36); then through Zimri, brother of this latter, to Binea, by הוֹלִיד; then further by בְּנוֹ (his son) to Azel, of whom in ver. 38 six sons are enumerated; and finally, in ver. 39, the sons of his brother Eshek are named, and the sons and grandsons of the first-born of this latter are then enumerated. The last two verses are wanting after ix. 44. The names in the two registers correspond, except at one point, where we cannot get rid of the discrepancy that for יְהוֹעַדָּה (ver. 36) there stands in ix. 42 יַעֲרָה both times, probably through an error of transcription, by which out of the shortened form יְעַדָּה there arose יערה, ד and ר being interchanged. Besides this, instead of the תַּאְרֵעַ of ver. 35, we have in ix. 41, according to the harder pronunciation of the gutturals, תַּחְרֵעַ; and for רָפָה, ver. 37, we have in ix. 41 the longer original form רְפָיָה. Now since Ahaz, whose posterity is traced down to the tenth generation, was descended from Jonathan in the third generation, and his grandfather Mephibosheth was a boy of five years of age at the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. iv. 4), the grandsons of Ulam, mentioned in ver. 40, will be the thirteenth generation of Jonathan's descendants. Now Jonathan fell along with Saul in the year 1055 B.C. (see the chronological table of the period of the judges, p. 217), and consequently this thirteenth generation of Jonathan's descendants lived probably about 700 B.C., *i.e.* about 100 years before the Babylonian exile; for, according to the analogy of the royal race of David, we cannot reckon more than twenty-five years on an average for each generation.[1]—Ver. 40.

[1] Bertheau holds a contrary opinion to that given in the text, and thinks that by the numerous sons and grandsons of Ulam the son of Eshek we are brought down to post-exilic times, seeing that if Saul lived about 1080 B.C., and thirty years are reckoned to each one of the thirteen generations (Eshek being a descendant of Saul in the thirteenth generation), Azel and Eshek must have lived about 690 B.C. But this estimate is too high, for we cannot reckon sixty years to Saul and Jonathan from 1080 onwards, since Jonathan fell along with Saul in 1055, and his son Meribbaal was then hardly five years old, and must consequently have been born in 1060. For the following

The sons of Ulam are called valiant heroes and archers, and must have shown the same capability for war by which the tribe of Benjamin had been distinguished at an earlier time; cf. Judg. xx. 16, and for דֹּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת, cf. 1 Chron. v. 16. The subscription כָּל־אֵלֶּה מ׳ refers back to the superscription in ver. 1, and binds all the names in our chapter together.

CHAP. IX.—THE FORMER INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM, AND THE FAMILY OF SAUL.

Vers. 1–3 form the transition from the genealogies to the enumeration of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem in vers. 4–34. —Ver. 1. "And all the Israelites were registered; and, behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel, and Judah was led away to Babylon for her transgressions." The LXX. and Vulg. have erroneously connected וִיהוּדָה with the preceding words, and render, "in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah," and then have translated the following words הָגְלוּ וגו׳ arbitrarily. Not less incorrect is Bertheau's opinion, that Israel here denotes only the tribes of the northern kingdom, because Israel is contrasted with Judah, and kings of Israel are spoken of, for both reasons are quite worthless. "The book of the kings of Israel" is cited in 2 Chron. xx. 34 (cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18), and is declared by Bertheau himself to be identical with the historical work cited as the "book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8), or as the "book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, and elsewhere). How then can it be inferred from the shortened title, "book of the kings of Israel," that kings of the northern kingdom are spoken of? Then, as to the contrast between Israel and Judah, it might, when looked at by itself, be adduced in favour of taking the name in its narrower sense; but when we

generations, moreover, not more than twenty-five years on an average should be reckoned. That being the case, the children's children of Ulam's sons, who were the twelfth generation of Micha's descendants, may have lived from 760 B.C. onwards, and during this period, from 760 to 700, may have increased to the troop of blooming grandchildren of Ulam mentioned in ver. 40. But even supposing that thirty years should be reckoned for each generation, the last-named generation of 150 grandsons and great-grandsons of Ulam would have lived in the period from 660 to 600, *i.e.* before the exile, or at least before the first great deportation of the people with Jehoiakim in the year 599 B.C.

consider the grouping together in ver. 10 of "Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim," we see clearly that Israel in ver. 2 incontrovortibly denotes the whole Israel of the twelve tribes. In ver. 1, Israel is used in the same sense as in ver. 2; and the contrast between Israel and Judah, therefore, is analogous to the contrast "Judah and Jerusalem," *i.e.* Israel is a designation of the whole covenant people, Judah that of one section of it. The position of our verse also at the end of the genealogies of all the tribes of Israel, and not merely of the ten tribes of the northern kingdom, requires that the name Israel should be understood to denote the whole covenant people. That ver. 1 forms the transition from the genealogies to the enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so is properly the conclusion of the genealogies in chap. ii.–viii., is so manifest that Bertheau cannot adduce a single tenable ground for his assertion to the contrary, that "the verse forms clearly quite a new beginning." For the assertion, "We recognise in it a short introduction to the historical statements regarding the tribe of Judah or the Israelites after the exile," cannot be adduced in support of his view, since it not only contradicts his former assertion that Israel here denotes the northern kingdom, but is also irreconcilable with the words of the verse.[1] The statement, "Judah was led captive to Babylon for her transgressions," corresponds to the statement chap. v. 25 f., 41. But when, after this statement, our writer continues, "And the former inhabitants which (lived) in their possessions in their cities were Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim; and in Jerusalem there dwelt of the sons of Judah," etc., the "former inhabitants" can only be those who dwelt in their possessions before Judah was led captive into Babylon. This could hardly be misunderstood by any commentator, if the right interpretation of our passage were not obscured by the similarity of the register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem which follows to that contained in Neh xi.,—a similarity which has led some to believe that both registers treat of

[1] Bertheau's further remark, "Ver. 1 cannot have been written by our historian, because he did not consider it sufficient to refer his readers to the work he quotes from, but thought himself bound to communicate genealogical registers of the tribes of the northern kingdom (chap. v.–vii.), which he must have extracted from older registers prepared in the time of the kings (cf. v. 27), perhaps even out of the work here named," is quite incomprehensible by me. Notwithstanding repeated consideration of it clause by clause, I have not succeeded in comprehending the logic of this argument.

the post-exilic inhabitants of Jerusalem. Bertheau, *e.g.*, comes to the following decision as to the relation of our register, vers. 2–34, to that in Neh. xi. 3–24: "As the result of the comparison, we have found that both registers correspond exactly in their plan, and agree as to all the main points in their contents." The first point in this result has some foundation; for if we turn our attention only to the enumeration of chiefs dwelling in Jerusalem, then the registers in vers. 4–17 of our chapter and in Neh. xi. 3–19 are identical in plan. But if we consider the whole of the registers, as found in 1 Chron. ix. 2–34 and Neh. xi. 3–24, we see that they do differ in plan; for in ours, the enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is introduced by the remark, ver. 2, "The former inhabitants in their possessions in their cities, were Israel, the priests," etc., according to which the following words, ver. 3, "And in Jerusalem there dwelt of the sons of Judah," etc., can only be understood of the pre-exilic inhabitants. When Bertheau refers, in opposition to this, to Neh. v. 15, where the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra is called the time of the former governors (הַפֶּחוֹת הָרִאשֹׁנִים), with whom Nehemiah contrasts himself, the later governor, to prove that according to that the former inhabitants in our passage may very well denote the inhabitants of the land in the first century of the restored community, he forgets that the governors were changed within short periods, so that Nehemiah might readily call his predecessors in the office "former governors;" while the inhabitants of the cities of Judah, on the contrary, had not changed during the period from Zerubbabel to Ezra, so as to allow of earlier and later inhabitants being distinguished. From the fact that the inhabitants "of their cities" are not contrasted as the earlier, with the inhabitants of Jerusalem as the later, but that both are placed together in such a way as to exclude such a contrast, it is manifest that the conclusion drawn by Movers and Bertheau from Neh. xi. 1, that the "former inhabitants in their possessions in their cities" are those who dwelt in Jerusalem before it was peopled by the inhabitants of the surrounding district, is not tenable. In Neh. xi., on the contrary, the register is introduced by the remark, ver. 3, "These are the heads of the province who dwelt in Jerusalem; and they dwelt in the cities of Judah, each in his possession in their cities, Israel, the priests," etc. This introduction, therefore, announces a register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the other cities

of Judah, at that time, *i.e.* at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. To this corresponds the manner in which the register has been made out, as in vers. 3–24 the inhabitants of Jerusalem are enumerated, and in vers. 25–36 the inhabitants of the other cities. The register in our chapter, on the contrary, deals only with the inhabitants of Jerusalem (vers. 3–19*a*), while in vers. 19*b*–34 there follow remarks as to the duties devolving upon the Levites. No mention is made in the register of the inhabitants of other cities, or of Israelites, priests, and Levites, who dwelt in their cities outside of Jerusalem (ver. 2), because all that was necessary had been already communicated in the preceding genealogies (chap. ii.–viii.).—Ver. 3, too, is not, as Bertheau and others think, "the superscription of the register of those dwelling in Jerusalem;" for were it that, mention must have been made in it of the priests and Levites, the enumeration of whom fills up the greater part of the following register, vers. 10–33. Ver. 3 corresponds rather to ver. 35, and serves to introduce the contents of the whole chapter, and with it commences the enumeration itself. In Neh. xi., consequently, we have a register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, while our chapter contains only a register of the former inhabitants of Jerusalem. Only in so far as it treats of the inhabitants of Jerusalem does Nehemiah's register resemble ours in plan; that is, to this extent, that the sons of Judah, the sons of Benjamin, priests and Levites, are enumerated *seriatim* as dwelling in Jerusalem, that is, the heads of the fathers'-houses of these inhabitants, as is stated by Nehemiah in the superscription xi. 3, and in our chapter, at the end of the respective paragraphs, vers. 9, 13, and in the subscription, vers. 33 and 34.

But if we examine the contents of the two catalogues more minutely, their agreement is shown by the identity of several of the names of these heads. On this point Bertheau thus speaks: "Of the three heads of Judah, Uthai, Asaiah, and Jeuel, vers. 4–6, we recognise the first two in Athaiah and Maaseiah, Neh. xi. 4, 5; only the third name, Jeuel, is omitted. Of the five heads of Benjamin, vers. 5–7, it is true, we meet with only two, Sallu and Hodaviah, in Neh. xi. 7–9; but it is manifest that there was no intention to communicate in that place a complete enumeration of the hereditary chiefs of Benjamin. The names of the six heads of the divisions of the priests, Jedaiah and Jehoiarib, Jachin, Azariah (Seriah occupies his place in the book of Nehe-

miah), Adaiah and Maasiai (represented in Nehemiah by Amashai), are enumerated in both places in the same order. Among the Levites there occur the names of Shemaiah and Mattaniah as representatives of the great Levitic divisions of Merari and Gershon-Asaph, and we easily recognise our עֹבַדְיָה in the עַבְדָּא of the book of Nehemiah. Only the two first of the four chiefs of the doorkeepers, Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman, are named in the abridged enumeration of the book of Nehemiah, while the two others are only referred to in the added ואחיהם." Now, even according to this statement of the matter, the difference is seen to be almost as great as the agreement; but in reality, as a more exact comparison of the catalogues shows, the true state of the case is very different. According to ver. 3, there dwelt in Jerusalem also sons of Ephraim and Manasseh; but the catalogue from ver. 4 onwards contains only sons of Judah and Benjamin, and not a single Ephraimite or Manassite. The reason of that is probably this, that only single families and individuals from among the latter dwelt there, while the register only makes mention of the heads of the larger family groups in the population of Jerusalem.—Vers. 4–6. In the same place there dwelt, of the sons of Judah, three chiefs of the three most important families of Judah, that of Pharez, that of Shelah, and that of Zerah; cf. ii. 3, 4. Of the family of Pharez was Uthai, whose descent is traced back in ver. 4 to Bani, of the children of Pharez. The Kethibh בֶּן־בְּנִימִן־בְּנִי is clearly to be read according to the Keri בֶּן־פָּרֶץ מִן־בְּנִי. The name Bani occurs, vi. 31, among the Merarites; while in the genealogies of Judah, chap. ii.–iv., neither Bani nor Uthai, nor any one of his ancestors who are here named, is mentioned. In Neh. xi. 4, on the contrary, there is named of the sons of Pharez, Athaiah (עֲתָיָה, perhaps only another form of עוּתַי), with quite other ancestors; while not a single one of the five names of the persons through whom his race is traced back to Mahalaleel, of the sons of Pharez, coincides with the ancestors of Uthai.—Ver. 5. Of the family of Shelah, Asaiah the first-born, and his (other) sons. בָּנָיו, after הַבְּכוֹר, can only be understood of the other sons or descendants. But the epithet given to Asaiah, הַשִּׁילֹנִי, is surprising, for it is a formation from שִׁילֹה or שִׁילֹן, and appears to denote a native of Shiloh, a well-known city of Ephraim. This derivation, however, is not suitable, since here the sons (descendants) of Judah are enumerated; and no connection between the inhabitants of Judah and the

Ephraimite city Shiloh can either be proved or is at all likely. The older commentators, therefore, have suggested the reading הַשֶּׁלָנִי, as in Num. xxvi. 20, where the family of Shelah, the third son of Judah, is so called. This suggestion is doubtless correct, and the erroneous punctuation הַשִּׁילֹנִי has probably arisen only from the *scriptio plena* of the word שִׁילֹה instead of שִׁלֹה. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that the form הַשַּׁלֻנִי is found in Neh. xi. 5, although it also is pointed הַשִּׁלֹנִי. In Neh. *loc. cit.*, instead of Asaiah, Maaseiah is introduced as בֶּן־הַשִּׁלֹנִי in the seventh generation, while no ancestors whatever of our Asaiah are mentioned. The name עֲשָׂיָה, moreover, is not unfrequent, and occurs in iv. 36 among the Simeonites; in vi. 15, xv. 6, 11, among the Levites; in 2 Kings xxii. 12, 14 and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20, as עֵבֶד of the King Josiah. מַעֲשֵׂיָה is the name of many persons, *e.g.* in xv. 18, 20, and likewise in 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, Jer. xxi. 1, xxix. 21, xxxv. 4; and elsewhere it is used of men of other tribes: so that even should Maaseiah have been written instead of Asaiah merely by an error of transcription, we are not warranted in identifying our Asaiah with the Maaseiah of Nehemiah.—Ver. 6. "Of the sons of Zerah, Jeuel;" also the name of various persons; cf. v. 7, 2 Chron. xxvi. 11: the register in Neh. xi. notices no descendants of Zerah. "And their brethren, 690 (men)." The plural suffix in אֲחֵיהֶם cannot be referred, as Bertheau thinks, to Jeuel, for that name, as being that of the head of a father's-house, cannot be a collective. The suffix must consequently refer to the three heads mentioned in vers. 4–6, Uthai, Asaiah, and Jeuel, whose brethren are the other heads of fathers'-houses of the three families descended from Judah; cf. ver. 9, where the number of the אַחִים mentioned refers to all the heads who had formerly been spoken of.—Vers. 7–9. Of the sons of Benjamin, *i.e.* of the Benjamites, four heads are named, Sallu, Ibneiah, Elah, and Meshullam; and of the first and fourth of these, three generations of ancestors are mentioned, of the second only the father, of the third the father and grandfather. "And their brethren according to their generations, 956;" cf. on ver. 6. "All these men" are not the brethren whose number is given, but the heads who have been mentioned by name. Now, if we compare this with Neh. xi., we meet in vers. 7–9 with only one of the four heads of Benjamin, Sallu, and that too, as in the Chronicle, as a son of Meshullam, while the ancestors of both are different. Instead of the three others in ver. 8, we have נִבַּי סַלַּי, 928; and in

ver. 9, Joel as overseer (prefect), and Jehudah as ruler over the city.

Vers. 10–13. *The priests.*—The three names Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin (ver. 10) denote three classes of priests (cf. xxiv. 7, 17), who accordingly dwelt in Jerusalem. There also dwelt there (ver. 11) Azariah the son of Hilkiah, etc., the prince of the house of God; cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 13. This is the Azariah mentioned in chap. v. 40, the son of Hilkiah, etc., the grandfather of the Jehozadak who was led captive into Babylon. Then in ver. 12 we have two other heads of the priestly fathers'-houses, with an enumeration of their ancestors, through whom they are traced back to the classes of priests to which they belonged respectively, viz. Adaiah to the class Malchijah (1 Chron. xxiv. 9), and Maasiai to the class Immer (1 Chron. xxiv. 14). According to this, therefore, there dwelt at Jerusalem, of the priesthood, the three classes Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin, Azariah the prince of the temple, and of the classes Malchijah and Immer, the fathers'-houses Adaiah and Maasiai. In ver. 13 the whole number is estimated at 1760. A difficulty is raised by the first words of this verse, "And their brethren, heads of their fathers'-houses, 1760," which can hardly be taken in any other sense than as denoting that the number of the heads of the fathers'-houses amounted to 1760. This, however, is not conceivable, as "fathers'-houses" are not single households, but larger groups of related families. Moreover, אֲחֵיהֶם, which is co-ordinate with the heads of the fathers'-houses, can only denote, as in vers. 6, 9, the heads of the families which belonged to or constituted the fathers'-houses. To arrive at this meaning, however, we must transpose the words וַאֲחֵיהֶם and רָאשִׁים לְבֵית־אֲבוֹתָם, connecting ר' לבית־אבותם with ver. 12, and אחיהם with the number, thus: heads of fathers'-houses, etc., were those mentioned in ver. 12, and their brethren 1760 (men), valiant heroes in the work of the service of the house of God. Before מְלֶאכֶת one would expect the word עֲשֵׂי, as in 1 Chron. xxiii. 24 and Neh. xi. 12, but its presence is not so absolutely necessary as to warrant us in supposing that it has been dropped out, and in inserting it. מְלֶאכֶת may be also taken as an accusative of relation, "valiant heroes in reference to the work;" or at most a לְ may be supplied before מלאכת, as it might easily have been omitted by a clerical error after the immediately preceding חֵיל. On comparing our passage with Neh. xi. 10–14, we find there, if בֶּן־יוֹיָרִיב in ver. 10 be altered into יְהוֹיָרִיב, the same three

classes of priests; but instead of Azariah, Seraiah is prince of the house of God, ver. 11: thereafter we have 822 brethren, performing the work of the house (of God). Then follows Adaiah of the class Malchijah (as in the Chronicles), but with the addition, "his brethren 242;" and then Amashai of the class Immer, but with other ancestors than those of the Maasiai of the Chronicles, and with the addition, "and their brethren, valiant heroes, 128;" and finally, Zabdiel Ben Hagdolim as overseer (president over them). The sum of the three numbers is 1192, as contrasted with the 1760 of the Chronicle.

Vers. 14–17. *The Levites.*—Of these there dwelt in Jerusalem, Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of, etc., a Merarite; and (ver. 15) Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal; and Mattaniah the son of Micah, a descendant of Asaph, and consequently a Gershonite (ver. 16); and Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, a descendant of Jeduthun, consequently also a Merarite; and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, who dwelt in the villages of the Netophathite, *i.e.* of the lord or possessor of Netopha, a locality in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem; cf. Neh. vii. 26. This remark does not refer to Shemaiah, who cannot have dwelt at the same time in Jerusalem and in the village of the Netophathite, but to his grandfather or ancestor Elkanah, who is thereby to be distinguished from the other men who bore this name, which often occurs in the family of Kohath. All these men are, according to the analogy of the other names in our register, and according to the express statement of the superscription, ver. 34, to be regarded as heads of Levitic fathers'-houses, and were probably leaders of the music, since those mentioned in vers. 15, 16 were descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun, and may therefore with certainty be assumed to have belonged to the Levitic musicians. A confirmation of this supposition is found in the superscription, ver. 33, inasmuch as the mention of the singers in the first line goes to show that the enumeration of the Levites began with the singers. If we compare Neh. xi. 15–18 with our passage, we find that these two, Shemaiah and Mattaniah, are mentioned, and on the whole their forefathers have the same names, vers. 15 and 17; but between the two we find Shabbethai and Jozabad of the chief of the Levites set over the external service of the house of God. After Mattaniah, who is chief of the Asaphites there also, mention is made of Bakbukiah as the second among his brethren, and Abda the son of Shammua, a descendant of Jeduthun (ver.

17); according to which, even if we identify Bakbakkar with Bakbukiah, and Abda with Obadiah, the Heresh, Galal, and Berechiah of the Chronicles are wanting in Nehemiah, and instead of these three, only Jozabad is mentioned.—Ver 17. "The doorkeepers, Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, Ahiman, and their brethren: Shallum the chief." The service was so divided among the four just named, that each along with his brethren performed the duty of watching by one of the four sides and chief entrances of the temple (cf. vers. 24 and 26), and these four were consequently heads of those divisions of the Levites to whom was committed the duty of the watch. In Neh. xi. 20, on the contrary, the doorkeepers mentioned are Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren, 172 (men); but the other two chiefs named in the Chronicle are there omitted, while in the Chronicle no number is given. Here the agreement between the two registers ceases. In the Chronicle there follows first of all, in vers. 18–26*a*, some remarks on the service of the doorkeepers; and then in 26*b*–32 the duties of the Levites in general are spoken of; and finally, in vers. 32 and 34 we have subscriptions. In Nehemiah, on the other hand, we find in ver. 20 the statement that the remaining Israelites, priests, and Levites dwelt in their cities; and after some statements as to the service of the Levites, the enumeration of these cities is introduced.

In glancing back over the two catalogues, it is seen that the differences are at least as great as the coincidences. But what conclusions are we to deduce from that fact? Bertheau thinks "from this it is certain that both catalogues cannot have been drawn up independently of each other," and "that both have been derived from one and the same source, which must have been much more complete, and much richer in names, than our present catalogues; cf. Movers, S. 234." We, however, judge otherwise. The discrepancies are much too great to allow us to refer them to free handling by epitomizers of some hypothetical more detailed catalogue, or to the negligence of copyists. The coincidence, in so far as it actually exists, does not justify us in accepting such far-fetched suppositions, but may be satisfactorily explained in another way. It consists indeed only in this, that in both registers, (1) sons of Judah and Benjamin, priests and Levites, are enumerated; (2) that in each of these four classes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem some names are identical. The first of these coincidences clearly does not in

the least prove that the two catalogues are derived from the same source, and treat of the same time; for the four classes enumerated constituted, both before and after the exile, the population of Jerusalem. But neither does the identity of some of the names prove in the slightest degree the identity of the two catalogues, because the names denote, partly classes of inhabitants, and partly heads of fathers'-houses, *i.e.* of groups of related households, which did not change with each generation, but sometimes continued to exist for centuries; and because, *à priori*, we should expect that those who returned from exile would, as far as it was possible, seek out again the dwelling-places of their pre-exilic ancestors; and that consequently after the exile, on the whole, the same families who had dwelt at Jerusalem before it would again take up their abode there. In this way the identity of the names Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin in the two catalogues may be accounted for, as these names do not denote persons, but classes of priests, which existed both before and after the exile. A similar explanation would also apply to the names of the doorkeepers Akkub and Talmon (ver. 17; Neh. ver. 19), as not merely the priests, but also the other Levites, were divided for the service according to their fathers'-houses into classes which had permanent names (cf. chap. xxv. and xxvi.). Of the other names in our register only the following are identical: of the Benjamites, Sallu the son of Meshullam (ver. 7; Neh. ver. 7); of the priests, Adaiah (ver. 12; Neh. ver. 12), with almost the same ancestors; and of the Levites, Shemaiah and Mattaniah (ver. 10 f.; Neh. vers. 15, 17). All the other names are different; and even if among the priests Maasiai (ver. 12) should be identical with Amashai (Neh. ver. 13), and among the Levites Bakbakkar and Obadiah (vers. 16 and 15) with Bakbukiah and Abda (Neh. ver. 17), we cannot identify the sons of Judah, Uthai and Azaiah (ver. 4 f.), with Athaiah and Maaseiah (Neh. ver. 4 f.), for their ancestors are quite different. The similarity or even the identity of names, were it in two or three generations, cannot of itself prove the identity of the persons, as we have already seen, in the genealogy of the line of Aaron (v. 29 ff.), that, *e.g.*, the series Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok recurs at various times; cf. ver. 33 f. and ver. 37 f. Everywhere in the genealogical lines the same names very often recur, as it was the custom to give the children the names of their ancestors; cf. Tob. i. 9, Luke i. 59. Win. *bibl. R.W.* ii. S. 133;

Hävern. *Einl.* ii. 1, S. 179 f. But if, on the one hand, the identity of these names in the two catalogues is not at all a valid proof of the identity of the catalogues, and by no means justifies us in identifying similarly-sounding names by supposing errors of transcription, on the other hand we must hold that the register refers to the pre-exilic population of Jerusalem, both because of the wide discrepancies in all points, and in accordance with the introductory statements in ver. 2 f. This interpretation is also demanded by the succeeding remarks in reference to the service of the Levites, since they throughout refer to the pre-exilic time.

Vers. 18–34. *The duties of the Levites.*—Ver. 18. The first half of this verse, "And until now (is he) in the king's gate eastward," must be referred to Shallum (Berth.). To imagine a reference to all the doorkeepers, "until now are they," does not suit vers. 24–26, according to which the doorkeepers kept guard upon all the four sides. The eastern gate of the temple was called the king's gate, because by this gate the king went in and out to the temple; cf. Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2, xli. 3. The remark, "until now is Shallum watcher," etc., presupposes the existence of the temple at the time of the preparation of this register, and points to the pre-exilic time. Against this Bertheau has raised the objection that the name king's gate may have been retained, even in the post-exilic times for the eastern gate. This must of course be in general admitted, but could only be accepted if it were proved that Shallum lived after the exile. This proof Bertheau obtains by taking the words, "until now is Shallum in the king's gate," to mean, "that, according to the ancient arrangement, Shallum, the chief of all the doorkeepers, had still to guard the eastern entrance; according to which Shallum would be the collective designation of the whole series of the chiefs of the doorkeepers who lived from David's time till after the exile;" but the words cannot be thus interpreted. Such an interpretation cannot be made plausible by identifying the name Shallum with Meshelemiah or Shelemiah, to whose lot it fell in the time of David to be doorkeeper to the eastward (xxvi. 1, 14); for in doing so, we would overlook the fact that in ver. 21 of our chapter also he bears the name Meshelemiah. The circumstance that both Shallum and Meshelemiah are called Ben-Kore, of the sons of Abiasaph, by no means justifies the identification of these two quite different names; for it is neither necessary nor

probable that בֵּן should here be taken in its narrower sense, and Kore regarded as the immediate father of both. The name קֹרֵא is repeated in the family of the east doorkeepers, as we learn from 2 Chron. xxxi. 14, where it is stated that this office was held by a Kore ben Jimna. "These (who are named in ver. 17) are the doorkeepers for the camp of the sons of Levi" (of the Levites),—an antiquated expression, bringing to remembrance the time of Moses, when the Levites, on the journey through the wilderness, were encamped about the tabernacle (Num. iii. 21 ff.).—Ver. 19 gives more exact information as to Shallum's person and his official position. He, the descendant of Kore, the son (descendant) of Abiasaph, a Korahite, and his brethren according to his father's-house (*i.e.* called brethren because they, like him, belonged to the father's-house of Korah), were over the work of the service, viz. keepers of the thresholds of the tent; *i.e.* of the house of God, of the temple, which, according to the ancient custom, was called tent, because God's house was formerly a tent—the tabernacle. "And his fathers (the ancestors of Shallum) were by the encampment of Jahve, guardians of the entrance." With these words the author of this register goes back into the ancient time; and we learn that Shallum's ancestors, of the father's-house of the Korahite Abiasaph, had held the office of guardian of the entrance to the house of God from the time of the conquest of Canaan and the setting up of the tabernacle in Shiloh. The remark in ver. 20, that Phinehas the son of Eleazar was prince over them in time past, points to the same period. In the book of Joshua and the older books there is no record of the matter; but since the Korahites were descended through Ishhar from Kohath, and the Kohathites held, according to Num. iv. 4 ff., the first place among the servants of the holy place, and were responsible for the holiest vessels, we cannot doubt that the statement here rests upon accurate historical tradition. The "encampment of Jahve" is the holy place of the tabernacle, the dwelling of Jahve in the midst of His people. This designation also is derived from the circumstances of the Israelites in their wandering in the Arabian desert, and is likewise employed in 2 Chron. xxxi. 2 in reference to Solomon's temple; but in our verse the tabernacle is intended. It had only one entrance, מָבוֹא, the guarding of which was entrusted to the above-mentioned Korahites.—Ver. 20. Phinehas was prince over them, not as high priest, but during the high-

priesthood of his father Eleazar, *i.e.* in the time of Joshua, just as Eleazar, under the high-priesthood of Aaron in the time of Moses, had the oversight of the keepers of the holy-place, as prince of the princes of Levi (Num. iii. 32). The words יהוה עִמּוֹ do not contain a historical remark, "Jahve was with him," for then the conjunction ו would stand before it, as in xi. 9; they are a blessing—"Jahve be with him"—in reference, probably, to the covenant of peace entered into with him and his descendants by Jahve (Num. xxv. 11–13).—Ver. 21 is quite unconnected with the preceding context, the conjunction ו being omitted, and its contents also present considerable difficulties. Zechariah, the son of Meshelemiah, can only be the Zechariah who is mentioned in xxvi. 2 as the first-born of Meshelemiah, and who lived in the time of David; for at the time when David divided the porters into classes, there fell to him the lot towards midnight, *i.e.* the duty of waiting at the door on the north side of the holy place (xxvi. 14). With this, indeed, the general statement of our verse, "he was porter of the door (or the entrance) of the tent of the covenant," is not inconsistent. But what purpose does this general statement serve? With what design is Zechariah, and he alone, mentioned? We have no means of giving a definite answer to this question; but he may perhaps be named as being the person who, before David's division of the Levites into classes was carried out, had charge of the porters' service in the tabernacle. But even if this conjecture be accepted as well grounded, the abrupt way in which it is mentioned still remains enigmatical.

With ver. 22 the narrative seems to return to the enumeration begun in vers. 17–19*a*, so that the reflections on the earlier times, vers. 19*b*–21, are to be regarded as a parenthesis. Ver. 22 runs: "They all who were chosen for doorkeepers for the thresholds, 212 (men): they, in their villages were they registered; they were ordained by David and Samuel the seer on their fidelity." The infinitive הִתְיַחֵשׂ is used substantively, "in reference to them, in their villages was their genealogical registration accomplished." If ver. 22 be the continuation of vers. 17–21*a*, then the number given (212) will refer to the doorkeepers in active service at the time of the preparation of the register. With this hypothesis, however, the last clause of the verse, which states that David and Samuel had appointed them, does not seem to harmonize. But if we consider that the four men

mentioned in ver. 17 are heads of fathers'-houses, and that their fathers'-houses were not extinguished at the death of their temporary heads, and performed the same service from generation to generation, it might well be said of the generation performing the service at the time of the preparation of our register, that David had appointed them to their office. The case would of course be similar, if, as we have above supposed, the four names in ver. 17 are designations of the classes of doorkeepers, for these classes also performed the same service continually. The statements of our 22d verse cannot be referred to the time of David, for in chap. xxvi. 8–10 the number of the doorkeepers appointed by David amounted only to eighty, viz. sixty-two of the sons of Obed-Edom, and eighteen of the sons of Meshelemiah, which, with the addition of thirteen Merarites (xxvi. 10, 11), gives a total of ninety-three, while in our verse the number is 212. According to Ezra ii. 42, the number of doorkeepers who returned with Zerubbabel was 139 men; and in the register, Neh. xi. 19, the number is stated to be 172. From the remark that they were registered in their villages (חַצֵרֵיהֶם, as in vi. 41, Josh. xiii. 23, and elsewhere), we learn that the doorkeepers dwelt in villages near Jerusalem, whence they came to the city so often as their service required, as the singers also did in the post-exilic time, Neh. xii. 29 f. יָסַד, to found, set, ordain, and so appoint to an office. "David and Samuel the seer:" הָרֹאֶה, the ancient designation of the prophets, for which at a later time נָבִיא was the more usual word; cf. 1 Sam. ix. 9. Nowhere else do we find any record of Samuel's having taken any part in David's arrangement of the service of the Levites in the holy place. Samuel, moreover, was no longer living when David began to arrange the worship at the time when the ark was brought to Jerusalem, for he died before Saul, and consequently before the beginning of David's reign; cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 1 with xxviii. 3. Bertheau is consequently of opinion that this statement of our historian rests merely upon the general recollection, according to which the worship was organized afresh, and established in its newer form, in the time of David and Samuel. This is of course possible, but there is no cogent reason against accepting the much less remote supposition that the chronicler took this remark from his authority. The mention of Samuel after David has not a chronological signification, but David is named first on account of his connection with the matter in

hand; for the thorough re-organization of the worship, and the classification of the persons engaged in carrying it on, originated with David. For these arrangements of David, however, Samuel had prepared the way in his struggle for the restoration of the theocracy, and of the worship which had fallen into desuetude under Eli and his profligate sons. To do this in any measure, he must have, without doubt, ordained trustworthy men to the individual offices, and thus have prepared the way for King David. בֶּאֱמוּנָתָם is found in vers. 26, 31 without the suffix, with the meaning "in good faith" (cf. 2 Kings xii. 16, xxii. 7, 2 Chron. xxxi. 12), and accordingly is here upon their fidelity, *i.e.* because they had been recognised to be faithful.—Ver. 23 f. They (those ordained by David) and their sons (descendants) were at the doors of the house of Jahve—of the tent-house (בֵּית הָאֹהֶל is added to בֵּית־יהוה, in order that the latter might not be confined to Solomon's temple); for the watch (מִשְׁמָרוֹת of persons, as in Neh. xii. 9, iv. 3, 16), according to the four winds (quarters) were they, *i.e.* the doorkeepers stood so, in accordance with the arrangement made by David; cf. xxvi. 14 ff.—Ver. 25. "And their brethren in their villages (cf. ver. 22) were bound to come the seventh day, from time to time, with these." The infinitive בוֹא with ל expresses duty, as in v. 1. The seventh day is the Sabbath of the week, on which each class in order had to take charge of the services. עִם אֵלֶּה are the chiefs mentioned in ver. 17 who dwelt in Jerusalem, and of whom it is said in ver. 26, "for they are on their fidelity, the four mighty of the doorkeepers." In explanation of the גִּבֹּרֵי, Bertheau very fittingly compares *στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, Luke xxii. 52. The words הֵם הַלְוִיִּם, which may be translated, "they are the Levites," or "they (viz. the Levites)," are somewhat surprising. The Masoretic punctuation demands the latter translation, when the words would be an emphatic elucidation of the preceding הֵמָּה. Were they a subscription, we should expect אֵלֶּה instead of הֵם; while, on the other hand, the circumstance noticed by Bertheau, that in the following verses the duties not merely of the doorkeepers, but of the Levites in general, are enumerated, would seem to favour that sense. Even in the second half of the 22d verse it is not the doorkeepers who are spoken of, but the Levites in general. May we not suppose that the text originally stood וּמִן הַלְוִיִּם הָיוּ (cf. ver. 14) instead of וְהֵם הַלְוִיִּם וְהָיוּ, and that the reading of our present text, having originated in a transcriber's error, found

acceptance from the circumstance that ver. 27 apparently still treats of, or returns to, the service of the doorkeepers? So much is certain, that from ver. 26*b* onward the duties of the Levites in general, no longer those of the doorkeepers, are spoken of, and that consequently we must regard the Levites (הַלְוִיִּם), and not the before-mentioned four doorkeepers, as the subject of וְהָיוּ: "and the Levites were over the cells of the storehouses of the house of God." The cells in the outbuildings of the temple served as treasure-chambers and storehouses for the temple furniture. הָאוֹצָרוֹת with the article in the *stat. constr.* (Ew. § 290, *d*), because of the looser connection, since the genitive בֵּית־הָאֱ׳ also belongs to הַלְּשָׁכוֹת.—Ver. 27 refers again to the doorkeepers. They passed the night around the house of God, because the care of or watch over it was committed to them, and "they were over the key, and that every morning," *i.e.* they had to open the door every morning. מַפְתֵּחַ occurs again in Judg. iii. 25 and Isa. xxii. 22, in the signification key, which is suitable here also.—Ver. 28. And of them (the Levites), some were over the vessels of the service, by which we are probably to understand the costly vessels, *e.g.* the golden cups for the libations, etc., which were brought from the treasure-chamber only for a short time for use in the service. They were brought, according to the number, into the place where the service took place, and after being again numbered, were again carried forth; and according to ver. 29, other Levites were set over הַכֵּלִים and over כְּלֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ.—Ver. 29. And of them, others were set over the vessels (in general), and over all the holy vessels which were used for the daily sacrificial service, and over the fine flour (סֹלֶת, *vide* on Lev. ii. 1), wine, oil, and incense which was required therein for the meat and drink offerings, and the בְּשָׂמִים, spicery, for the holy perfumes (frankincense, cf. Ex. xxv. 6).—Ver. 30. And of the priests' sons were preparers of the ointments for the spices. It is the preparation from various spices of the holy anointing oil, Ex. xxx. 23–25, which is meant, and which consequently was part of the priest's duty.—Ver. 31. Mattithiah, the first-born of the Korahite Shallum (*vide* ver. 19), was on good faith over the panbakings (pastry) for the meat-offerings, over the preparation of which he was to watch. To the name Mattithiah מִן־הַלְוִיִּם is added, in contrast to the מִן־בְּנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים in ver. 30. The word הַחֲבִתִּים (pastry, panbaking) occurs here only; cf. מַחֲבַת, pan of sheet iron, Ex. iv. 3.—Ver. 32.

Finally, to some of the Kohathites was committed the preparation of the shew-bread, which required to be laid on the table fresh every Sabbath; cf. Lev. xxiv. 5–8. The suffix אֲחֵיהֶם refers back to the Levites of the father's-house of Korah in ver. 32.—Vers. 33, 34 contain subscriptions to the section 14–32. Since the enumeration of the Levites dwelling in Jerusalem in vers. 14–16 began with the Levitic singer families, so here we find that the singers are mentioned in the first subscription, "these are the singers, heads of fathers'-houses of the Levites," with an additional remark as to their service: "In the cells free, for day and night it is incumbent upon them to be in service," which is somewhat obscure. פְּטוּרִים, from פָּטַר, in later Hebrew, let loose, set free. Rashi and Kimchi have already translated it, *immunes ab aliis nempe ministeriis*, or *ab omni alio officio*. Adopting this linguistically assured translation, we must supply with בַּלְּשָׁכוֹת, dwelling or waiting in the cells of the courts of the temple, freed from every other business in order that they may apply themselves wholly to their service, for they are wholly busied therewith day and night. Day and night is not to be pressed, but signifies perpetually, continually. Bertheau translates עֲלֵיהֶם בַּמְּלָאכָה, "they were over them in the service," *i.e.* had to take the oversight of the singers subordinate to them. But this can hardly be correct; and the passage quoted to justify this translation, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, proves nothing, because there מְפַקֵּד is used along with it. We therefore prefer to take עֲלֵיהֶם in the signification "it is incumbent upon them," although we should then expect הַמְּלָאכָה instead of בַּמְּלָאכָה; cf. ver. 27. Yet בַּמְּלָאכָה can in this connection quite well be used elliptically or concisely for "to be in service," *i.e.* to carry on their musical duties. The second subscription (ver. 34) refers to all the Levites, and is similar in contents and form to that in chap. viii. 28.

Vers. 35–44. *The family of King Saul.*—This register has already occurred in chap. viii. 29–38, along with those of other families of the tribe of Benjamin, and is repeated here only to connect the following history of the kingship with the preceding genealogical lists. It forms here the introduction to the narrative of Saul's death in chap. x., which in turn forms the transition to the kingship of David. The deviations of this register from that in chap. viii. 29–38, show that it has been derived from another document in more complete preservation than that in chap. viii., which had been handed down in connection with other genealogies of the

Benjamite families, and had suffered considerably in its text. See the commentary on viii. 29–38.

II.—THE HISTORY OF DAVID'S KINGSHIP.—CHAP. X.–XXIX.

The account of the ruin of Saul and his house in chap. x., cf. 1 Sam. xxxi., forms the introduction to the history of the kingship of David, which is narrated in two sections. In the first, chap. xi.–xxi., we have a consecutive narrative of the most important events of David's life, and his attempts to settle the kingship of Israel on a firmer basis, from the time of his being anointed king over all Israel to the numbering of the people in the latter years of his reign. The second, chap. xxii.–xxix., contains an account of the preparations made towards the end of his reign for the building of the temple, of the arrangement of the service of the Levites and the army, and the last commands of the grey-haired king as to the succession of his son Solomon to the kingdom, and matters connected with it. The first section runs parallel to the account of the reign of David in 2d Samuel; the second is peculiar to the Chronicle, and has no parallel in the earlier historical books, Samuel and Kings. Now, if we compare the first section with the parallel narrative in 2d Samuel, it is manifest that, apart from that omission of David's seven years' reign over the tribe of Judah in Hebron, and of all the events having reference to and connection with his family relationships, of which we have already spoken in p. 12, in the Chronicle the same incidents are recounted as in the second book of Samuel, and with few exceptions the order is the same. The main alterations in the order of the narrative are: (*a*) that the catalogues of David's heroes who helped him to establish his kingdom (xi. 10–47), and of the valiant men of all the tribes, who even in Saul's lifetime had joined themselves to David (chap. xii.), follow immediately upon the account of the choosing of Jerusalem to be the capital of the kingdom, after the conquest of the fortress Jebus (xi. 1–9), while in 2d Samuel the former of these catalogues is found in chap. xxiii. 8–39, in connection with the history of his reign, and the latter is entirely omitted; and (*b*) the account of his palace-building, his wives and children, and of some battles with the Philistines, which in 2 Sam. v. 11–25 follows immediately after the account of the conquest of the citadel of Zion, is inserted

in the fourteenth chapter of Chronicles, in the account of the bringing of the ark of the covenant from Kirjath-jearim (chap. xiii.), and its transfer to Jerusalem (chap. xv. f.). Both these transpositions and the before-mentioned omissions are connected with the peculiar plan of the Chronicle. In the second book of Samuel the reign of David is so described as to bring out, in the first place, the splendidly victorious development of his kingship, and then its humiliation through great transgression on David's part; the author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, designed to portray to his contemporaries the glories of the Davidic kingship, so that the divine election of David to be ruler over the people of Israel might be manifest. In accordance with this purpose he shows, firstly, how after the death of Saul Jahve bestowed the kingship upon David, all Israel coming to Hebron and anointing him king, with the confession, "Jahve thy God hath said to thee, Thou shalt be ruler over my people Israel;" how the heroes of the whole nation helped him in the establishing of his kingdom (chap. xi.); and how, even before the death of Saul, the most valiant men of all the tribes had gone over to him, and had helped him in the struggle (chap. xii.). In the second place, he narrates how David immediately determined to bring the ark into the capital of his kingdom (chap. xv.); how, notwithstanding the misfortunes caused by a transgression of the law (chap. xiii. 7, 9 ff.), so soon as he had learned that the ark would bring a blessing (chap. xiii. xiv.), and that God would bless him in his reign (chap. xiv.), he carried out his purpose, and not only brought the ark to Jerusalem, but organized the public worship around this sanctuary (chap. xv. and xvi.); and how he formed a resolution to build a temple to the Lord, receiving from God, because of this, a promise that his kingdom should endure for ever (chap. xvii.). Then, in the third place, we have an account of how he, so favoured by the Lord, extended the power of his kingdom by victorious wars over all the enemies of Israel (chap. xviii.–xx.); and how even the ungodly enterprise of the numbering of the people, to which Satan had tempted him, David, had by the grace of God, and through his penitent submission to the will of the Lord, such an issue, that the place where the Lord should be thereafter worshipped in Israel was determined by the appearance of the angel and by the word of the prophet Gad (chap. xxi.). And so the grey-haired king was able to spend the latter part of his reign in making preparations for the building of the temple, and in

establishing permanent ordinances for the public worship, and the protection of the kingdom: gave over to his son Solomon, his divinely chosen successor on the throne, a kingdom externally and internally well ordered and firmly established, and closed his life at a good old age, after a reign of forty years (chap. xxii.–xxix.).

CHAP. X.—THE RUIN OF SAUL AND OF HIS HOUSE. (CF. 1 SAM. CHAP. XXXI.)

The account of Saul's struggle with the Philistines, in which he fell together with his sons, vers. 1–7, exactly coincides with the narrative in 1 Sam. xxxi. 1–7; and the statements as to the fate of the fallen king, vers. 8–12, differ from 1 Sam. xxxi. 8–13 only to this extent, that both narratives make mention only of the main points, and mutually supplement each other. In vers. 13 and 14 there follow reflections on the ruin of the unfortunate king, which show that the account of the death of Saul is only intended to form an introduction to the history of David.

Vers. 1–7. In 1 Sam. xxxi. this narrative forms the conclusion of Saul's last war with the Philistines. The battle was fought in the plain of Jezreel; and when the Israelites were compelled to retire, they fell back upon Mount Gilboa, but were hard pressed by the Philistines, so that many fell upon the mountain. The Philistines pressed furiously after Saul and his sons, and slew the latter (as to Saul's sons, see on viii. 33); and when the archers came upon Saul he trembled before them (יָחֵל from חיל), and ordered his armour-bearer to thrust him through. Between הַמּוֹרִים and בַּקָּשֶׁת the superfluous אַנְשֵׁי is introduced in Samuel, and in the last clause מְאֹד is omitted; and instead of מֵהַמּוֹרִים we have the unusual form מִקַּרְהַיּוֹרִים (cf. 2 Chron. xxxv. 23). In Saul's request to his armour-bearer that he would thrust him through with the sword, וּדְקָרֵנִי (1 Sam. ver. 4) is omitted in the phrase which gives the reason for his request; and Bertheau thinks it did not originally stand in the text, and has been repeated merely by an oversight, since the only motive for the command, "Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith," was that the Philistines might not insult Saul when alive, and consequently the words, "that they may not thrust me through," cannot express the reason. But that is scarcely a conclusive reason for this belief; for although the Philistines might seek out Saul after he had been slain by his armour-bearer, and dishonour his dead body, yet the anxiety lest

they should seek out his corpse to wreak their vengeance upon it could not press so heavily upon him as the fear that they would take vengeance upon him if he fell alive into their hands. It is therefore a more probable supposition that the author of the Chronicle has omitted the word וּדְקָרֻנִי only as not being necessary to the sense of the passage, just as עָמּוֹ is omitted at the end of ver. 5. In ver. 6 we have וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ instead of the וְנִשְׁאָ כֻלָּיו גַּם כָּל־אֲנָשָׁיו of Samuel, and in ver. 7 אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל is omitted after the words כִּי נָסוּ (Samuel). From this Bertheau concludes that the author of the Chronicle has designedly avoided speaking of the men of Saul's army or of the Israelites who took part in the battle, because it was not his purpose to describe the whole course of the conflict, but only to narrate the death of Saul and of his sons, in order to point out how the supreme power came to David. Thenius, on the contrary, deduces the variation between the sixth verse of the Chronicles and the corresponding verse in Samuel from "a text which had become illegible." Both are incorrect; for כָּל־אֲנָשָׁיו are not all the men of war who went with him into the battle (Then.), or all the Israelites who took part in the battle (Berth.), but only all those who were about the king, *i.e.* the whole of the king's attendants who had followed him to the war. כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ is only another expression for כָּל־אֲנָשָׁיו, in which the נִשְׂאָ כֻלָּיו is included. The author of the Chronicle has merely abridged the account, confining himself to a statement of the main points, and has consequently both omitted אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל in ver. 7, because he had already spoken of the flight of the warriors of Israel in ver. 1, and it was here sufficient to mention only the flight and death of Saul and of his sons, and has also shortened the more exact statement as to the inhabitants of that district, "those on the other side of the valley and on the other side of Jordan" (Samuel), into אֲשֶׁר בָּעֵמֶק. In this abridgment also Thenius scents a "defective text." As the inhabitants of the district around Gilboa abandoned their cities, they were taken possession of by the Philistines.

Vers. 8–13. On the following day the Philistines, in their search among the fallen, found and plundered the bodies of Saul and of his sons, and sent the head and the armour of Saul round about the land of the Philistines, to proclaim the news of their victory to their people and their gods. That for this purpose they cut off Saul's head from the trunk, is, as being a matter of course, not specially mentioned. In regard to the other dis-

crepancies between the two texts, both in vers. 8–10 and in the account of the burial of Saul and of his sons by valiant men of Jabesh, vers. 11, 12, cf. the commentary on 1 Sam. xxxi. 8–13. In the reflection on Saul's death, vers. 13 and 14, a double transgression against the Lord on Saul's part is mentioned: first, the מַעַל (on the meaning of this word, *vide* on Lev. v. 15) of not observing the word of Jahve, which refers to the transgression of the divine command made known to him by the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xiii. 8 ff. (cf. with x. 8), and xv. 2, 3, 11, cf. xxviii. 18; and second, his inquiring of the אוֹב, the summoner of the dead (*vide* on Lev. xix. 31), לִדְרוֹשׁ, *i.e.* to receive an oracle (cf. in reference to both word and thing, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7).—Ver. 14. And because he inquired not of the Lord, therefore He slew him. According to 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, Saul did indeed inquire of Jahve, but received no answer, because Jahve had departed from him (xxviii. 15); but instead of seeking with all earnestness for the grace of Jahve, that he might receive an answer, Saul turned to the sorceress of Endor, and received his death-sentence through her from the mouth of Samuel, 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

CHAP. XI.—THE ANOINTING OF DAVID TO BE KING IN HEBRON, AND THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM. A LIST OF DAVID'S HEROES.

In the second book of Samuel there are passages parallel to both sections of this chapter; vers. 1–9 corresponding to the narrative in 2 Sam. v. 1–10, and vers. 10–47 to the register in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39.

Vers. 1–3. *The anointing of David to be king over the whole of Israel in Hebron;* cf. 2 Sam. v. 1–3.—After Saul's death, in obedience to a divine intimation, David left Ziklag, whither he had withdrawn himself before the decisive battle between the Philistines and the Israelites, and betook himself with his wives and his warriors to Hebron, and was there anointed by the men of Judah to be king over their tribe (2 Sam. ii. 1–4). But Abner, the captain of Saul's host, led Ishbosheth, Saul's son, with the remainder of the defeated army of the Israelites, to Mahanaim in Gilead, and there made him king over Gilead, and gradually also, as he reconquered it from the Philistines, over the land of Israel, over Jezreel, Ephraim, Benjamin, and all (the remainder of) Israel, with the exception of the tribal domain of Judah. Ishbosheth's

kingship did not last longer than two years, while David reigned over Judah in Hebron for seven years and a half (2 Sam. ii. 10 and 11). When Abner advanced with Ishbosheth's army from Mahanaim against Gibeon, he was defeated by Joab, David's captain, so that he was obliged again to withdraw beyond Jordan (2 Sam. ii. 12–32); and although the struggle between the house of Saul and the house of David still continued, yet the house of Saul waxed ever weaker, while David's power increased. At length, when Ishbosheth reproached the powerful Abner because of a concubine of his father's, he threatened that he would transfer the crown of Israel to David, and carried his threat into execution without delay. He imparted his design to the elders of Israel and Benjamin; and when they had given their consent, he made his way to Hebron, and announced to David the submission of all Israel to his sway (2 Sam. iii. 1–21). Abner, indeed, did not fully carry out the undertaking; for on his return journey he was assassinated by Joab, without David's knowledge, and against his will. Immediately afterwards, Ishbosheth, who had become powerless and spiritless through terror at Abner's death, was murdered in his own house by two of the leaders of his army. There now remained of Saul's family only Jonathan's son Mephibosheth (2 Sam. iv.), then not more than twelve years old, and lame in both his feet, and all the tribes of Israel determined to anoint David to be their king. The carrying out of this resolution is narrated in vers. 1–3, in complete agreement as to the facts with 2 Sam. v. 1–3, where the matter has been already commented upon. In chap. xii. 23–40 there follows a more detailed account of the assembly of the tribes of Israel in Hebron. The last words in ver. 3, כִּדְבַר יהוה וגו', are a didactic addition of the author of the Chronicle, which has been derived from 1 Sam. xvi. 13 and 1 Sam. xv. 28. In 2 Sam. v. 4, 5, in accordance with the custom of the author of the books of Samuel and Kings to state the age and duration of the reign of each of the kings immediately after the announcement of their entry upon their office, there follows after the preceding a statement of the duration of David's reign; cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2 Sam. ii. 10 f., 1 Kings xiv. 21, xv. 2, etc. This remark is to be found in the Chronicle only at the close of David's reign; see xxix. 29, which shows that Thenius' opinion that this verse has been omitted from the Chronicle by a mistake is not tenable.

Vers. 4–9. *The capture of the citadel of Zion, and Jerusalem chosen to be the royal residence under the name of the city of David;* cf. 2 Sam. v. 6–10, and the commentary on this section at that place.—יְחַיֵּה, ver. 8, to make alive, is used here, as in Neh. iii. 34, of the rebuilding of ruins. The general remark, ver. 9, "and David increased continually in might," etc., opens the way for the transition to the history of David's reign which follows. As a proof of his increasing greatness, there follows in

Vers. 10–47. *A register of the heroes* who stood by him in the establishment of his kingdom. The greater part of this register is found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39 also, though there are many divergences in the names, which for the most part have found their way into one or other of the texts by errors of transcription. The conclusion (vers. 41–47 of the Chronicle) is not found in 2 Sam. xxiii., either because the author of the Chronicle followed another and older register than that used by the author of the book of Samuel, or because the latter has not communicated all the names contained in his authority. The former of these is the more probable supposition. In the Chronicle the superscription of the register is enlarged by the insertion in ver. 10, before the simple superscription in ver. 11*a*, cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8*a*, of a further superscription informing us of the design which the chronicler had in introducing the register at this place. "These are the chiefs of David's heroes who stood by him strongly (הִתְחַזֵּק עִם, as Dan. x. 21) in his kingdom, with the whole of Israel to make him king, according to the word of Jahve, over Israel." The collocation רָאשֵׁי הַגִּבֹּרִים is accounted for by the fact that הַגִּבּוֹר is a designation of a valiant or heroic man in general, without reference to his position, whether co-ordinate with or subordinate to others. Among David's גִּבֹּרִים who helped to establish his kingdom, are not merely those who are mentioned by name in the following register, but also, as we learn from chap. xii., the great number of valiant men of all the tribes, who, even during his persecution by Saul, crowded round him, and immediately after Saul's death came to him in Hebron to hail him king. The enumeration in our passage contains only the chiefs, רָאשִׁים, of those valiant men, *i.e.* those who held the first rank among them, and who were in great part leaders in the army of David, or became so. לְהַמְלִיכוֹ is not to be confined to the mere appointment to the kingship, but includes also his establishment in it; for there follows an account of the heroic deeds which the

men enumerated by name performed in the wars which David waged against his enemies in order to maintain and increase his kingly power. דְּבַר יהוה concerning Israel is the word of the Lord, the import of which is recorded in ver. 3, that David should feed His people Israel, and be ruler over them. The *ipsissima verba* are not found in the earlier history of David, but the substance of them has been deduced from 1 Sam. xvi. 13 and xv. 28; cf. herewith the remarks on 2 Sam. iii. 18. The enumeration of these heroes is introduced in ver. 11 by a short supplementary superscription, "these the number of the heroes." That מִסְפָּר should be used instead of the שֵׁמוֹת of Samuel is surprising, but is explained by the fact that these heroes at first constituted a corps whose designation was derived from their number. They originally amounted to thirty, whence they are still called the thirty, הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים; cf. ver. 12, and the discussion on 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff. In both narratives three classes are distinguished.

Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah hold the first place, and specially bold and heroic deeds performed by them are recorded, vers. 11–14, and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–12. For details as to themselves and their deeds, see on the last cited passage. There we have already remarked, that in ver. 13 of the text of the Chronicle, the three lines which in Samuel come between שָׁם נֶאֶסְפוּ בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים (Sam. ver. 9) and וַיֶּאֶסְפוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים, ver. 11, have been, through wandering of the copyist's eye, omitted; and with them the name of the third hero, שַׁמָּה, has also been dropped, so that the heroic deed done by him, vers. 13*b*, 14, appears, according to our present text, to have been performed by Eleazar. In place of the words, "And the Philistines had gathered themselves together there to battle, and there was a parcel of ground full of barley," ver. 13, the text, according to the narrative in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, must have stood originally thus: "The Philistines had gathered themselves together there to battle, and the men of Israel went up (*sc.* retreating from the Philistines up the mountain); he, however, stood firm, and smote the Philistines till his hand was wearied, and cleaved unto the sword (*i.e.* clung crampedly to his sword through fatigue): there wrought Jahve a great deliverance on that day, and the people returned (from their flight) behind him only to spoil. And after him was Shammah the son of Aga the Hararite, and the Philistines had gathered themselves together to battle," etc. In ver. 14 the plural forms וַיִּבְּצוּ, וַיְצִילוּהָ, יִתְיַצְּבוּ, are incorrect, and should be changed

into singulars, as in Sam. vers. 12 and 70, since only the deed of the hero Shammah is here spoken of. The plurals were probably introduced into the text after the missing lines had been dropped out by a reader or copyist, who, on account of the הוּא הָיָה עִם דָּוִיד (ver. 13), understood the three clauses of ver. 14 to refer to Eleazar and David. וַיּוֹשַׁע, on the contrary, is here perfectly appropriate, and is not to be altered to suit the וַיַּעַשׂ of Samuel, ver. 14, for the *καὶ ἐποίησε* of the LXX. is not of itself a sufficient reason for doing so.

In vers. 15–19 (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13–17) there follows an exploit of three others of the thirty, whose names have not been handed down. הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים רֹאשׁ, the thirty chiefs (not, as Thenius wrongly interprets the words, these three knights the chief parts, *i.e.* these three chief knights), are David's heroes hereafter mentioned, the thirty-two heroes of the third class named in vers. 26–40 (or vers. 24–39 of Samuel). That three others, different from the before-mentioned Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah are intended, is plain from the omission of the article with שְׁלוֹשָׁה; for if these three were spoken of, we would have הַשְּׁלוֹשָׁה, as in ver. 18. For further remarks on this exploit, which was probably performed in the war treated of in chap. xiv. 8 ff., and in 2 Sam. v. 17 ff., see on 2 Sam. xxiii. 13–17. The words הֲדַם הָאֲנָשִׁים וגו׳, ver. 19, are to be translated, "The blood of these men shall I drink in their souls? for for their souls (*i.e.* for the price of their souls, at the risk of their life) have they brought it." The expression "blood in their souls" is to be understood according to Gen. ix. 4 and Lev. xvii. 14 (דָּמוֹ בְנַפְשׁוֹ הוּא, "his blood is in the soul," is that which constitutes his soul). As there blood and soul are used synonymously (the blood as seat of and container of the soul, and the soul as floating in the blood), so here David, according to our account of his words, compares the water, which those heroes had brought for the price of their souls, to the souls of the men, and the drinking of the water to the drinking of their souls, and finally the souls to the blood, in order to express his abhorrence of such a draught. The meaning therefore may be thus expressed: "Shall I drink in this water the souls, and so the blood, of these men; for they have brought the water even for the price of their souls?"

In vers. 20–25 the second class of heroes, to which Abshai (Abishai) and Benaiah belonged, cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 18–23, is spoken of. They were not equal to the preceding three in heroic

deeds, but yet stood higher than the list of heroes which follows in ver. 26 and onwards. אַבְשַׁי, as ii. 16 and 2 Sam. x. 10, while in 2 Sam. xxiii. 18 and elsewhere he is called אֲבִישַׁי, was one of the three sons of Zeruiah (ii. 16). It is difficult to explain רֹאשׁ הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה, "he was the chief of the three," instead of which we find in Sam. ver. 18 הַשְּׁלִשִׁי, *i.e.* הַשָּׁלִשִׁי, "chief of the body-guard" (knights). But owing to the succeeding שָׁם (וְלוֹ) וְלֹא בַּשְּׁלֹשָׁה, where Samuel also has בַּשָּׁלִשָׁה, and to the recurrence of הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה on two occasions in ver. 21 (cf. Sam. ver. 19), it does not seem possible to alter the text with Thenius. Bertheau proposes to get rid of the difficulty by taking the word שְׁלֹשָׁה in two different significations,—on the one hand as denoting the numeral three, and on the other as being an abstract substantive, "the totality of the thirty." He justifies the latter signification by comparison of ver. 21 with ver. 25, and of 2 Sam. xxiii. 19 with ver. 23, from which he deduces that שְׁלֹשָׁה and שְׁלוֹשִׁים denote a larger company, in which both Abishai and Benaiah held a prominent place. But this signification cannot be made good from these passages. In both clauses of ver. 25 (and ver. 23 in Sam.) הַשְּׁלִשִׁים and הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה are contrasted, which would rather go to prove the contrary of Bertheau's proposition, viz. that הַשְּׁלִשָׁה, the three, cannot at the same time denote the whole of the thirty, הַשְּׁלִשִׁים. The truth of the matter may be gathered from a comparison of ver. 18 with ver. 15. In ver. 18 הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה is synonymous with הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה מִן הַשְּׁלוֹשִׁים, ver. 15; *i.e.*, the three in ver. 18 are the same men who in ver. 15, where they are first met with, are called three of the thirty; and consequently הַשְּׁלִשָׁה, the three (triad), vers. 21 and 25, can only denote the triad of heroes previously named. This is placed beyond doubt by a comparison of ver. 24 with ver. 25, since the שְׁלֹשָׁה הַגִּבֹּרִים, the triad of heroes, ver. 24, corresponds to the simple הַשְּׁלִשָׁה of ver. 25. The only remaining question is, whether by this triad of heroes we are to understand those spoken of in vers. 11–14,—Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah,—or the three whose names are not given, but whose exploit is narrated in vers. 15–19. But the circumstance that the names of the three latter are not mentioned goes decidedly to show that הַשְּׁלִשָׁה in vers. 20–25 does not denote that nameless triad, whose exploit is manifestly adduced incidentally only as a similar case, but the three most valiant, who held the first rank among David's heroes. Bertheau's opinion, that in vers. 20–25 one triad of heroes is dis-

tinguished from another, cannot be regarded as well-founded, for the three of whom Abishai was chief are not distinguished, and are not different from the three to whom, according to ver. 21, he did not attain. Nor is there greater reason to believe that the triad of vers. 20 and 21 is different from that in vers. 24 and 25, among whom Benaiah made himself a name, and to whom he did not attain. The fact of being chief or prince over the three is not irreconcilably contradictory to the statement that he did not attain to them, *i.e.* did not come up to them in heroic strength, as is shown by the two classes being connected in ver. 21*b*. As to the rank which the triad held in the regular forces of David, we know nothing further than that Jashobeam was, according to chap. xxvii. 2, leader of that part of the army which was on duty during the first month. Eleazar the son of Dodo, and the Hararite Shammah the son of Aga, are not mentioned anywhere but in our list. Abishai, on the contrary, who had already distinguished himself by his audacious courage in David's struggle with Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 6 ff.), conducted together with Joab the war against Abner (2 Sam. ii. 24–iii. 30). Afterwards, in David's war with the Ammonites, he was under Joab in command of the second half of the host (2 Sam. x. 10 ff.); in the war against Absalom he commanded a third part of the host (xviii. 2 ff.); and in the struggle with the rebel Sheba he commanded the vanguard of the royal troops sent against the rebel (xx. 6 ff.); and in general held, along with Joab the commander-in-chief, the first place among David's captains. In this position he was chief of the three heroes before mentioned, and their leader (שָׂר), and among them had made himself a name. וְלֹא, ver. 20, is an orthographical error for וְלוֹ, as in fifteen other passages, according to the Masora. See on Ex. xxi. 10 and Isa. lxiii. 9.—Ver. 21*a* should be translated: honoured before the three as two; *i.e.* doubly honoured—he became to them prince, leader. With regard to בִּשְׁנַיִם, which, as meaningless, Bertheau would alter so as to make it correspond with מִכֻּבָּד (Sam.), cf. Ew. *Lehrb.* § 269, *b*. For Benaiah and his exploits, vers. 22–25, see the commentary on 2 Sam. xxiii. 20–23.

No special deeds of the heroes enumerated in vers. 26–47 are related, so that we may regard them as a third class, who are not equal to the first triad, and to the second pair, Abishai and Benaiah, and consequently occupied a subordinate place in the collective body of the royal body-guards. In 2 Sam. xxiii.

thirty-two names are mentioned, which, with the above-mentioned three and two of the first and second classes, amount in all to thirty-seven men, as is expressly remarked in 2 Sam. xxiii. 39 at the conclusion. In the text of the Chronicle no number is mentioned, and the register is increased by sixteen names (vers. 41–47), which have been added in the course of time to the earlier number. The words וְגִבּוֹרֵי הַחֲיָלִים, ver. 26, are to be regarded as a superscription: And valiant heroes were, etc.; equivalent to, But besides these, there remain still the following valiant heroes. The words גִּבּוֹרֵי הַחֲיָלִים are not synonymous with שָׂרֵי הַחֲיָלִים, leaders of the host, 1 Kings xv. 20, Jer. xl. 7, (Berth.), but signify heroes in warlike strength, *i.e.* heroic warriors, like גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל (vii. 5, 7, 11, 40). That חַיִל has here the article, while it is not found in the passages quoted from the seventh chapter, does not make any difference in the meaning of the words. The article is used here, as with הַגִּבֹּרִים, vers. 10, 11, because the heroes of David are spoken of, and אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִיד is to be mentally supplied from ver. 10 f. As to the names in vers. 26–41, which are also found in the register in the book of Samuel, see the commentary to 2 Sam. xxiii. 24–39. This list, which is common to both books, begins with Asahel, a brother of Joab, who was slain by Abner in the war which he waged against David (2 Sam. ii. 19–23), and concludes in the book of Samuel with Uriah the Hittite, so well known from 2 Sam. xi. 3 ff. (Chron. ver. 41*a*), with whose wife David committed adultery. But to the continuation of the register which is found in vers. 41*b*–47 of our text, there is no parallel in the other writings of the Old Testament by which we might form an idea as to the correctness of the names. The individual names are indeed to be met with, for the most part, in other parts of the Old Testament, but denote other men of an earlier or later time. The names יְרִיעַאי, ver. 45, and אֶלִיאֵל, ver. 46 f., are found also in chap. xii. 20, 11, among those of the valiant men who before Saul's death went over to David, but we cannot with any certainty ascertain whether the persons meant were the same. The expression וְעָלָיו שְׁלֹשִׁים (ver. 42) is also obscure,—"and to him in addition," *i.e.* together with him, thirty,—since the thought that with Adina the chief of the Reubenites, or besides him, there were thirty (men), has no meaning in this register. The LXX. and the Vulgate read עִלָּיו, while the Syriac, on the contrary, makes use of the periphrasis, "And even he was a ruler over

thirty heroes;" and Bertheau accordingly recommends the emendation עַל הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים, and thence concludes that the tribe of Reuben had thirty leaders in its army,—a conjecture as bold as it is improbable. Were עַל הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים to be read, we could not but refer the words to the thirty heroes of ver. 11, and hold Adina to be their leader, which could not be easily reconciled with ver. 11. See on xii. 4.—Ver. 43. בְּנֵי־מַעֲכָה is perhaps the same as הַמַּעֲכָתִי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 34.—Ver. 44. הָעַשְׁתְּרָתִי, he of the city Ashtaroth (vi. 56), in the trans-Jordanic domain of Manasseh. הָעֲרֹעֵרִי, he of Aroer, of Reuben or Gad (Josh. xiii. 16, 25).—Ver. 46. Bertheau conjectures that the somewhat strange הַמָּחָוִים (LXX. ὁ *Μαωί*, Vulg. Mahumites) denotes הַמַּחֲנַיְמִי, he of Mahanaim, in the East-Jordan land; see Josh. xiii. 26.—Ver. 47. הַמִּצְבִּיָה, which, so far as the form is concerned, is not a *nomen gentil.*, Reland (*Palæst. ill.* p. 899) holds for a contraction of מגדל צבעיא, Migdal Zebujah,—a place which, according to the rabbins, is said to have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Bertheau's opinion is, that the article has come into the text by mistake; and when it has been struck out, the remaining consonants, מצביה, recall the מִצְפָּה of 2 Sam. xxiii. 36 (?).

CHAP. XII.—REGISTERS OF THE VALIANT MEN WHO HELPED DAVID TO THE KINGDOM.

This chapter contains two somewhat long registers, viz.: (1) a register of the valiant men who before Saul's death went over to David, vers. 1–22; and (2) a register of the fighting men who anointed him king in Hebron. The first is divided into three smaller registers: (*a*) that of the valiant Benjamites who came to David during his stay in Ziklag (vers. 1–7); (*b*) that of the Gadites and the men of Judah and Benjamin who went over to him while he remained in the mountain fastnesses; and (*c*) that of the Manassites who, on his return to Ziklag before Saul's last battle with the Philistines, joined themselves to him (vers. 19–22).

Vers. 1–7. *The Benjamites who came to David to Ziklag.*—Ver. 1. Ziklag was originally allotted to the Simeonites by Joshua (Josh. xix. 5; 1 Chron. iv. 30), but at a later time came into possession of the Philistines, and was assigned and presented by king Achish to David, who had fled for refuge to him, as a dwelling-place for himself and his followers; see 1 Sam. xxvii.

1–7. As to its situation, which has not yet been with certainty ascertained, see the discussion on Josh. xv. 31. In it David dwelt for a year and four months, until he went to Hebron on the death of Saul. During this time it was that the warriors of the tribe of Benjamin mentioned in the succeeding register went over to him, as we learn from the words עוֹד עָצוּר, "he was still held back before Saul," a concise expression for "while he was still held back before Saul." This last expression, however, does not signify, "hindered from coming before Saul" (Berth.), but *inter Israelitas publice versari prohibitus* (J. H. Mich.), or rather, "before Saul, imprisoned as it were, without being able to appear in a manner corresponding to his divine election to be ruler over Israel." וְהֵמָּה בגב', and they were among the heroes, *i.e.* belonged to the heroes, the helpers of the war, *i.e.* to those who helped him in his former wars; cf. vers. 17 f., 21 f.—Ver. 2. נֹשְׁקֵי קֶשֶׁת, "those preparing bows," *i.e.* those armed with bows, synonymous with דֹּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת (viii. 40); cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 17, Ps. lxxviii. 9. "With the right and left hand practised upon stones," *i.e.* to hurl stones, cf. Judg. xx. 16; "and in arrows on the bow," *i.e.* to shoot therewith. מֵאֲחֵי שָׁאוּל, of Saul's brethren, *i.e.* of the men of the tribe, not "of his nearer relatives," and consequently of Benjamin, has been added as an explanation; cf. ver. 29, where בְּנֵי בִנְיָמִן and אֲחֵי שָׁאוּל are synonyms.—In ver. 3 et seq. we have the names. הָרֹאשׁ, the head, *i.e.* the leader of this host of warriors; compare chap. v. 7, 12. הַגִּבְעָתִי, cf. Gibeah of Saul or Benjamin, cf. xi. 31; and for its situation, see on Josh. xviii. 28. הָעֲנָתֹתִי, from the priests' city Anathoth, now Anata; see on Josh. xviii. 24. In ver. 4 the Gibeonite Ismaiah is called "hero among the thirty, and over the thirty,"—words which can hardly have any other sense than that Ismaiah belonged also to David's corps of thirty heroes (chap. xi.), and was (temporarily) their leader, although his name does not occur in chap. xi. It is probable that the reason of the omission was, that at the time when the list was prepared he was no longer alive. הַגְּדֵרָתִי, of Gedera, a city of the tribe of Judah in the Shephelah, which, according to Van de Velde (*Reise*, ii. S. 166), was probably identical with the village Ghedera, which lies to the left of the road Tel-es-Safieh to Akir, about an hour to the south-west of Jabne. In any case, it corresponds well with the statements of the *Onom.* As to Gedrus, or Gaedur, see on Josh. xv. 36. Immediately afterwards in ver. 7 Gedor is mentioned, a city in the mountains of Judah, to the

westward of the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem (see on Josh. xv. 58); and from that fact Bertheau imagines we must conclude that the men of Judah are enumerated as well as the Benjamites. But this conclusion is not valid; for from the very beginning, when the domains and cities were assigned to the individual tribes under Joshua, they were not the exclusive possession of the individual tribes, and at a later period they were still less so. In course of time the respective tribal domains underwent (in consequence of wars and other events) many alterations, not only in extent, but also in regard to their inhabitants, so that in Saul's time single Benjamite families may quite well have had their home in the cities of Judah.— Ver. 5. הַחֲרוּפִי (Keri הַחֲרִיפִי) is a patronymic, which denotes either one descended from Haruph, or belonging to the בְּנֵי חָרִיף mentioned in Neh. vii. 34 along with the Gibeonites. The קָרְחִים, Korahites, in ver. 6 are, without doubt (cf. Delitszch, *Ps.* S. 300), descendants of the Levite Korah, one division of whom David made guardian of the thresholds of the tent erected for the ark of the covenant on Zion, because their fathers had been watchers of the entrance of the camp of Jahve, *i.e.* had in that earlier time held the office of watchers by the tabernacle; see on ix. 18 f. The names Elkanah and Azareel are thoroughly Levitic names, and their service in the porter's office in the holy place may have roused in them the desire to fight for David, the chosen of the Lord. But there is no reason why we should, with Bertheau, interpret the words as denoting descendants of the almost unknown Korah of the tribe of Judah (ii. 43), or, with the older commentators, refer it to some other unmentioned Benjamite who bore this name. The explanation of the connection existing between these Levitic Korahites and the Benjamites, which is presupposed by the mention of them among the Benjamites, may be found in the fact that the Levites received no tribal domain of their own, and possessed only cities for dwelling in in the domains of the other tribes, with whom they were consequently civilly incorporated, so that those who dwelt in the cities of Benjamin were properly reckoned among the Benjamites. At the partition of the land under Joshua, it is true, only the priests received their cities in Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin; while, on the contrary, the Kohathites, who were not priests, among whom the Korahites were, received their cities in the tribal domain of Ephraim, Dan, and half-Manasseh (Josh. xxi. 9–26). But

when the tabernacle was transferred from Shiloh to Nob, and afterwards to Gibeon, the Korahite doorkeepers must, without doubt, have migrated to one of the Levitic cities of Benjamin, probably for the most part to Gibeon, and so were reckoned among the Benjamites. As to מִן הַמְּדוֹר, *vide* ver. 4. If this be so, there remains no cogent reason for supposing that in our register, besides the Benjamites, men out of other tribes are also introduced. With that there falls away at once Bertheau's further conclusion, that the author of the Chronicle has considerably abridged the register, and that from ver. 4*b* onwards men of Judah also are named, the list of whom must certainly (?) have been originally introduced by special superscription similar to those in vers. 8, 16, 19. His further reason for his conjecture—namely, that our register makes use of the qualificative epithets, "the Gibeathite," "the Anathothite," etc., only in a few special cases—is of no force whatever; for we are not justified in assuming that we may expect to find here, as in the register in chap. xi. 26–47, such qualificatives after every individual name. The character of our register cannot be arrived at by a comparison with the list of David's heroes in chap. xi.; it should rather be sought for by comparing it with the succeeding list, whose contents are of a similar kind with its own. David's chosen corps of thirty heroes was much more important for the history of his reign, than the lists of the men who joined themselves to him and fought on his behalf before he ascended the throne. For that reason the thirty heroes are not only mentioned by name, but their descent also is told us, while that more detailed information is not given with regard to the others just mentioned. Only the names of the Gadites and Manassites are mentioned; of the Benjamites and men of Judah, who came to him in the mountain fastness (vers. 16–18), the name of only one, Amasai, is given; while of the Benjamites who came to Ziklag, vers. 3–7, such qualificative statements are made in reference to only a few individuals, and in these cases the object probably was to distinguish them from other well-known persons of the same name.

Vers. 8–18. *The Gadites, Benjamites, and men of Judah who joined themselves to David during his sojourn in the mountain fastness.*—Ver. 8. David's sojourn in the mountain hold falls in the first years of his flight from Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. ff. מְצָד, pointed with Pathach instead of with Kamets (מָצָד, cf. ver. 16), on account

of its intimate connection with מִדְבָּרָה, is synonymous with מְצוּדָה (1 Sam. xxiv. 23, etc.). The addition מִדְבָּרָה, "towards the wilderness," shows that מָצָד denotes a mountain-top or mountain-fortress in the wilderness of Judah. If we compare the account in 1 Sam. xxii.–xxiv., we learn that David at that time did not hide himself in one single definite mountain-fortress, but sought and found resting-places, now here, now there, in the wilderness, on the summits of the hills (cf. בַּמִּדְבָּר בַּמְּצָדוֹת, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14, xxiv. 1); so that מָצָד here is to be understood, as הַמְּצוּדָה, 1 Sam. xxiv. 3, also is, generally of the fastnesses in the mountains of Judah. At that time there gathered round David a great company of discontented and oppressed men, to the number of about 400,—men dissatisfied with Saul's rule, whose leader he became, and who soon amounted to 600 men (1 Sam. xxii. 2 and xxiii. 13). To these belong the Gadites, and the men out of Benjamin and Judah, whose adhesion to David is noticed in our verses. נִבְדְּלוּ, they separated themselves from the other Gadites who were on Saul's side, "strong heroes," as in Josh. viii. 3; cf. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, v. 24, vii. 2, 9, etc. אַנְשֵׁי צָבָא לַמִּלְחָמָה, men for service in the host for the war, *i.e.* combatants practised in war. עֹרְכֵי צִנָּה וְרֹמַח, preparing shield and spear, *i.e.* wielding shield and spear, practised in their use: the preparing of these weapons includes the handling of them. Instead of וְרֹמַח, Veneta and many of the older copies have וּמָגֵן; but it is not supported by MS. authority, and moreover is not congruous with the passage. Lions' faces their faces, *i.e.* lion-like in appearance, thoroughly warlike figures; cf. 2 Sam. i. 23. "As roes running swiftly on the mountains;" cf. 2 Sam. ii. 18. This description of the strength and swiftness of these warriors recalls, as Bertheau remarks, the similar expressions used in the historical books concerning heroes of David's time. It has manifestly been drawn from the original documents, not added by the chronicler. In vers. 9–13 the names are enumerated individually. עַשְׁתִּי עָשָׂר, at the end of a series of ordinal numbers, denotes the eleventh; cf. xxiv. 12.—Ver. 14. רָאשֵׁי הַצָּבָא, heads of the war-host, *i.e.* chief warriors, not leaders of the host. אֶחָד לְמֵאָה וגו', "one for a hundred, (viz.) the small and the greater for a thousand," *i.e.* the smaller (weaker) could cope with a hundred, the stronger with a thousand men; cf. Lev. xxvi. 8. This, which is the only correct interpretation, is that received by Bertheau and the older Jewish commentators. The Vulgate, on the contrary, translates, *novissimus centum militibus præerat et maximus*

mille, which is inadmissible, for in that case עַל must have been used instead of לְ. The אחד belongs to both the clauses which it precedes, to הַקָּטָן and to הַגָּדוֹל, and is placed immediately before לְמֵאָה to emphasize the contrast between one and a hundred. In ver. 15 we have a proof of their valour, in an account of a bold exploit performed by them. In the first month of the year, that is, in spring, when the Jordan overflows all its banks, they crossed the river and put to flight all the dwellers in the valleys towards the east and towards the west. This happened, probably, when they separated themselves from their brethren and went over to David, when they must have had to cut their way through the adherents of Saul (Berth.). The Piel מִלְּאוּ with עַל denotes to make full, to make to run over, in the signification to overflow. The Kethibh גְּדוֹתָיו comes from גְּדָיָה, elsewhere only the plural גְּדוֹתָיו, so also here in the Keri. In the dry summer season the Jordan may be crossed by wading at various points (fords); while in spring, on the contrary, when it is so swollen by the melting snows of Lebanon, that in some parts it overflows its banks, it is very dangerous to attempt to cross. See on Josh. iii. 15. הָעֲמָקִים, "the valleys," for the inhabitants of the valleys.—Vers. 16–18. There came to David in the mountain-fastness also men of Benjamin and Judah (cf. ver. 8). Their names are not in the lists, possibly because they were not handed down in the historical works made use of by the chronicler. At their head, as we learn from ver. 18, stood Amasai, chief of the thirty, *i.e.* of the corps formed of the thirty heroes (see xi. 11), although his name does not occur in the catalogue, chap. xi. According to this, Amasai must have occupied a very important position under David; but since the name עֲמָשַׂי is not elsewhere mentioned in the history of David, the older commentators have conjectured that עֲמָשַׂי may have been the same person as עמשׂא, son of Abigail (ii. 17), whom Absalom made captain in Joab's place, and whom David, after the victory over the rebels, wished to make commander-in-chief in the room of Joab, and whom for that reason Joab afterwards murdered (2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 14, xx. 4, 8 ff.); or identical with אֲבִישַׁי the son of Zeruiah, ii. 16 and xi. 20. Of these conjectures the first is much more probable than the second. To meet these men, David went forth from his fastness, and asked them with what purpose they came to him. "If for peace," to stand by him, "then shall there be to me towards you a heart for union," *i.e.* I will be with you of one heart, be true to you.

לֵבָב לְיָחַד is plainer than לֵב אֶחָד, ver. 38. "But if לְרַמּוֹתֵנִי, to practise deceit against me (to be guilty of a מִרְמָה) for mine enemies (to deliver me to them), although there be no wrong in my hands, the God of our fathers look thereon and punish;" cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. The God of our fathers, *i.e.* of the patriarchs (cf. Ezra vii. 27, 2 Chron. xx. 6, and Ex. iii. 13 f.), who rules in and over Israel, who shields the innocent and punishes the guilty.—Ver. 18. Then came the Spirit upon Amasai, so that he proclaimed himself enthusiastic for David and his cause. With רוּחַ לָבְשָׁה cf. Judg. vi. 34. Usually יהוה or אֱלֹהִים is found with this expression (2 Chron. xxiv. 20), and here also the Spirit of God is meant; and אלהים is omitted only because all that was of importance here was to show that the resolution announced by Amasai was an effect of higher spiritual influence. לָךְ, to thee, David (do we belong), thine are we. עִמָּךְ, "with thee," *sc.* will we remain and fight. "Peace be to thee, and peace be to thy helpers; for thy God helpeth thee." עֻזָּרֶךָ, He has helped thee in the fortunate combats in which you have heretofore been engaged (1 Sam. xviii. 12 ff.), and He will help still further. David thereupon received them and made them captains of his band. הַגְּדוּד, the warrior-band, which had gathered round David, and were still gathering round him, 1 Sam. xxii. 2, xxvii. 8, cf. also ver. 21; 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, 23, etc.

Vers. 19–22. *The Manassites who went over to David before the last battle of the Philistines against Saul.*—נָפַל עַל, to fall to one, is used specially of deserters in war who desert their lord and go over to the enemy: cf. 2 Kings xxv. 11; 1 Sam. xxix. 3. יָפוֹל אֶל, in the last clause of the verse, is a synonymous expression. The Manassites went over "when David went with the Philistines against Israel to the war, and (yet) helped them not; for upon advisement (בְּעֵצָה, cf. Prov. xx. 18), the lords of the Philistines had sent him away, saying, 'For our heads, he will fall away to his master Saul.'" 1 Sam. xxix. 2–11 contains the historical commentary on this event. When the lords of the Philistines collected their forces to march against Saul, David, who had found refuge with King Achish, was compelled to join the host of that prince with his band. But when the other Philistine princes saw the Hebrews, they demanded that they should be sent out of the army, as they feared that David might turn upon them during the battle, and so win favour by his treachery with Saul his lord. See the commentary on 1 Sam. xxix. בְּרָאשֵׁינוּ, for our heads, *i.e.* for the price of them, giving them as a price

to obtain a friendly reception from Saul (cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 4). In consequence of this remonstrance, Achish requested David to return with his warriors to Ziklag. On this return march ("as he went to Ziklag," cf. with בְּלֶכְתּוֹ the לָלֶכֶת of 1 Sam. xxix. 11), and consequently before the battle in which Saul lost his life (Berth.), and not after Saul's great misfortune, as Ewald thinks, the Manassites whose names follow went over to David. The seven named in ver. 20 were "heads of the thousands of Manasseh," *i.e.* of the great families into which the tribe of Manasseh was divided, and as such were leaders of the Manassite forces in war: cf. Num. xxxi. 14 with Ex. xviii. 25, and the commentary on the latter passage.—Ver. 21. These[1] helped David עַל הַגְּדוּד, against the detachment of Amalekites, who during David's absence had surprised and burnt Ziklag, and led captive the women and children (1 Sam. xxx. 1–10). This interpretation, which Rashi also has (*contra turmam Amalekitarum*), and which the Vulgate hints at in its *adversus latrunculos*, rests upon the fact that in 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, the word הַגְּדוּד, which in

[1] We take וְהֵמָּה to refer to the Manassites named in ver. 20, like the וְהֵמָּה of ver. 1 and the אֵלֶּה הֵם of ver. 15. Bertheau, on the contrary, thinks on various grounds that הֵמָּה refers to all the heroes who have been spoken of in vers. 1–20. In the first place, it was not the Manassites alone who took part in the conflict with Amalek, for David won the victory with his whole force of 600 men (1 Sam. xxx. 9), among whom, without doubt, those named in vers. 1–18 were included. Then, secondly, a clear distinction is made between those who gave in their adhesion to and helped David at an earlier period (vers. 1, 7, 22), and those who came to him in Hebron (ver. 23). And finally, the general remark in ver. 22 is connected with ver. 21 by the grounding כִּי, so that we must regard vers. 21 and 22 as a subscription closing the preceding catalogues. But none of these arguments are very effective. The grounding כי in ver. 22 does not refer to the whole of ver. 21, but only to the last clause, or, to be more accurate, only to בְּצִבְאָ, showing that David had an army. The second proves nothing, and in the first only so much is correct, that not merely the seven Manassites named in ver. 20 took part in the battle with Amalek, but also the warriors who had formerly gone over to David; but from that there is not the slightest reason to conclude that this is expressed by וְהֵמָּה. It is manifest from the context and the plan of the register, that וְהֵמָּה עָזְרוּ וגו' can only refer to those of whom it is said in ver. 20 that they went over to David as he was returning to Ziklag. If vers. 21 and 22 were a subscription to all the preceding registers, instead of וְהֵמָּה another expression which would separate the verse somewhat more from that immediately preceding would have been employed, perhaps כָּל־אֵלֶּה.

general only denotes single detachments or predatory bands, is used of the Amalekite band; whence the word can only refer to the march of David against the Amalekites, of which we have an account in 1 Sam. xxx. 9 ff., and not to the combats which he had with Saul. "For they were all valiant heroes, and were שָׂרִים, captains in the army," *sc.* which gathered round David.—Ver. 22. "For every day" (לָעֵת יוֹם בְּיוֹם, at the time of each day) "came (people) to David to help him, until to a great host, like a host of God," *i.e.* until his band grew to a camp like to a host of God. מַחֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים, a host which God has formed, and in which the power of God shows itself; cf. hills and cedars of God, Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxxx. 11. In these concluding remarks to the enumeration by name of the valiant men who during Saul's lifetime went over to David, there is no exaggeration which would betray an idealizing historian (Movers, S. 270). The greatness of a host of God is to be estimated according to the power and the spirit, not according to the number, of the warriors, so that we need not take the words to mean a host of thousands and tens of thousands. David had at first 400, afterwards 600, valiant warriors, against whom Saul with his thousands could accomplish nothing. The increase in their number from 400 to 600 shows that the host increased from day to day, especially when we keep in mind the fact that after Saul's defeat considerable bands of fugitives must certainly have gone over to David before he was anointed in Hebron to be king over Judah. The expression is only rhetorical, not idealizing or exaggerating.

Vers. 23–40. *List of the warriors who made David king in Hebron.*—The superscription (ver. 23) runs: "These are the numbers of the bands of the men equipped for war, who came," etc. הֲחֻלְצִים is a collective noun, denoting the equipped manhood. רָאשֵׁי signifies here, not *principes exercitus*, as the Vulgate renders it, heads, *i.e.* leaders of the army (Berth.), but literally denotes sums, *i.e.* companies, bands of soldiers, as in Judg. vii. 16, 20, ix. 34, 37, 44, 1 Sam. xi. 11; or it may perhaps also be heads for individuals, as רֹאשׁ in Judg. v. 30. Both these meanings are linguistically certain; so that we cannot say, with Bertheau, that רָאשֵׁי before הֲחֻלְצִים denotes, according to the well-ascertained use of language, leaders of the army, and that גלגלת would have been used had it been wished to express the number by heads, *e.g.* xxiii. 3–24. That use of the word is indeed also found, but it cannot be proved to be the only proper one. If we take

רָאשֵׁי here to denote leaders, we bring the superscription into irreconcilable contradiction with the contents of the following catalogue, which gives the names of the heads and the number of the warriors (ver. 27 f.) only in the case of the families of Aaron, and in that of Issachar the number of the princes; while in the case of the other tribes we have only the numbers of the bands or detachments. This contradiction cannot be got rid of, as Bertheau imagines, by the hypothesis that the superscription referred originally to a catalogue which was throughout similar in plan to that which we find in vers. 26–28, and that the author of the Chronicle has very considerably abridged the more detailed statements of the original documents which he used. This hypothesis is a mere makeshift, in which we have the less need "to take refuge," as the catalogue has neither the appearance of having been abridged or revised by the author of our Chronicle. It is shown to be a faithful copy of a more ancient authority, both by the characteristic remarks which it contains on the individual tribes, and by the inequality in the numbers. Bertheau, indeed, derives support for his hypothesis "from the inequality of the statements of number, and their relation to each other," and upon that ground throws doubt upon the accuracy and correctness of the numbers, but in both cases without sufficient warrant. If we place the respective statements together synoptically, we see that there came to David to Hebron—

Of the tribe of Judah, ...	6,800 men.	
,, ,, Simeon, ...	7,100 ,,	
,, ,, Levi, ...	4,600 ,,	
With Jehoiada the prince of Aaron,	3,700 ,,	
With Zadok and his father's-house,	... ,,	22 שָׂרִים (captains).
Of the tribe of Benjamin, ...	3,000 ,,	
,, ,, Ephraim, ...	20,800 ,,	
,, half-tribe of Manasseh, . .	18,000 ,,	
,, tribe of Issachar, ...	... ,,	200 chiefs and all their brethren.
,, ,, Zebulun, ...	50,000 ,,	
,, ,, Naphtali, ...	37,000 ,,	with 1000 שָׂרִים.
,, ,, Dan, ...	28,000 ,,	
,, ,, Asher, ...	40,000 ,,	
Of two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes,	120,000 ,,	
Total,	339,600 men,	with 1222 heads and captains.

The total is not objected to by Bertheau, and its correctness is placed beyond a doubt by the recollection that we have here

to do not with the representation of the various estates of the kingdom, but with a declaration of the will of the whole nation, who wished to make David their king. We must, if we are to estimate these statements, endeavour to go back in imagination to the circumstances of that time when Israel, although settled in the land, had not quite laid aside the character of a nation of warriors, in which every man capable of bearing arms marched to battle with, and for, his king. Now if the total number of fighting men in Israel was 600,000 in the time of Moses, and if, when the people were numbered in the last year of David's reign, there were in Israel 800,000, and in Judah 500,000 (2 Sam. xxiv. 9)—the Levites being excluded in both cases—the 340,000 men of all the tribes, except Issachar, in reference to which no number is given, or after subtracting Judah and Levi, the 324,500 men out of the remaining tribes, is not much more than a half of the men capable of bearing arms in Moses' time, and about a fourth part of the fighting population towards the end of David's reign. But the relation of the numbers in the respective tribes, on the contrary, is somewhat surprising, and calls forth from Bertheau the following remarks: "To Judah, David's tribe, which from the earliest time had been famous for its numbers and its powers, 6800 are assigned; to Zebulun, on the contrary, 50,000; to Naphtali, 1000 princes at the head of 37,000 warriors; to the two and a half East-Jordanic tribes, 120,000 men, etc. How does it happen that Zebulun and Naphtali, for example, two tribes that play no great part in Israel's history, are so strongly represented, while Judah sends only a relatively small number of warriors?" To this question we answer, that Judah's being represented by a number of warriors relatively so small, is accounted for simply by the fact that David had already been king over Judah for seven years, and consequently that tribe did not need to make him king by coming with the whole of its warriors, or the majority of them, when the other tribes were doing homage to David, but sent only a small number of its male population to this solemn act, who were witnesses in the name of the whole tribe to the homage proffered by the others. The same remark applies to the tribe of Simeon, whose domain was enclosed by that of Judah, and which had consequently recognised David as king at the same time as the larger tribe. In regard to the numbers of the other tribes, Levi had in the last year of David's reign 38,000 men from thirty years old and

upwards (xxiii. 3); and when here only 4600 Levites, besides the priestly families, are spoken of, the question arises, whether this number is to be understood to refer to the Levites in all the tribes, or only to those dwelling outside of Judah and Simeon, in the cities assigned to them by Moses and Joshua. The smallness of the number (3000) from the tribe of Benjamin is explained by the remark that the majority of this tribe still held to the house of Saul (ver. 29). The only thing which is at all remarkable about the other numbers is, that the Ephraimites are so few (20,800 men) in contrast to the 180,000 men brought into the field by the half-tribe of Manasseh. But if we consider that Ephraim, which at the first census under Moses at Sinai had 40,500 men, had decreased to 32,500 at the second census in the wilderness of Moab, it is not improbable that at the time now treated of that tribe may not have been very strong in fighting men. For in Saul's last war with the Philistines, when they had pressed forward so far as Mount Gilboa, and also in Abner's struggle on behalf of King Ishbosheth for the re-conquest of the territory occupied by them, it probably suffered more, and was more weakened, than any of the other tribes. Perhaps also we may add that Ephraim, owing to its jealousy of Judah, which dates from the time of the judges, was not very much disposed to make David king over all Israel. That Zebulun and Naphtali are here so numerously represented, although they do not otherwise play an important part, is no reason for suspecting that the numbers given are incorrect. Since Zebulun under Moses numbered 57,400 men, and at a later time 60,500, and Naphtali 53,400 and 45,400 men capable of bearing arms respectively on the same occasions (see t. i. 2, S. 192); the first named tribe may easily have sent 50,000, the other 37,000 men to David, as the tribes dwelling in the north had been least affected by the wars which Israel carried on in the second half of the period of the judges and under Saul. Both of these tribes, too, are praised in the song of Deborah as a people ready to risk their lives for their fatherland (Judg. v. 18), and may have very much increased in the succeeding time. And besides all this, the tribes Asher, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh are indeed more feebly represented than Zebulun, but more strongly than Naphtali. There therefore remains no reason for doubting the historical accuracy of the numbers given; but it is of course to be understood that the numbers, which are stated

only in hundreds, are not the result of an enumeration of the individual persons, but only of an estimate of the various detachments, according to the military partition of the tribes.

In regard to לְהָסֵב מ', cf. x. 14; and as to בְּפִי יהוה, see the remark on כִּדְבַר יהוה, xi. 3, 10.—Ver. 24 f. For נֹשְׂאֵי צִנָּה וָרֹמַח, cf. ver. 8, v. 18. גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל לַצָּבָא, valiant men for the war service.—Ver. 26. Jehoiada is thought by Rashi, Kimchi, and others, to be the father of Benaiah, xi. 22. He was נָגִיד for Aaron, *i.e.* prince of the house of Aaron, head of the family of the Aaronites, not *princeps sacerdotum*, which was a title appertaining to the high-priesthood, an office held at that time by Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 9).—Ver. 28. Zadok, a youth, *i.e.* then still a youth, may be the same who was made high priest in place of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, but see on v. 34). "And his father's-house, twenty-two princes." The father's-house of Zadok is the Aaronite family descended from Eleazar, which was at that time so numerous that it could muster twenty-two שָׂרִים, family chiefs, who went with Zadok to Hebron.—Ver. 29. From the tribe of Benjamin, to which Saul belonged (אֲחֵי שָׁאוּל, see on ver. 2), only 3000 men came, for until that time (וְעַד הֵנָּה, cf. ix. 18) the greater number of them were keeping the guard of the house of Saul, *i.e.* were devoted to the interests of the fallen house. For שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת, see on Gen. xxvi. 5 and Lev. viii. 35. From this we learn that the attachment of the Benjamites to Saul continued even after the death of his son Ishbosheth, and that it was with difficulty that they could bring themselves to recognise David as king.—Ver. 30. Of Ephraim 20,800 famous men (אַנְשֵׁי שֵׁמוֹת, see on Gen. vi. 4); לְבֵית־אַב', "in their fathers'-houses."—Ver. 31. Of half Manasseh, this side Jordan (cf. ver. 37), 18,000, who were appointed by name, *i.e.* chosen as famous men to go thither and make David king. נִקְבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת, as in Num. i. 17, *vide* on Lev. xxiv. 16. The tribe of Manasseh had consequently held a general consultation on the matter, and determined upon sending their representatives. —Ver. 32. From Issachar came "men of understanding in reference to the times, to know (*i.e.* who knew) what Israel should do." יוֹדְעֵי בִינָה, knowing in insight (cf. 2 Chron. ii. 12), *i.e.* experienced in a thing, having understanding of it. From this remark some of the older commentators (Chald., various Rabbins, and Cleric.) concluded that the tribe of Issachar had distinguished itself beyond the other tribes by astronomical and physical knowledge,

by which it was qualified to ascertain and make choice of proper times for political action. But the words do not suggest astronomical or astrological knowledge, but merely state, as Salomo ben-Melech in the *Miclol Yophi* long ago interpreted them, *noverant tempora ad omnem rem et quodque negotium, sicut sapiens dixit: Suum cuique tempus est et opportunitas cuique rei, Koh.* iii. 1. The words refer not to the whole tribe, but only to the two hundred heads, who, as Lavater expresses it, are designated *prudentes viri*, as being men *qui quid, quando et quomodo agendum esset, varia lectione et usu rerum cognoscebant.* The only thing to be objected to in his statement is the *varia lectione*, since a sound and correct judgment in political matters does not necessarily presuppose scientific training and a wide acquaintance with books. The statement in question, therefore, affirms nothing more than that the tribe of Issachar (in deciding to raise David to the throne) followed the judgment of its princes, who rightly estimated the circumstances of the time. For all their brethren, *i.e.* all the men of this tribe, went with the two hundred chiefs. עַל־פִּיהֶם, according to their mouth, *i.e.* followed their judgment; cf. Num. iv. 27, Deut. xxi. 5.—Ver. 33. עֹרְכֵי מִלְחָמָה, preparing war with all manner of warlike weapons, *i.e.* practice in the use of all kinds of weapons for war; cf. ver. 8. The infinitive לְעָרֹךְ is substantially a continuation of the preceding participles, but grammatically is dependent on בָּאוּ understood (cf. vers. 23, 38). Cf. as to this free use of the infinitive with לְ, Ew. § 351, *c.* The signification of the verb עָרַר, which occurs only here (vers. 33, 38), is doubtful. According to the LXX. and the Vulg. (*βοηθῆσαι, venerunt in auxilium*), and nine MSS., which read לעזר, we would be inclined to take עָרַר for the Aramaic form of the Hebrew עָזַר (cf. עזר), to help; but that meaning does not suit עֲרַר מַעֲרָכָה, ver. 38. Its connection there demands that עָרַר should signify "to close up together," to set in order the battle array; and so here, closing up together with not double heart, *i.e.* with whole or stedfast heart (בְּלֵבָב שָׁלֵם, ver. 38), *animo integro et firmo atque concordi;* cf. Ps. xii. 3 (Mich.).—In ver. 38 we have a comprehensive statement; כָּל־אֵלֶּה, which refers to all the bodies of men enumerated in vers. 24–37. שְׁרִית is שְׁאֵרִית defectively written; and as it occurs only here, it may be perhaps a mere orthographical error. The whole of the remainder of Israel who did not go to Hebron were לֵב אֶחָד, of one, *i.e.* of united heart (2 Chron. xxx. 12): they had a unanimous wish to make

David king.—Ver. 39. Those gathered together were there three days eating and drinking, holding festive meals (cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 16, 1 Kings i. 45, etc.), for their brethren had prepared them for them. The object of הֵכִינוּ, *sc.* the eating and drinking, may easily be supplied from the context. אֲחֵיהֶם are the inhabitants of Hebron and the neighbourhood; the tribe of Judah in general, who had already recognised David as king.—Ver. 40. But it was not only these who performed this service, but also those of the remaining tribes dwelling near them; and indeed the men of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, those on the northern frontier of Canaan as well as those who bordered upon Judah, had sent provisions upon beasts of burden, "for joy was in Israel." This joy moved those who remained at home to show their sympathy with the national festival solemnized at Hebron by sending the provisions. For דְּבֵלִים, masses of dried figs, and צִמּוּקִים, masses of raisins or cakes, see on 1 Sam. xxv. 18.

CHAP. XIII.–XVI. THE REMOVAL OF THE ARK FROM KIRJATH-JEARIM. DAVID'S BUILDING, HIS WIVES AND CHILDREN, AND HIS VICTORIES OVER THE PHILISTINES. THE BRINGING IN OF THE ARK INTO THE CITY OF DAVID, AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORSHIP IN MOUNT ZION.

All these facts are described in the second book of Samuel, for the most part in the same words. There, however, the contents of our chapter xiv., David's building, wives and children, and victories over the Philistines, immediately follow, in chap. v. 11–25, the account of the conquest of the citadel of Zion (1 Chron. xi. 4–8); and then in 2 Sam. vi. the removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, and the bringing of it, after an interval of three months, to Jerusalem, are narrated consecutively, but much more shortly than in the Chronicle. The author of the books of Samuel confined himself to a mere narration of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem, as one of the first acts of David tending to the raising of the Israelitish kingship, and has consequently, in his estimation of the matter, only taken account of its importance politically to David as king. The author of our Chronicle, on the contrary, has had mainly in view the religious significance of this design of David to restore the Levitic *cultus* prescribed in the Mosaic law; and in order to impress that upon the reader, he not only gives a detailed account of the part which the Levites took

in the solemn transfer of the ark of God (chap. xv.), but he sets forth minutely the arrangements which David made, after the ark had been brought into the capital of the kingdom, for the restoration of a permanent worship about that sanctuary (chap. xvi.). Both the narratives are taken from an original document which related the matter more at length; and from it the author of 2d Samuel has excerpted only what was important for his purpose, while the author of the Chronicle gives a more detailed account. The opinion held by de Wette and others, that the narrative in the Chronicle is merely an expansion by the author of the Chronicle, or by the author of the original document followed by our chronicler, of the account in 2 Sam. vi., for the purpose of glorifying the Levitic *cultus*, is shown to be incorrect and untenable by the multitude of historical statements peculiar to chap. xv. and xvi., which could not possibly have been invented.

Chap. xiii. *The removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim.* Cf. 2 Sam. vi. 1–11, with the commentary on the substance of the narrative there given. — Vers. 1–5. The introduction to this event is in 2 Sam. vi. 1 and 2 very brief; but according to our narrative, David consulted with the chief men over thousands and hundreds (cf. xv. 25), viz. with all the princes. The preposition לְ before כָּל־נָגִיד groups together the individual chiefs of the people just named. He laid his purpose before "all the congregation of Israel," *i.e.* before the above-mentioned princes as representatives of the whole people. "If it seem good to you, and if it come from Jahve our God," *i.e.* if the matter be willed of and approved by God, we will send as speedily as possible. The words נִפְרְצָה נִשְׁלְחָה without the conjunction are so connected that נשלחה defines the idea expressed by נפרצה, "we will break through, will send," for "we will, breaking through," *i.e.* acting quickly and energetically, "send thither." The construction of שָׁלַח with עַל is accounted for by the fact that the sending thither includes the notion of commanding (צִוָּה עַל). כָּל־אַרְצוֹת, all the provinces of the various tribal domains, is used for כָּל־הָאָרֶץ, 1 Sam. xiii. 19, here, and 2 Chron. xi. 23 and xxxiv. 33; in all which places the idea of the division of the land into a number of territories is prominent. This usage is founded upon Gen. xxvi. 3 and 4, where the plural points to the number of small tribes which possessed Canaan. After וְעִמָּהֶם, עַל or נִשְׁלְחָה עַל is to be repeated. The words לֹא דְרַשְׁנֻהוּ in ver. 3, we have not sought it, nor asked after it, are meant to include all.—Ver. 4 f. As the whole assembly

approved of David's design (לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן, it is to do so = so must we do), David collected the whole of Israel to carry it out. "The whole of Israel," from the southern frontier of Canaan to the northern; but of course all are not said to have been present, but there were numerous representatives from every part,—according to 2 Sam. vi. 1, a chosen number of 30,000 men. The שִׁיחוֹר מִצְרַיִם, which is named as the southern frontier, is not the Nile, although it also is called שִׁחוֹר (Isa. xxiii. 3 and Jer. ii. 18), and the name "the black river" also suits it (see Del. on Isaiah, *loc. cit.*); but is the שִׁיחוֹר before, *i.e.* eastward from Egypt (אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם), *i.e.* the brook of Egypt, נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, the Rhinocorura, now el Arish, which in all accurate statements of the frontiers is spoken of as the southern, in contrast to the neighbourhood of Hamath, which was the northern boundary: see on Num. xxxiv. 5. For the designation of the northern frontier, לְבוֹא חֲמָת, see on Num. xxxiv. 8. Kirjath-jearim, the Canaanitish Baalah, was known among the Israelites by the name Baale Jehudah or Kirjath-baal, as distinguished from other cities named after Baal, and is now the still considerable village Kureyeh el Enab; see on Josh. ix. 17. In this fact we find the explanation of בַּעֲלָתָה אֶל קִ׳ י׳, ver. 6: to Baalah, to Kirjath-jearim of Judah. The ark had been brought thither when the Philistines sent it back to Beth-Shemesh, and had been set down in the house of Abinadab, where it remained for about seventy years; see 1 Sam. vi. and vii. 1, 2, and the remarks on 2 Sam. vi. 3 f. אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שֵׁם is not to be translated "which is named name," which gives no proper sense. Translating it so, Bertheau would alter שֵׁם into שָׁם, according to an arbitrary conjecture of Thenius on 2 Sam. vi. 2, "who there (by the ark) is invoked." But were שָׁם the true reading, it could not refer to the ark, but only to the preceding מִשָּׁם, since in the whole Old Testament the idea that by or at the resting-place of the ark Jahve was invoked (which אֲשֶׁר שָׁם would signify) nowhere occurs, since no one could venture to approach the ark. If שָׁם referred to מִשָּׁם, it would signify that Jahve was invoked at Kirjath-baal, that there a place of worship had been erected by the ark; but of that the history says nothing, and it would, moreover, be contrary to the statement that the ark was not visited in the days of Saul. We must consequently reject the proposal to alter שֵׁם into שָׁם as useless and unsuitable, and seek for another explanation: we must take אֲשֶׁר in the sense of ὡς, which it sometimes has; cf. Ew. § 333, *a*: "as he is called by name," where

שָׁם does not refer only to יהוה, but also to the additional clause יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוּבִים, and the meaning is that Jahve is invoked as He who is enthroned above the cherubim; cf. Ps. lxxx. 2, Isa. xxxvii. 16.—On the following vers. 7–14, cf. the commentary on 2 Sam. vi. 3–11.

Chap. xiv. *David's palace-building, wives and children*, vers. 1–7; cf. 2 Sam. v. 11–16. *Two victories over the Philistines*, vers. 8–17; cf. 2 Sam. v. 17–25.—The position in which the narrative of these events stands, between the removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim and its being brought to Jerusalem, is not to be supposed to indicate that they happened in the interval of three months, during which the ark was left in the house of Obed-edom. The explanation of it rather is, that the author of our Chronicle, for the reasons given in page 170, desired to represent David's design to bring the ark into the capital city of his kingdom as his first undertaking after he had won Jerusalem, and was consequently compelled to bring in the events of our chapter at a later period, and for that purpose this interval of three months seemed to offer him the fittest opportunity. The whole contents of our chapter have already been commented upon in 2 Sam. v. 1, so that we need not here do more than refer to a few subordinate points.—Ver. 2. Instead of כִּי נִשָּׂא, that He (Jahve) had lifted up (נִשָּׂא, perf. Pi.), as in Sam ver. 2, in the Chronicle we read כִּי נִשְׂאֵת לְמַעְלָה, that his kingdom had been lifted up on high. The unusual form נִשְׂאֵת may be, according to the context, the third pers. fem. perf. Niph., נִשָּׂאת having first been changed into נִשָּׂאֵת, and thus contracted into נִשְׂאֵת; cf. Ew. § 194, *b*. In 2 Sam. xix. 43 the same form is the infin. abs. Niph. לְמַעְלָה is here, as frequently in the Chronicles, used to intensify the expression: cf. xxii. 5, xxiii. 17, xxix. 3, 25; 2 Chron. i. 1, xvii. 12. With regard to the sons of David, see on iii. 5–8.

In the account of the victories over the Philistines, the statement (Sam. ver. 17) that David went down to the mountain-hold, which has no important connection with the main fact, and would have been for the readers of the Chronicle somewhat obscure, is exchanged in ver. 8 for the more general expression וַיֵּצֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם, "he went forth against them." In ver. 14, the divine answer to David's question, whether he should march against the Philistines, runs thus: לֹא תַעֲלֶה אַחֲרֵיהֶם הָסֵב מֵעֲלֵיהֶם, Thou shalt not go up after them; turn away from them, and come upon them over against the baca-bushes;—while in Sam. ver. 23,

on the contrary, we read: לֹא תַעֲלֶה סֹבֵב אֶל־אֲחֹרֵיהֶם, Thou shalt not go up (*i.e.* advance against the enemy to attack them in front); turn thee behind them (*i.e.* to their rear), and come upon them over against the baca-bushes. Bertheau endeavours to get rid of the discrepancy, by supposing that into both texts corruptions have crept through transcribers' errors. He conjectures that the text of Samuel was originally לֹא תַעֲלֶה אַחֲרֵיהֶם, while in the Chronicle a transposition of the words עֲלֵיהֶם and אַחֲרֵיהֶם was occasioned by a copyist's error, which in turn resulted in the alteration of עֲלֵיהֶם into מֵעֲלֵיהֶם. This supposition, however, stands or falls with the presumption that by לֹא תַעֲלֶה (Sam.) an attack is forbidden; but for that presumption no tenable grounds exist: it would rather involve a contradiction between the first part of the divine answer and the second. The last clause, "Come upon them from over against the baca-bushes," shows that the attack was not forbidden; all that was forbidden was the making of the attack by advancing straight forward: instead of that, they were to try to fall upon them in the rear, by making a circuit. The chronicler consequently gives us an explanation of the ambiguous words of 2d Samuel, which might easily be misunderstood. As David's question was doubtless expressed as it is in ver. 10, הַאֶעֱלֶה עַל הפלי, the answer לֹא תַעֲלֶה might be understood to mean, "Go not up against them, attack them not, but go away behind them;" but with that the following וּבָאתָ לָהֶם וגו׳, "Come upon them from the baca-bushes," did not seem to harmonize. The chronicler consequently explains the first clauses of the answer thus: "Go not up straight behind them," *i.e* advance not against them so as to attack them openly, "but turn thyself away from them," *i.e.* strike off in such a direction as to turn their flank, and come upon them from the front of the baca-bushes. In this way the apparently contradictory texts are reconciled without the alteration of a word. In ver. 17, which is wanting in Samuel, the author concludes the account of these victories by the remark that they tended greatly to exalt the name of David among the nations. For similar reflections, cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 10, xx. 29, xiv. 13; and for וַיֵּצֵא שָׁם, 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

Chap. xv. to xvi. 3. *The bringing of the ark into Jerusalem.*— In the parallel account, 2 Sam. vi. 11–23, only the main facts as to the transfer of the holy ark to Jerusalem, and the setting of it up in a tent erected for its reception on Mount Zion, are shortly narrated; but the author of the Chronicle elaborately

portrays the religious side of this solemn act, tells of the preparations which David had made for it, and gives a special enumeration of the Levites, who at the call of the king laboured with him to carry it out according to the precepts of the law. For this purpose he first gives an account of the preparations (xv. 1–24), viz. of the erection of a tent for the ark in the city of David (ver. 1), of the consultation of the king with the priests and Levites (vers. 2–13), and of the accomplishment of that which they had determined upon (vers. 14–29).—Ver. 1. In 2 Sam. vi. 12*a* the whole matter is introduced by a statement that the motive which had determined the king to bring the ark to Jerusalem, was his having heard of the blessing which the ark had brought upon the house of Obed-edom. In our narrative (ver. 1), the remark that David, while building his house in Jerusalem, prepared a place for the ark of God, and erected a tent for it, forms the transition from the account of his palace-building (xiv. 1 ff.) to the bringing in of the ark. The words, "he made unto himself houses," do not denote, as Bertheau thinks, the building of other houses besides the palaces built with the help of King Hiram (xiv. 1). For עָשָׂה is not synonymous with בָּנָה, but expresses the preparation of the building for a dwelling, and the words refer to the completion of the palace as a dwelling-place for the king and his wives and children. In thus making the palace which had been built fit for a habitation, David prepared [illegible]lace for the ark, which, together with its tent, was to be pl[illegible] his palace. As to the reasons which influenced David in [illegible] to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, instead of ca[illegible] and sacred tabernacle to be brought from Gibeon [illegible] for the purpose, see the remarks introductory to 2 S[illegible]

Ver. 2 ff. The reason for the preparations made [illegible] occasion for the solemn progress is assigned in the statement tha[illegible] David had resolved to cause the ark to be carried by the Levite[illegible] alone, because God had chosen them thereto; cf. Num. i. 50, iv. 15, vii. 9, x. 17. אָז, "at that time," *i.e.* at the end of the three months, xiii. 14. לֹא לָשֵׂאת, "there is not to bear," *i.e.* no other shall bear the ark than the Levites. "By this arrangement, it is expressly acknowledged that it was contrary to the law to place it upon a cart; chap. xiii. 17" (Berth.). For this purpose, the king assembled "the whole of Israel" in Jerusalem, *i.e.* the elders, the rulers over thousands, the heads of families; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 15, where it is stated that כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל took part

in the solemn march.—Ver. 4. From among assembled Israel David then specially gathered together the heads of the priests and Levites, to determine upon the details of this solemn procession. "The sons of Aaron" are the high priests Zadok and Abiathar, ver. 11; and the "Levites" are the six princes named in vers. 5–10, with their brethren, viz. (vers. 5–7) the three heads of the families into which the tribe of Levi was divided, and which corresponded to the three sons of Levi, Gèrshon, Kohath, and Merari, respectively (Ex. vi. 16): Uriel head of the Kohathites, Asaiah of the Merarites, and Joel head of the Gershonites, with their brethren. Kohath is first enumerated, because Aaron the chief of the priests was descended from Kohath, and because to the Kohathites there fell, on account of their nearer relationship to the priests, the duty of serving in that which is most holy, the bearing of the holiest vessels of the tabernacle. See Num. iv. 4, 15, vii. 9; as to Uriel, see on vi. 9; for Asaiah, see vi. 15; and as to Joel, see vi. 21. Then in vers. 8, 9 we have the heads of three other Kohathite families: Shemaiah, chief of the sons of Elizaphan, *i.e.* Elizaphan son of the Kohathite Uzziel (Ex. vi. 22); Eliel, chief of the sons of Hebron the Kohathite (Ex. vi. 18); and Amminadab, chief of the sons of Uzziel. The sons of Uzziel, consequently, were divided into two fathers'-houses: the one founded by Uzziel's son Elizaphan, and named after him (ver. 8); the other founded by his other sons, and called by his name. Of the fathers'-houses here enumerated, four belong to Kohath, and one each to Merari and Gershon; and the Kohathites were called to take part in the solemn act in greater numbers than the Merarites and Gershonites, since the transport of the ark was the Kohathites' special duty.—Ver. 11. Zadok of the line of Eleazar (chap. v. 27–41), and Abiathar of the line of Ithamar, were the heads of the two priestly lines, and at that time both held the office of high priest (xxiv. 3; cf. 2 Sam. xv. 24 ff., xx. 25). These priests and the six princes of the Levites just enumerated were charged by David to consecrate themselves with their brethren, and to bring up the ark of God to the place prepared for it. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ, to consecrate oneself by removal of all that is unclean, washing of the body and of the clothes (Gen. xxxv. 2), and careful keeping aloof from every defilement, avoiding coition and the touching of unclean things; cf. Ex. xix. 10, 15. אֶל־הֲכִינוֹתִי לוֹ, to (the place) which I have prepared for it. הֲכִינוֹתִי לוֹ is a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר, construed with a

preposition as though it were a substantive: cf. similar constructions, xxix. 3, 2 Chron. xvi. 9, xxx. 18, Neh. viii. 10; and Ew. § 333, *b*.—Ver. 13. "For because in the beginning (*i.e.* when the ark was removed from the house of Amminadab, chap. xiii.) it was not you (*sc.* who brought it up), did Jahve our God make a breach upon us," *sc.* by the slaying of Uzza, xiii. 11. In the first clause the predicate is wanting, but it may easily be supplied from the context. The contracted form לְמַבְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה, made up of לְמָה and בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה, is unique, since מָה is so united only with small words, as in מַדּוּעַ, Ex. iv. 2, מַלָּכֶם, Isa. iii. 15; but we find מַתְלֵאָה for מַה־תִּלְאָה, Mal. i. 13; cf. Ew. § 91, *d*. לְמָה here signifies: on account of this which = because; cf. Ew. § 222, *a*, and 353, *a*. "This was done, because we did not seek Him according to the right," which required that the ark, upon which Jehovah sits enthroned, should be carried by Levites, and touched by no unholy person, or one who is not a priest (Num. iv. 15).—Ver. 14 f. The Levites consecrated themselves, and bare—as ver. 15 anticipatively remarks—the ark of God upon their shoulders, according to the prescription in Num. vii. 9, בַּמּוֹטוֹת עֲלֵיהֶם, by means of poles upon them (the shoulders). מוֹטָה, the flexible pole used for carrying burdens, Num. xiii. 23. Those used to carry the ark are called בַּדִּים in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxv. 13 ff.

Vers. 16–24. David gave the princes of the Levites a further charge to appoint singers with musical instruments for the solemn procession, which they accordingly did. כְּלֵי שִׁיר, instruments to accompany the song. In ver. 16 three kinds of these are named: נְבָלִים, *nablia*, *ψαλτήρια*, which Luther has translated by psalter, corresponds to the Arabic santir, which is an oblong box with a broad bottom and a somewhat convex sounding-board, over which strings of wire are stretched; an instrument something like the *cithara*. כִּנֹּרוֹת, harps, more properly lutes, as this instrument more resembled our lute than the harp, and corresponded to the Arabic catgut instrument *el 'ûd* (العود); cf. Wetzstein in Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, S. 702, der 2 Aufl., where, however, the statement that the santir is essentially the same as the old German cymbal, *vulgo* Hackebrett, is incorrect, and calculated to bring confusion into the matter, for the cymbal was an instrument provided with a small bell. מְצִלְתַּיִם, the later word for צֶלְצְלִים, cymbals, castanets; see on 2 Sam. vi. 5. מְשֹׁמְרִים does not belong to the three beforementioned instruments (Berth.), but, as is clear from vers. 19,

28, xvi. 5, 42, undoubtedly only to מְצִלְתַּיִם (Böttcher, *Neue krit. Aehrenlese*, iii. S. 223); but the meaning is not "modulating," but "sounding clear or loud,"—according to the proper meaning of the word, to make to hear. The infinitive clause לְהָרִים וגו belongs to the preceding sentence: "in order to heighten the sound (both of the song and of the instrumental music) to joy," *i.e.* to the expression of joy. לְשִׂמְחָה is frequently used to express festive joy: cf. ver. 25, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 30; but also as early as in 2 Sam. vi. 12, 1 Sam. xviii. 6, Judg. xvi. 23, etc.—In vers. 17, 18 the names of the singers and players are introduced; then in vers. 19–21 they are named in connection with the instruments they played; and finally, in vers. 22–24, the other Levites and priests who took part in the celebration are mentioned. The three chief singers, the Kohathite Heman, the Gershonite Asaph, and the Merarite Ethan, form the first class. See on vi. 18, 24, and 29. To the second class (הַמִּשְׁנִים, cf. הַמִּשְׁנֶה, 2 Kings xxiii. 4) belonged thirteen or fourteen persons, for in ver. 21 an Azaziah is named in the last series who is omitted in ver. 18; and it is more probable that his name has been dropped out of ver. 18 than that it came into our text, ver. 21, by an error. In ver. 18 בֵּן comes in after זְכַרְיָהוּ by an error of transcription, as we learn from the ו before the following name, and from a comparison of vers. 20 and 25. The name יַעֲזִיאֵל is in ver. 20 written עֲזִיאֵל, *Yodh* being rejected; and in xvi. 5 it is יְעִיאֵל, which is probaby only a transcriber's error, since יְעִיאֵל occurs along with it both in ver. 18 and in xvi. 5. The names Benaiah and Maaseiah, which are repeated in ver. 20, have been there transposed. All the other names in vers. 18 and 20 coincide.—Vers. 19–21. These singers formed three choirs, according to the instruments they played. Heman, Asaph, and Ethan played brazen cymbals לְהַשְׁמִיעַ (ver. 19); Benaiah and the seven who follow played *nablia* (*psalteria*) עַל עֲלָמוֹת (ver. 20); while the last six played lutes (harps) עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית לְנַצֵּחַ (ver. 21). These three Hebrew words plainly denote different keys in singing, but are, owing to our small acquaintance with the music of the Hebrews, obscure, and cannot be interpreted with certainty. נִצַּח, going over from the fundamental signification glitter, shine, into the idea of outshining and superior capacity, overwhelming ability, might also, as a musical term, denote the conducting of the playing and singing as well as the leading of them. The signification to direct is here, however, excluded by the context, for the conductors were without doubt the

three chief musicians or bandmasters (*Capellenmeister*), Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, with the cymbals, not the psaltery and lute players belonging to the second rank. The conducting must therefore be expressed by לְהַשְׁמִיעַ, and this word must mean "in order to give a clear tone," *i.e.* to regulate the tune and the tone of the singing, while לְנַצֵּחַ signifies "to take the lead in playing;" cf. Del. on Ps. iv. 1. This word, moreover, is probably not to be restricted to the singers with the lutes, the third choir, but must be held to refer also to the second choir. The meaning then will be, that Heman, Asaph, and Ethan had cymbals to direct the song, while the other singers had partly psalteries, partly lutes, in order to play the accompaniment to the singing. The song of these two choirs is moreover distinguished and defined by עַל עֲלָמוֹת and עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית. These words specify the kind of voices; עַל עֲלָמוֹת after the manner of virgins, *i.e.* in the soprano; עַל הַשְּׁמִינִית, after the octave, *i.e.* in bass—*al ottava bassa.* See Del. on Ps. vi. 1, xlvi. 1. In vers. 22–24 the still remaining priests who were engaged in the solemn procession are enumerated.—Ver. 22. "Chenaniah, the prince of the Levites, for the bearing, teacher in bearing; for he was instructed in it." Since Chenaniah does not occur among the six princes of the Levites in vers. 5–10, and is called in ver. 27 הַשַּׂר הַמַּשָּׂא, we must here also join בְּמַשָּׂא (as most editions punctuate the first במשׂא, while according to Norzi בַּמַּשָּׂא is the right reading even in the first case) closely with שַׂר־הַלְוִיִּם, with the meaning that Chenaniah was captain of the Levites who had charge of the bearing of the ark, a chief of the Levites who bore it. The word מַשָּׂא is, however, very variously interpreted. The LXX. have *ἄρχων τῶν ᾠδῶν*, and the Vulgate, *prophetiæ præerat ad præcinendam melodiam;* whence Luther translates: the master in song to teach them to sing. This translation cannot, however, be linguistically upheld; the word מַשָּׂא means only the bearing of the burden (Num. iv. 19, 27, etc.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 3), and a prophetical utterance of an oppressive or threatening character (Isa. xiii. 1, and xv. 1, etc.). But from this second signification neither the general meaning *prophetia*, nor, if we wish to go back upon the נָשָׂא קוֹל, to raise the voice, the signification master of song, *supremus musicus* (Lavat.), or *qui principatum tenebat in cantu illo sublimiore* (Vatabl.), can be derived. The meaning *prophetia*, moreover, does not suit the context, and we must consequently, with Bertheau and others, hold fast the signification of bearing. We are determined in

favour of this, (1) by the context, which here treats of the bearing of the ark, for which מַשָּׂא is the usual word; and (2) by the circumstance that in xxvi. 29 Chenaniah is mentioned as the chief of the Levites for the external business, which goes to show, if the persons are identical, that he here had the oversight of the external business of the transport. יָסֹר is not the inf. absol., which cannot stand directly for the *verb. finit.*; nor is it the imperf. of סָרַר in the signification of שָׂרַר (Bertheau and others), but a nominal formation from יָסַר (cf. on this formation as the most proper designation of the actor, Ew. § 152, *b*), in the signification teacher, which is shown by Isa. xxviii. 26 certainly to belong to יָסַר. The clause יָסֹר בַּמַּשָּׂא gives the explanation of the preceding בְּמַשָּׂא, or it specifies what Chenaniah had to do in the procession. He had to take the lead in the bearing because he was מֵבִין in it, *i.e.* was instructed in that which was to be observed in it.—In ver. 23 two doorkeepers for the ark are named; and in ver. 24, at the end of the enumeration of the Levites who were busied about the transport, two additional names are mentioned as those of men who had the same duty. The business of these doorkeepers was, as Seb. Schmidt has already remarked on 2 Sam. vi., *non tam introitum aperire arcæ, quam custodire, ne ad eam irrumperetur.* Between these two pairs of doorkeepers in ver. 24, the priests, seven in number, who blew the trumpets, are named. The Kethibh מהצרים is to be read מַחֲצְצְרִים, a denom. from חֲצֹצְרָה; the Keri מַחְצְרִים is Hiph. of חָצַר, as in 2 Chron. vii. 6, xiii. 14, and xxix. 28. In 2 Chron. v. 12 and 13, on the contrary, מְחַצְּרִים is partic. Pi. The blowing of the silver trumpets by the priests in this solemn procession rests on the prescription in Num. x. 1–10, which see. The place assigned to these trumpet-blowing priests was either immediately before the ark, like the priestly trumpeters in the march round Jericho (Josh. vi. 4, 6), or immediately after it. For, that these priests entered in the immediate vicinity of the ark, may be inferred from the fact that before and behind them were doorkeepers of the ark. The procession, then, was probably arranged in this way: (1) the singers and players in front, in three divisions; (2) Chenaniah, the captain of the bearers; (3) two doorkeepers; (4) the priests with the trumpets immediately before or after the ark; (5) two doorkeepers; (6) the king with the elders and captains of thousands (ver. 25). The two doorkeepers Obededom and Jehiah (יְחִיָּה), Rashi, Berth., and others consider to be the

same persons as the singers Obededom and Jeiel (יְעִיאֵל), supposing that the latter name is wrongly written in one of the passages. This, however, is incorrect, for the identity of the name Obededom is no sufficient ground for supposing the persons to be the same, since in xvi. 38 the singer Obededom and the doorkeeper Obededom the son of Jeduthun seem to be distinguished. And besides that, Obededom and his colleagues could not possibly at the same time as porters precede, and as singers come after, the priests and the ark, and there is consequently no reason to doubt that the name יְחִיָּה is correct.

Ver. 25–chap. xvi. 3 narrate the further procedings connected with the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 12–19. By the words וַיְהִי דָוִיד וגו׳ the account of the execution of the design is connected with the statements as to the preparations (vers. 2–24): "And so were David . . . who went to bring up the ark."—Ver. 26. When God had helped the Levites who bare the ark of the covenant of Jahve, they offered seven bullocks and seven rams, *i.e.* after the journey had been happily accomplished. Instead of this, in 2 Sam. vi. 13, the offering which was made at the commencement of the journey to consecrate it is mentioned; see on the passage. The discrepancy between ver. 27 and 2 Sam. vi. 14 is more difficult of explanation. Instead of the words דָּוִיד מְכַרְכֵּר בְּכָל־עֹז לִפְנֵי יהוה, David danced with all his might before Jahve, we read in the Chronicle דָּוִיד מְכֻרְבָּל בְּמְעִיל בּוּץ, David was clothed with a robe of byssus. But since מכרכר differs from מכרבל only in the last two letters, and כר might be easily exchanged for בל, we may suppose that מכרבל has arisen out of מכרכר. Bertheau accordingly says: "Any one who remembered that in this verse David's clothing was spoken of might write מכרכר as מכרבל, while the words בכל עז, which were probably illegible, were conjectured to be במעיל בוץ." This opinion would be worthy of consideration, if only the other discrepancies between the Chronicle and Samuel were thereby made more comprehensible. That, besides David, the bearers of the ark, the singers, and Chenaniah are mentioned, Bertheau thinks can be easily explained by what precedes; but how can that explain the absence of the לפני יהוה of Samuel from our text? Bertheau passes this over in silence; and yet it is just the absence of these words in our text which shows that מכרבל במעיל בוץ cannot have arisen from an orthographical error and the illegibility of בכל עז, since לפני יהוה must have been purposely

omitted. Böttcher's opinion (*N. kr. Aehrenl.* iii. S. 224), that the Chaldaizing מכרבל can scarcely have been written by the chronicler, because it is not at all like his pure Hebrew style, and that consequently a later reader, who considered it objectionable that a Levite should dance, and perhaps impossible that the bearers should (forgetting that they were released in turn from performing their office), while holding as closely to the letter of the text as possible, corrected מכרבל into מכרבר בכל עז, and that the same person, or perhaps a later, added besides בּוּץ, וְהַמְשֹׁרְרִים וּכְנַנְיָה, is still less probable. In that way, indeed, we get no explanation of the main difficulty, viz. how the words from הַלְוִיִּם to הַמְשֹׁרְרִים came into the text of the Chronicle, instead of the לפני יהוה of Samuel. The supposition that originally the words from וְדָוִיד מְכַרְכֵּר בְּכָל־עֹז וְכָל־הַלְוִיִּם to וְהַמְשֹׁרְרִים stood in the text, when of course the statement would be, not only that David danced with all his might, but also that all the Levites who bore the ark danced, is in the highest degree unsatisfactory; for this reason, if for no other, that we cannot conceive how the singers could play the *nebel* and the *kinnor* and dance at the same time, since it is not alternations between singing and playing, and dancing and leaping that are spoken of. The discrepancy can only be got rid of by supposing that both narratives are abridged extracts from a more detailed statement, which contained, besides David's dancing, a completer account of the clothing of the king, and of the Levites who took part in the procession. Of these the author of the books of Samuel has communicated only the two characteristic facts, that David danced with all his might before the Lord, and wore an ephod of white; while the author of the Chronicle gives us an account of David's clothing and that of the Levites, while he omits David's dancing. This he does, not because he was scandalized thereby, for he not only gives a hint of it in ver. 29, but mentions it in xiii. 8, which is parallel to 2 Sam. vi. 5; but because the account of the king's clothing, and of that of the Levites, in so far as the religious meaning of the solemn progress was thereby brought out, appeared to him more important for his design of depicting at length the religious side of the procession. For the clothing of the king had a priestly character; and not only the ephod of white (see on 2 Sam. vi. 14), but also the *me'il* of בּוּץ, white byssus, distinguished the king as head of a priestly people. The *me'il* as such was, it is true, an outer gar-

ment which every Israelite might wear, but it was worn usually only by persons of rank and distinction (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27, xviii. 4, xxiv. 5; Ezra ix. 3; Job xxix. 14), and white byssus was the material for the priests' garments. Among the articles of clothing which the law prescribed for the official dress of the simple priest (Ex. xxviii. 40) the מְעִיל was not included, but only the כְּתֹנֶת, a tight close-fitting coat; but the priests were not thereby prevented from wearing a *me'il* of byssus on special festive occasions, and we are informed in 2 Chron. v. 12 that even the Levites and singers were on such occasions clad in byssus. In this way the statement of our verse, that David and all the Levites and bearers of the ark, the singers, and the captain Chenaniah, had put on *me'ilim* of byssus, is justified and shown to be in accordance with the circumstances. The words therefore are to be so understood. The words from וְכָל-הַלְוִיִּם to הַמַּשָּׂא are co-ordinate with וְדָוִיד, and after them we must supply in thought מְכֻרְבָּל בְּמְעִיל בּוּץ, and may translate the verse thus: "David was clothed in a *me'il* of byssus, as also were all the Levites," etc. No objection can be taken to the הַמַּשָּׂא when we have the article with a *nomen regens*, for cases of this kind frequently occur where the article, as here, has a strong retrospective force; cf. Ew. § 290, *d*. On the contrary, הַמְשֹׁרְרִים after הַמַּשָּׂא is meaningless, and can only have come into the text, like בֶּן in ver. 18, by an error of the transcriber, although it was so read as early as the time of the LXX. For the last clause, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14.—Ver. 28 is, as compared with 2 Sam. vi. 5, somewhat enlarged by the enumeration of the individual instruments.—Ver. 29 and chap. xvi. 1–3 agree in substance with 2 Sam. vi. 15–19*a*, only some few words being explained: *e.g.* מְרַקֵּד וּמְשַׂחֵק, ver. 29, instead of מְפַזֵּז וּמְכַרְכֵּר (Sam.), and אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יהוה instead of אֲרוֹן יהוה (Sam.); see the commentary on 2 Sam. *l.c.*

Chap. xvi. 4–42. *The religious festival, and the arrangement of the sacred service before the ark of the covenant in the city of David.*—This section is not found in 2d Samuel, where the conclusion of this whole description (ver. 43, Chron.) follows immediately upon the feasting of the people by the king, vers. 19*b* and 20.—Ver. 46. When the solemnity of the transfer of the ark, the sacrificial meal, and the dismissal of the people with a blessing, and a distribution of food, were ended, David set in order the service of the Levites in the holy tent on Zion. He appointed before the ark, from among the Levites, servants to

praise and celebrate God, *i.e.* singers and players to sing psalms as a part of the regular worship. לְהַזְכִּיר, literally, "in order to bring into remembrance," is not to praise in general, but is to be interpreted according to the לְהַזְכִּיר in the superscription of Ps. xxxviii. and lxx., by which these psalms are designated as the appointed prayers at the presentation of the Azcarah of the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 2). הַזְכִּיר accordingly is a *denom.* from אַזְכָּרָה, to present the Azcarah (cf. Del. on Ps. xxxviii. 1), and is in our verse to be understood of the recital of these prayer-songs with musical accompaniment. הוֹדוֹת, to confess, refers to the psalms in which invocation and acknowledgment of the name of the Lord predominates, and הַלֵּל to those in which praise (Hallelujah) is the prominent feature. In vers. 5 and 6 there follow the names of the Levites appointed for this purpose, who have all been already mentioned in xv. 19–21 as accompanying the ark in its transmission; but all who are there spoken of are not included in our list here. Of the chief singers only Asaph is mentioned, Heman and Ethan being omitted; of the singers and players of the second rank, only nine; six of the eight nebel-players (xv. 20. יְעִיאֵל is a transcriber's error for יַעֲזִיאֵל, xv. 18), and only three of the six kinnor-players; while instead of seven trumpet-blowing priests only two are named, viz. Benaiah, one of those seven, and Jehaziel, whose name does not occur in xv. 24.—Ver. 7. On that day David first committed it to Asaph and his sons to give thanks to Jahve. נָתַן is to be connected with בְּיַד, which is separated from it by several words, and denotes to hand over to, here to commit to, to enjoin upon, since that which David committed to Asaph was the carrying out of a business which he enjoined, not an object which may be given into the hand. בְּיוֹם הַהוּא is accented by אָז. בָּרֹאשׁ, "at the beginning," "at first," to bring out the fact that liturgical singing was then first introduced. אָחָיו, the brethren of Asaph, are the Levites appointed to the same duty, whose names are given in vers. 5, 6. But in order to give a more exact description of the הוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה committed to Asaph in vers. 8–36, a song of thanks and praise is given, which the Levites were to sing as part of the service with instrumental accompaniment. It is not expressly said that this song was composed by David for this purpose; but if Asaph with his singers was to perform the service committed to him, he must have been provided with the songs of praise (psalms) which were necessary for this purpose; and if David were in any way the

founder of the liturgical psalmody, he, as a richly endowed psalm-singer, would doubtless compose the necessary liturgical psalms. These considerations render it very probable that the following psalm was a hymn composed by David for the liturgical song in the public worship. The psalm is as follows:—

Ver. 8. Give thanks unto Jahve; preach His name;
Make known His deeds among the peoples:
9. Sing to Him, play to Him;
Meditate upon all His wondrous works.
10. Glory ye in His holy name:
Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord.
11. Seek ye the Lord, and His strength;
Seek His face continually.

12. Remember His wonders which He has done;
His wondrous works, and the judgments of His mouth;
13. O seed of Israel, His servants,
Sons of Jacob, His chosen.
14. He, Jahve, is our God;
His judgments go forth over all the earth.

15. Remember eternally His covenant,
The word which He commanded to a thousand generations:
16. Which He made with Abraham,
And His oath to Isaac;
17. And caused it to stand to Jacob for a law,
To Israel as an everlasting covenant;
18. Saying, "To thee I give the land Canaan,
As the heritage meted out to you."

19. When ye were still a people to be numbered,
Very few, and strangers therein,
20. And they wandered from nation to nation,
From one kingdom to another people,
21. He suffered no man to oppress them,
And reproved kings for their sake:
22. "Touch not mine anointed ones,
And do my prophets no harm."

23. Sing unto Jahve, all the lands;
Show forth from day to day His salvation.
24. Declare His glory among the heathen,
Among all people His wondrous works.
25. For great is Jahve, and greatly to be praised;
And to be feared is He above all the gods.
26. For all the gods of the people are idols;
And Jahve has made the heavens.
27. Majesty and splendour is before Him;
Strength and joy are in His place.

28. Give unto Jahve, ye kindreds of the people,
Give unto Jahve glory and strength.
29. Give unto Jahve the honour of His name:
Bring an offering, and come before His presence;
Worship the Lord in the holy ornaments.
30. Tremble before Him, all the lands;
Then will the earth stand fast unshaking.

31. Let the heavens be glad, and the earth rejoice;
And they will say among the heathen, Jahve is King.
32. Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;
Let the field exult, and all that is thereon.
33. Then shall the trees of the wood rejoice
Before the Lord; for He comes to judge the earth.

34. Give thanks unto Jahve, for He is good;
For His mercy endureth for ever.
35. And say, "Save us, God of our salvation:"
And gather us together, and deliver us from the heathen,
To give thanks to Thy holy name,
To glory in Thy praise.
36. Blessed be Jahve, the God of Israel,
From everlasting to everlasting.

And all the people said Amen, and praised Jahve.

This hymn forms a connected and uniform whole. Beginning with a summons to praise the Lord, and to seek His face (vers. 8–11), the singer exhorts his people to remember the wondrous works of the Lord (vers. 12–14), and the covenant which He made with the patriarchs to give them the land of Canaan (vers. 15–18), and confirms his exhortation by pointing out how the Lord, in fulfilment of His promise, had mightily and gloriously defended the patriarchs (vers. 19–22). But all the world also are to praise Him as the only true and almighty God (vers. 23–27), and all peoples do homage to Him with sacrificial gifts (vers. 28–30); and that His kingdom may be acknowledged among the heathen, even inanimate nature will rejoice at His coming to judgment (vers. 31–33). In conclusion, we have again the summons to thankfulness, combined with a prayer that God would further vouchsafe salvation; and a doxology rounds off the whole (vers. 34–36). When we consider the contents of the whole hymn, it is manifest that it contains nothing which would be at all inconsistent with the belief that it was composed by David for the above-mentioned religious service. There is nowhere any reference to the condition of the people in exile, nor yet to their circumstances after the exile. The subject of the praise to

which Israel is summoned is the covenant which God made with Abraham, and the wonderful way in which the patriarchs were led. The summons to the heathen to acknowledge Jahve as alone God and King of the world, and to come before His presence with sacrificial offerings, together with the thought that Jahve will come to judge the earth, belong to the Messianic hopes. These had formed themselves upon the foundation of the promises given to the patriarchs, and the view they had of Jahve as Judge of the heathen, when He led His people out of Egypt, so early, that even in the song of Moses at the Red Sea (Ex. xv.), and the song of the pious Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1–10), we meet with the first germs of them; and what we find in David and the prophets after him are only further developments of these.

Yet all the later commentators, with the exception of Hitzig, *die Psalmen*, ii. S. ix. f., judge otherwise as to the origin of this festal hymn. Because the first half of it (vers. 8–22) recurs in Ps. cv. 1–15, the second (vers. 23–33) in Ps. xcvi., and the conclusion (vers. 34–36) in Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48, it is concluded that the author of the Chronicle compounded the hymn from these three psalms, in order to reproduce the festive songs which were heard after the ark had been brought in, in the same free way in which the speeches in Thucydides and Livy reproduce what was spoken at various times. Besides the later commentators, Aug. Koehler (in the *Luth. Ztschr.* 1867, S. 289 ff.) and C. Ehrt (*Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters*, Leipz. 1869, S. 41 ff.) are of the same opinion. The possibility that our hymn may have arisen in this way cannot be denied; for such a supposition would be in so far consistent with the character of the Chronicle, as we find in it speeches which have not been reported *verbatim* by the hearers, but are given in substance or in freer outline by the author of our Chronicle, or, as is more probable, by the author of the original documents made use of by the chronicler. But this view can only be shown to be correct if it corresponds to the relation in which our hymn may be ascertained to stand to the three psalms just mentioned. Besides the fact that its different sections are again met with scattered about in different psalms, the grounds for supposing that our hymn is not an original poem are mainly the want of connection in the transition from ver. 22 to ver. 23, and from ver. 33 to ver. 34; the fact that in ver. 35 we have a verse referring to the Babylonian exile borrowed from Ps. cvi.; and that

ver. 36 is even the doxology of the fourth book of Psalms, taken to be a component part of the psalm. These two latter grounds would be decisive, if the facts on which they rest were well authenticated. If ver. 36 really contained only the doxology of the fourth book of Psalms,—which, like the doxologies of the first, second, and third books (Ps. xli. 14, lxxii. 18, 19, and lxxxix. 53), was merely formally connected with the psalm, without being a component part of it,—there could be no doubt that the author of the Chronicle had taken the conclusion of his hymn from our collection of psalms, as these doxologies only date from the originators of our collection. But this is not the state of the case. The 48th verse of the 106th Psalm does, it is true, occupy in our Psalter the place of the doxology to the fourth book, but belonged, as Bertheau also acknowledges, originally to the psalm itself. For not only is it different in form from the doxologies of the first three books, not having the double אָמֵן וְאָמֵן with which these books close, but it concludes with the simple אָמֵן הַלְלוּיָהּ. If the אָמֵן וְאָמֵן connected by ו is, in the Old Testament language, exclusively confined to these doxologies, which thus approach the language of the liturgical Beracha of the second temple, as Del. *Ps.* p. 15 rightly remarks, while in Num. v. 22 and Neh. viii. 6 only אָמֵן אָמֵן without copulative ו occurs, it is just this peculiarity of the liturgical Beracha which is wanting, both in the concluding verse of the 106th Psalm and in ver. 36 of our festal hymn. Moreover, the remainder of the verse in question,—the last clause of it, "And let all the people say Amen, Halleluiah,"—does not suit the hypothesis that the verse is the doxology appended to the conclusion of the fourth book by the collector of the Psalms, since, as Hengstenberg in his commentary on the psalm rightly remarks, "it is inconceivable that the people should join in that which, as mere closing doxology of a book, would have no religious character;" and "the praise in the conclusion of the psalm beautifully coincides with its commencement, and the Halleluiah of the end is shown to be an original part of the psalm by its correspondence with the beginning."[1] The last verse of our hymn does not therefore

[1] Bertheau also rightly says: "If in Ps. lxxii. (as also in Ps. lxxxix. and xli.) the author of the doxology himself says Amen, while in Ps. cvi. 48 the saying of the Amen is committed to the people, this difference can only arise from the fact that Ps. cvi. originally concluded with the exhortation to say Amen." Hitzig speaks with still more decision, *die Pss.* (1865), ii. S. x.: "If (in Ps.

presuppose the existence of the collection of psalms, nor in vef. 35 is there any indubitable reference to the exilic time. The words, "Say, 'Save us, Thou God of our salvation; gather us together, and deliver us from among the heathen,'" do not presuppose that the people had been previously led away into the Chaldean exile, but only the dispersion of prisoners of war, led away captive into an enemy's land after a defeat. This usually occurred after each defeat of Israel by their enemies, and it was just such cases Solomon had in view in his prayer, 1 Kings viii. 46–50.

The decision as to the origin of this festal hymn, therefore, depends upon its internal characteristics, and the result of a comparison of the respective texts. The song in itself forms, as Hitz. *l.c.* S. 19 rightly judges, "a thoroughly coherent and organic whole. The worshippers of Jahve are to sing His praise in memory of His covenant which He made with their fathers, and because of which He protected them (vers. 18–22). But all the world also are to praise Him, the only true God (vers. 23–27); the peoples are to come before Him with gifts; yea, even inanimate nature is to pay the King and Judge its homage (vers. 28–33). Israel—and with this the end returns to the beginning—is to thank Jahve, and invoke His help against the heathen (vers. 34 and 35)." This exposition of the symmetrical disposition of the psalm is not rendered questionable by the objections raised by Koehler, *l.c.*; nor can the recurrence of the individual parts of it in three different psalms of itself at all prove that in the Chronicle we have not the original form of the hymn. "There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the author of Ps. xcvi. may be the same as the author of Ps. cv. and cvi.; but even another might be induced by example to appropriate the first half of 1 Chron. xvi. 8 ff., as his predecessor had appropriated

cvi.) ver. 47 is the conclusion, a proper ending is wanting; while ver. 48, on the contrary, places the psalm on a level with Ps. ciii.–cv., cvii. Who can believe that the author himself, for the purpose of ending the fourth book with ver. 48, caused the psalm to extend to the 48th verse? In the Chronicle, the people whom the verse mentions are present from xv. 3–xvi. 2, while in the psalm no one can see how they should come in there. Whether the verse belong to the psalm or not, the turning to all the people, and the causing the people to say Amen, Amen, instead of the writer, has no parallel in the Psalms, and is explicable only on the supposition that it comes from the Chronicle. Afterwards a Diaskeuast might be satisfied to take the verse as the boundary-stone of a book."

the second, and it would naturally occur to him to supply from his own resources the continuation which had been already taken away and made use of" (Hitz. *l.c.*). A similar phenomenon is the recurrence of the second half of Ps. xl. 17 ff. as an independent psalm, Ps. lxx. "But it is also readily seen," continues Hitzig, "how easily the psalmist might separate the last three verses from each other (vers. 34 to 36 of the Chronicle), and set them as a frame round Ps. cvi. Ver. 34 is not less suitable in the Chronicle for the commencement of a paragraph than in Ps. cvii., while ver. 36 would admit of no continuation, but was the proper end. On the other hand, we can scarcely believe that the chronicler compiled his song first from Ps. cv., then from Ps. xcvi., and lastly from Ps. cvi., striking off from this latter only the beginning and the end."

Finally, if we compare the text of our hymn with the text of these psalms, the divergences are of such a sort that we cannot decide with certainty which of the two texts is the original. To pass over such critically indifferent variations as פֶּיהוּ, Chron. ver. 12, for פִּיו, Ps. cv. 5; the omission of the *nota acc.* אֵת, Chron. ver. 18, compared with Ps. cv. 10, and *vice versa* in Ps. xcvi. 3 and Chron. ver. 24; עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר, Chron. ver. 33, instead of כָּל־עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר, Ps. xcvi. 12,—the chronicler has in יִצְחָק, ver. 16, instead of יִשְׂחָק, Ps. cv. 9, and יַעֲלֹז, ver. 32, instead of יַעֲלוּ, Ps. xcvi. 12, the earlier and more primitive form; in בִּנְבִיאַי אַל תָּרֵעוּ, ver. 22, instead of לִנְבִיאַי אַל תָּרֵעוּ, Ps. cv. 15, a quite unusual construction; and in מִיּוֹם אֶל יוֹם, ver. 23, the older form (cf. Num. xxx. 15), instead of מִיּוֹם לְיוֹם, Ps. xcvi. 2, as in Esth. iii. 7; while, on the other hand, instead of the unexampled phrase הִנִּיחַ אָדָם לְעָשְׁקָם, Ps. cv. 14, there stands in the Chronicle the usual phrase הִנִּיחַ לְאִישׁ, and שָׂדַי in Ps. xcvi. 12 is the poetical form for the הַשָּׂדֶה of Chron. ver. 32. More important are the wider divergences: not so much זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל, Chron. ver. 13, for זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם, Ps. cv. 6, in which latter case it is doubtful whether the עַבְדּוֹ refers to the patriarchs or to the people, and consequently, as the *parallelismus membrorum* demands the latter reference, ישׂראל is clearly the more correct and intelligible; but rather the others, viz. זִכְרוּ, Chron. ver. 15, for זָכַר, Ps. cv. 8; since זִכְרוּ not only corresponds to the זִכְרוּ of ver. 11, but also to the use made of the song for the purposes stated in the Chronicle; while, on the contrary, זָכַר of the psalm corresponds to the object of the psalm, viz. to exalt the covenant grace shown to the patriarchs. Connected with this also is the

reading בִּהְיוֹתְכֶם, "when ye (sons of Jacob) were" (ver. 19), instead of בִּהְיוֹתָם, Ps. cv. 12, "when they (the patriarchs) were," since the narrative of what the Lord had done demanded בהיותם. Now the more likely the reference of the words to the patriarchs was to suggest itself, the more unlikely is the hypothesis of an alteration into בִּהְיוֹתְכֶם; and the text of the Chronicle being the more difficult, is consequently to be regarded as the earlier. Moreover, the divergences of vers. 23 to 33 of our hymn from Ps. xcvi. are such as would result from its having been prepared for the above-mentioned solemn festival. The omission of the two strophes, "Sing unto Jahve a new song, sing unto Jahve, bless His name" (Ps. xcvi. 1*a* and 2*a*), in ver. 23 of the Chronicle might be accounted for by regarding that part of our hymn as an abridgment by the chronicler of the original song, when connecting it with the preceding praise of God, were it certain on other grounds that Ps. xcvi. was the original; but if the chronicler's hymn be the original, we may just as well believe that this section was amplified when it was made into an independent psalm. A comparison of ver. 33 (Chron.) with the end of the 96th Psalm favours this last hypothesis, for in the Chronicle the repetition of כִּי בָא is wanting, as well as the second hemistich of Ps. xcvi. 13. The whole of the 13th verse recurs, with a single כִּי בָא, at the end of the 98th Psalm (ver. 9), and the thought is borrowed from the Davidic Psalm ix. 9. The strophes in the beginning of Ps. xcvi., which are omitted from Chron. ver. 16, often recur. The phrase, "Sing unto Jahve a new song," is met with in Ps. xxxiii. 3, xcviii. 1, and cxlix. 1, and שִׁיר חָדָשׁ in Ps. xl. 4, a Davidic psalm. בָּרְכוּ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ is also met with in Ps. c. 4; and still more frequently בָּרְכוּ אֶת־יהוה, in Ps. ciii. 20, 22, cxxxiv. 1, and elsewhere, even as early as Deborah's song, Judg. v. 2, 9; while שִׁירוּ ליהוה occurs in the song of Moses, Ex. xv. 1. Since, then, the strophes of the 96th Psalm are only reminiscences of, and phrases which we find in, the oldest religious songs of the Israelites, it is clear that Ps. xcvi. is not an original poem. It is rather the re-grouping of well-known and current thoughts; and the fact that it is so, favours the belief that all which this psalm contains at the beginning and end, which the Chronicle does not contain, is merely an addition made by the poet who transformed this part of the chronicler's hymn into an independent psalm for liturgical purposes. This purpose clearly appears in such variations as וְתִפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ, Ps. xcvi. 6, instead

of וְהֶדְוָה בִּמְקֹמוֹ, Chron. ver. 27, and וּבֹאוּ לְחַצְרוֹתָיו, Ps. xcvi. 8, instead of וּבֹאוּ לְפָנָיו, Chron. ver. 29. Neither the word מִקְדָּשׁ nor the mention of "courts" is suitable in a hymn sung at the consecration of the holy tent in Zion, for at that time the old national sanctuary with the altar in the court (the tabernacle) still stood in Gibeon. Here, therefore, the text of the Chronicle corresponds to the circumstances of David's time, while the mention of מִקְדָּשׁ and of courts in the psalm presupposes the existence of the temple with its courts as the sanctuary of the people of Israel. Now a post-exilic poet would scarcely have paid so much attention to this delicate distinction between times and circumstances as to alter, in the already existing psalms, out of which he compounded this festal hymn, the expressions which were not suitable to the Davidic time. Against this, the use of the unusual word חֶדְוָה, joy, which occurs elsewhere only in Neh. x. 8, 10, and in Chaldee in Ezra vi. 18, is no valid objection, for the use of the verb חָדָה as early as Ex. xviii. 9 and Job iii. 6 shows that the word does not belong to the later Hebrew. The discrepancy also between vers. 30 and 31 and Ps. xcvi. 9–11, namely, the omission in the Chronicle of the strophe יְדִין עַמִּים בְּמֵישָׁרִים (Ps. ver. 10), and the placing of the clause וְיֹאמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם יהוה מָלָךְ after וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ (Chron. ver. 31, cf. Ps. xcvi. 10), does not really prove anything as to the priority of Ps. xcvi. Hitzig, indeed, thinks that since by the omission of the one member the parallelism of the verses is disturbed, and a triple verse appears where all the others are double merely, and because by this alteration the clause, "Say among the people, Jahve is King," has come into an apparently unsuitable position, between an exhortation to the heaven and earth to rejoice, and the roaring of the sea and its fulness, this clause must have been unsuitably placed by a copyist's error. But the transposition cannot be so explained; for not only is that one member of the verse misplaced, but also the אִמְרוּ of the psalm is altered into וְיֹאמְרוּ, and moreover, we get no explanation of the omission of the strophe יְדִין וגו׳. If we consider וְיֹאמְרוּ (with ו consecutive), "then will they say," we see clearly that it corresponds to אָז יְרַנְּנוּ וגו׳ in ver. 33; and in ver. 30 the recognition of Jahve's kingship over the peoples is represented as the issue and effect of the joyful exultation of the heaven and earth, just as in vers. 32 and 33 the joyful shouting of the trees of the field before Jahve as He comes to judge the earth, is regarded as the result of the roaring of the sea and the gladness of the fields. The

אִמְרוּ of the psalm, on the other hand, the summons to the Israelites to proclaim that Jahve is King among the peoples, is, after the call, "Let the whole earth tremble before Him," a somewhat tame expression; and after it, again, we should not expect the much stronger אַף תִּכּוֹן וגו׳. When we further consider that the clause which follows in the Chronicle, "He will judge the people in uprightness," is a reminiscence of Ps. ix. 9, we must hold the text of the Chronicle to be here also the original, and the divergences in Ps. xcvi. for alterations, which were occasioned by the changing of a part of our hymn into an independent psalm. Finally, there can be no doubt as to the priority of the chronicler's hymn in vers. 34–36. The author of the Chronicle did not require to borrow the liturgical formula הוֹדוּ לַיהוה כִּי טוֹב וגו׳ from Ps. cvi. 1, for it occurs in as complete a form in Ps. cvii. 1, cxviii. 1, 29, cxxxvi. 1, and, not to mention 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, xx. 21, is a current phrase with Jeremiah (xxxiii. 11), and is without doubt an ancient liturgical form. Vers. 35 and 36, too, contain such divergences from Ps. cvi. 47 and 48, that it is in the highest degree improbable that they were borrowed from that psalm. Not only is the prayer הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ וגו׳ introduced by אִמְרוּ, but also, instead of יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ of the psalm, we have אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ; and to וְקַבְּצֵנוּ, וְהַצִּילֵנוּ is added,—a change which causes the words to lose the reference to the Chaldean exile contained in the text of the Psalms. The post-exilic author of the Chronicle would scarcely have obliterated this reference, and certainly would not have done so in such a delicate fashion, had he taken the verse from Ps. cvi. A much more probable supposition is, that the post-exilic author of the 106th Psalm appropriated the concluding verse of David's to him well-known hymn, and modified it to make it fit into his poem. Indubitable instances of such alterations are to be found in the conclusion, where the statement of the chronicler, that all the people said Amen and praised Jahve, is made to conform to the psalm, beginning as it does with Hallelujah, by altering וַיֹּאמְרוּ into וְיֹאמַר, "and let them say," and of וְהַלֵּל לַיהוה into הַלְלוּיָהּ.

On the whole, therefore, we must regard the opinion that David composed our psalm for the above-mentioned festival as by far the most probable. The psalm itself needs no further commentary; but compare Delitzsch on the parallel psalms and parts of psalms.

Vers. 37–43. *Division of the Levites for the management of*

the public worship.—At the same time as he set up the ark in the tent erected for it on Mount Zion, David had prepared a new locality for the public worship. The Mosaic tabernacle had continued, with its altar of burnt-offering, to be the general place of worship for the congregation of Israel even during the long period when the ark was separated from it, and it was even yet to be so; and it became necessary, in order to carry on the religious service in both of these sanctuaries, to divide the staff of religious officials: and this David now undertook.—Ver. 37. Before the ark he left Asaph with his brethren (לְ before the *accus. obj.*, according to the later usage), to serve, to minister there continually. לִדְבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ, "according to the matter of the day on its day," *i.e.* according to the service necessary for each day; cf. for this expression, Ex. v. 13, 19, xvi. 4, etc. "And Obed-edom and their brethren." In these words there is a textual error: the plural suffix in אֲחֵיהֶם shows that after עֹבֵד אֱדוֹם at least one name has been dropped out. But besides that, the relation in which the words, "and Obed-edom the son of Jeduthun, and Hosah, to be porters," stand to the preceding clause, "and Obed-edom and their brethren," is obscure. Against the somewhat general idea, that the words are to be taken in an explicative sense, "and Obed-edom indeed," etc., the objection suggests itself, that Obed-edom is here defined to be the son of Jeduthun, and would seem to be thereby distinguished from the preceding Obed-edom. In addition to that, in xv. 21 an Obed-edom is mentioned among the singers, and in ver. 24 one of the doorkeepers bears that name, and they are clearly distinguished as being different persons (see p. 206). On the other hand, however, the identity of the two Obed-edoms in our verse is supported by the fact that in chap. xxvi. 4–8 the doorkeepers Obed-edom with his sons and brethren number sixty-two, which comes pretty nearly up to the number mentioned in our verse, viz. sixty-eight. Yet we cannot regard this circumstance as sufficient to identify the two, and must leave the question undecided, because the text of our verse is defective. Jeduthun the father of Obed-edom is different from the chief musician Jeduthun (= Ethan); for the chief musician is a descendant of Merari, while the doorkeeper Jeduthun belongs to the Korahites (*i.e.* Kohathites): see on xxvi. 4.—Ver. 39. וְאֶת צָדוֹק is still dependent on the וַיַּעֲזֹב in ver. 37. The priest Zadok with his brethren he left before the tent of Jahve, *i.e.* the tabernacle at the Bamah in Gibeon. For בָּמָה

see on 2 Chron. i. 13, and for Zadok on v. 38. It is surprising here that no priest is named as superintendent or overseer of the sacrificial worship in the tent of the ark of the covenant. But the omission is accounted for by the fact that our chapter treats properly only of the arrangement of the sacred music connected with the worship, and Zadok is mentioned as overseer of the sanctuary of the tabernacle at Gibeon only in order to introduce the statement as to the Levitic singers and players assigned to that sanctuary. Without doubt Abiathar as high priest had the oversight of the sacrificial worship in the sanctuary of the tabernacle: see on xviii. 16; with ver. 40 cf. Ex. xxix. 38, Num. xxviii. 3, 6. לְכָל־הַכָּתוּב corresponds to לְהַעֲלוֹת: and in reference to all, *i.e.* to look after all, which was written. This refers not only to the bringing of the sacrifices prescribed, in addition to the daily burnt-offering, but in general to everything that was the priests' duty to do in the sanctuary.—Ver. 41. and with them (with Zadok and his brethren) were Heman, Jeduthun, *i.e.* Ethan (the two other chief musicians, xv. 16), with the other chosen famous, *sc.* singers (נִקְבֵּי בְּשֵׁמוֹת, see on xii. 31). To these belonged those of the number named in xv. 18–21, 24, who are not mentioned among those assigned to Asaph in xvi. 5 and 6, and probably also a number of others whose names have not been handed down. In ver. 42, if the text be correct, הֵימָן וִידוּתוּן can only be in apposition to עִמָּהֶם: "and with them, viz. with Heman and Jeduthun, were trumpets," etc. But, not to mention the difficulty that passages analogous and parallel to this statement are not to be found, the mention of these two chief musicians in the connection is surprising; for the musical instruments mentioned are not merely the מְצִלְתַּיִם (s. xv. 19) played by them, but also the חֲצֹצְרוֹת which the priests blew, and other instruments. Moreover, the names Heman and Jeduthun are not found here in the LXX., and have probably been inserted in our verse by some copyist from ver. 41, which likewise begins with וְעִמָּהֶם. If we omit these names, then, the verse contains no other difficulty worthy of consideration, or any which would occasion or necessitate such violent alterations of the text as Berth. has proposed. The suffix in עִמָּהֶם refers to the persons mentioned in ver. 41, Heman, Jeduthun, and the other chosen ones. "With them were," *i.e.* they had by them, trumpets, cymbals, etc. The לְ before מַשְׁמִיעִים is strange, since מַשְׁמִיעִים is in xv. 16 connected with מְצִלְתַּיִם as an adjective, and in xv. 19

we have לְהַשְׁמִיעַ. But if we compare ver. 5 of our chapter, where מַשְׁמִיעַ is predicate to Asaph, "Asaph gave forth clear notes with cymbals," then here also לְמַשְׁמִיעִים in connection with מְצִלְתַּיִם is thoroughly justified in the signification, "and cymbals for those who gave forth the notes or the melody," *i.e.* for Heman and Jeduthun. כְּלֵי שִׁיר הָאֵ are the other instruments used in the service of song, viz. the *nablia* and *kinnoroth*. "The sons of Jeduthun for the gate," *i.e.* as doorkeepers. As Obed-edom, who was doorkeeper by the ark, according to ver. 38, was likewise a son of Jeduthun, here other sons of the same Jeduthun, brothers of Obed-edom, must be meant, the number of whom, if we may judge from xxvi. 8, was very considerable; so that the members of this family were able to attend to the doorkeeping both by the ark and in the tabernacle at Gibeon.—Ver. 43 brings the account of the transfer of the ark to a conclusion, and coincides in substance with 2 Sam. vi. 19 and 20*a*, where, however, there follows in addition a narrative of the scene which David had with his wife Michal. This, as *res domestica*, the author of the Chronicle has omitted, since the reference to it in xv. 29 seemed sufficient for the design of his work. לְבָרֵךְ is not to greet, but to bless his house, just as in ver. 2 he had already pronounced a blessing on his people in the name of God.

CHAP. XVII.—DAVID'S DESIGN TO BUILD A TEMPLE, AND THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS KINGDOM.

In the Chronicle, as in the second book of Samuel chap. vii., the account of the removal of the ark to the city of David is immediately followed by the narrative of David's design to build a temple to the Lord; and this arrangement is adopted on account of the connection between the subjects, though the events must have been separated by a period of several years. Our account of this design of David's, with its results for him and for his kingdom, is in all essential points identical with the parallel account, so that we may refer to the commentary on 2 Sam. vii. for any necessary explanation of the matter. The differences between the two narratives are in great part of a merely formal kind; the author of the Chronicle having sought to make the narrative more intelligible to his contemporaries, partly by using later phrases current in his own time, such as אֱלֹהִים for יהוה, מַמְלָכָה for מַלְכוּת, partly by simplifying and explaining the bolder

and more obscure expressions. Very seldom do we find divergences in the subject-matter which alter the meaning or make it appear to be different. To supplement and complete the commentary already given on 2d Samuel, we will now shortly treat of these divergences. In ver. 1, the statement that David communicated his purpose to build a temple to the Lord to the prophet Nathan, "when Jahve had given him rest from all his enemies round about," is wanting. This clause, which fixes the time, has been omitted by the chronicler to avoid the apparent contradiction which would have arisen in case the narrative were taken chronologically, seeing that the greatest of David's wars, those against the Philistines, Syrians, and Ammonites, are narrated only in the succeeding chapter. As to this, cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. vii. 1–3.—In ver. 10, וּלְמִימֵים, like וְלִמִן־הַיּוֹם (Sam. ver. 11), is to be connected with the preceding בָּרִאשׁוֹנָה in this sense: "As in the beginning (*i.e.* during the sojourn in Egypt), and onward from the days when I appointed judges," *i.e.* during the time of the judges. לְמִן is only a more emphatic expression for מִן, to mark off the time from the beginning as it were (cf. Ew. § 218, *b*), and is wrongly translated by Berth. "until the days." In the same verse, וְהַכְנַעְתִּי, "I bow, humble all thine enemies," substantially the same as the וְהֵנִיחוֹתִי, "I give thee peace from all thine enemies" (Sam.); and the suffix in אוֹיְבֶיךָ is not to be altered, as Berth. proposes, into that of the third person אוֹיְבָיו, either in the Chronicle or in Samuel, for it is quite correct; the divine promise returning at the conclusion to David direct, as in the beginning, vers. 7 and 8, while that which is said of the people of Israel in vers. 9 and 10*a* is only an extension of the words, "I will destroy all *thine* enemies before thee" (ver. 8).—In ver. 11, לָלֶכֶת עִם־אֲבֹתֶיךָ, "to go with thy fathers," used of going the way of death, is similar to "to go the way of all the world" (1 Kings ii. 2), and is more primitive than the more usual שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹת (Sam. ver. 12). אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה מִבָּנֶיךָ, too, is neither to be altered to suit אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֵּעֶיךָ of Samuel; nor can we consider it, with Berth., an alteration made by the author of the Chronicle to get rid of the difficulty, that here the birth of Solomon is only promised, while Nathan's speech was made at a time when David had rest from all his enemies round about (2 Sam. viii. 1), *i.e.*, as is usually supposed, in the latest years of his life, and consequently after Solomon's birth. For the difficulty had already been got rid of by the omission of those words in ver. 1; and the word, "I have

cut off all thine enemies from before thee" (ver. 8), does not necessarily involve the destruction of all the enemies who ever rose against David, but refers, as the connection shows, only to the enemies who up till that time had attacked him. Had the author of the Chronicle only wished to get rid of this supposed difficulty, he would simply have omitted the clause, since "thy seed" included the sons of David, and needed no explanation if nothing further was meant than that one of his sons would ascend the throne after him. And moreover, the thought, "thy seed, which shall be among thy sons," which Bertheau finds in the words, would be expressed in Hebrew by אֲשֶׁר מִבָּנֶיךָ, while אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה מִבָּנֶיךָ signifies, "who will come out of (from) thy sons;" for הָיָה מִן does not denote to be of one, *i.e.* to belong to him, but to arise, be born, or go forth, from one: cf. Gen. xvii. 16; Eccles. iii. 20. According to this, the linguistically correct translation, the words cannot be referred to Solomon at all, because Solomon was not a descendant of David's sons, but of David himself.[1] The author of the Chronicle has interpreted אֶת־זַרְעֲךָ אֲחֲרֶיךָ theologically, or rather set forth the Messianic contents of this conception more clearly than it was expressed in אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֵּעֶיךָ. The seed after David, which will arise from his sons, is the Messiah, whom the prophets announced as the Son of David, whose throne God will establish for ever (ver. 12). This Messianic interpretation of David's זֶרַע explains the divergence of the chronicler's text in vers. 13 and 14 from 2 Sam. vii. 14–16. For instance, the omission of the words after בֵּן in ver. 13, "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men" (Sam. ver. 14), is the result of the Messianic interpretation of זַרְעֲךָ, since the reference to the chastisement would of course be important for the earthly sons of David and the kings of Judah, but could not well find place in the case of the Messiah. The only thing said of this son of David is, that God will not withdraw His grace from him. The case is exactly similar, with the difference between ver. 14 and Sam. ver. 16. Instead of the words, "And thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever" (Sam.), the promise runs thus in the Chronicle: "And I will settle (וְהַעֲמִידֹתִי, cause to stand, maintain, 1 Kings xv. 4; 2 Chron. ix. 8) him (the seed arising from thy sons) in my house and in my kingdom for ever, and his throne

[1] As old Lavater has correctly remarked: *Si tantum de Salomone [illegible] accipiendus esset, non dixisset: semen quod erit de filiis tuis, sed quod erit de te.*

shall be established for evermore." While these concluding words of the promise are, in the narrative in Samuel, spoken to David, promising to him the eternal establishment of his house, his kingdom, and his throne, in the Chronicle they are referred to the seed of David, *i.e.* the Messiah, and promise to Him His establishment for ever in the house and kingdom of God, and the duration of His throne for ever. That בֵּיתִי here does not signify the congregation of the Lord, the people of Israel, as Berth. thinks it must be translated, is clear as the sun; for בַּיִת, immediately preceding, denotes the temple of Jahve, and בֵּיתִי manifestly refers back to בַּיִת לִי (ver. 12), while such a designation of the congregation of Israel or of the people as "house of Jahve" is unheard of in the Old Testament. The house of Jahve stands in the same relation to the kingdom of Jahve as a king's palace to his kingdom. The house which David's seed will build to the Lord is the house of the Lord in his kingdom: in this house and kingdom the Lord will establish Him for ever; His kingdom shall never cease; His rule shall never be extinguished; and He himself, consequently, shall live for ever. It scarcely need be said that such things can be spoken only of the Messiah. The words are therefore merely a further development of the saying, "I will be to him a Father, and I will not take my mercy away from him, and will establish his kingdom for ever," and tell us clearly and definitely what is implicitly contained in the promise, that David's house, kingdom, and throne will endure for ever (Sam.), viz. that the house and kingdom of David will be established for ever only under the Messiah. That this interpretation is correct is proved by the fact that the divergences of the text of the chronicler from the parallel narrative cannot otherwise be explained; Thenius and Berth. not having made even an attempt to show how וְהַעֲמַדְתִּיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי could have arisen out of וְנֶאֱמַן בֵּיתְךָ. The other differences between the texts in the verses in question, לִי (Chron.) for לְעֶבֶד, אֶת־כִּסְאוֹ for אֵת כֵּסֶא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ (Chron. ver. 12, cf. Sam. ver. 13), and מֵאֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ instead of מֵעִם שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר וגו׳ (Chron. ver. 13, cf. Sam. ver. 15), are only variations in expression which do not affect the sense. With reference to the last of them, indeed, Berth. has declared against Thenius, that the chronicler's text is thoroughly natural, and bears marks of being more authentic than that of 2 Sam. vii.

In the prayer of thanksgiving contained in vers. 16 to 27 we meet with the following divergences from the parallel text, which

are of importance for their effect on the sense.—Ver. 17*b*. Instead of the words וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם (Sam. ver. 19), the Chronicle has וַתַּרְאֵנִי כְּתוֹר הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה, and sawest me (or, that thou sawest me) after the manner of men; תּוֹר being a contraction of תּוֹרָה = תּוֹרָה. רָאָה, to see, may denote to visit (cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 5; 2 Kings viii. 29), or look upon in the sense of regard, *respicere*. But the word הַמַּעֲלָה remains obscure in any case, for elsewhere it occurs only as a substantive, in the significations, "the act of going up" (or drawing up) (Ezra vii. 9), "that which goes up" (Ezek. xi. 5), "the step;" while for the signification "height" (*locus superior*) only this passage is adduced by Gesenius in *Thes.* But even had the word this signification, the word הַמַּעֲלָה could not signify *in loco excelso* = *in cœlis* in its present connection; and further, even were this possible, the translation *et me intuitus es more hominum in cœlis* gives no tolerable sense. But neither can המעלה be the vocative of address, and a predicate of God, "Thou height, Jahve God," as Hgstb. *Christol.* i. p. 378 trans., takes it, with many older commentators. The passage Ps. xcii. 9, "Thou art מָרוֹם, height, sublimity for ever, Jahve," is not sufficient to prove that in our verse הַמַּעֲלָה is predicated of God. Without doubt, הַמַּעֲלָה should go with רְאִיתַנִי וגו׳, and appears to correspond to the לְמֵרָחוֹק of the preceding clause, in the signification: as regards the elevation, in reference to the going upwards, *i.e.* the exaltation of my race (seed) on high. The thought would then be this: After the manner of men, so condescendingly and graciously, as men have intercourse with each other, hast Thou looked upon or visited me in reference to the elevation of myself or my race,—the text of the Chronicle giving an explanation of the parallel narrative.[1] The divergence in ver. 18, אֵלֶיךָ לְכָבוֹד אֶת־עַבְדֶּךָ

[1] This interpretation of this extremely difficult word corresponds in sense to the not less obscure words in 2d Samuel, and gives us, without any alteration of the text, a more fitting thought than the alterations in the reading proposed by the moderns. Ewald and Berth. would alter וראיתני into וְהַרְאִיתַנִי (Hiph.), and המעלה into לְמַעֲלָה, in order to get the meaning, "Thou hast caused me to see like the series of men upwards," *i.e.* the line of men who stretch from David outward into the far future in unbroken series, which Thenius rightly calls a thoroughly modern idea. Böttcher's attempt at explanation is much more artificial. He proposes, in *N. k. Aehrenlese*, iii. S. 225, to read לְמַעֲלָה . . . וּרְאִיתָנִי, and translates: "so that I saw myself, as the series of men who follow upwards shall see me, *i.e.* so that I could see myself as posterity will see me, at the head of a continuous family of rulers;" where the main idea has to be supplied.

instead of לְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ (Sam. ver. 20), which cannot be an explanation or interpretation of Samuel's text, is less difficult of explanation. The words in Samuel, "What can David say more unto Thee?" have in this connection the very easily understood signification, What more can I say of the promise given me? and needed no explanation. When, instead of this, we read in the Chronicle, "What more can Thy servant add to Thee in regard to the honour to Thy servant?" an unprejudiced criticism must hold this text for the original, because it is the more difficult. It is the more difficult, not only on account of the omission of לְדַבֵּר, which indeed is not absolutely necessary, though serving to explain יוֹסִיף, but mainly on account of the unusual construction of the *nomen* כָּבוֹד with אֶת־עַבְדֶּךָ, honour towards Thy servant. The construction דֵּעָה את יהוה is not quite analogous, for כָּבוֹד is not a *nomen actionis* like דֵּעָה; כבד את־ is rather connected with the practice which begins to obtain in the later language of employing אֵת as a general *casus obliquus*, instead of any more definite preposition (Ew. § 277, *d*, S. 683 f., der 7 Aufl.), and is to be translated: "honour concerning Thy servant." The assertion that אֶת־עַבְדֶּךָ is to be erased as a later gloss which has crept into the text, cuts the knots, but does not untie them. That the LXX. have not these words, only proves that these translators did not know what to make of them, and so just omitted them, as they have omitted the first clause of ver. 19. In ver. 19 also there is no valid ground for altering the בַּעֲבוּר עַבְדְּךָ of the Chronicle to make it correspond to בַּעֲבוּר דָּוִד in Samuel; for the words, "for Thy servant's sake," *i.e.* because Thou hast chosen Thy servant, give a quite suitable sense; cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. vii. 21. In the second half of the verse, however, the more extended phrases of 2d Samuel are greatly contracted.—Ver. 21. The combining of גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנוֹרָאוֹת with לַעֲשׂוֹם לְךָ שֵׁם as one sentence, "to make Thee a name with great and fearful deeds," is made clearer in 2d Samuel by the interpolation of וְלַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם, "and for you doing great and fearful things." This explanation, however, does not justify us in supposing that וְלַעֲשׂוֹת has been dropped out of the Chronicle. The words גְּדֻלּוֹת וְנוֹרָאוֹת are either to be subordinated in a loose connection to the clause, to define the way in which God has made Himself a name (cf. Ew. § 283), or connected with שׂוּם in a pregnant sense: "to make Thee a name, (doing) great and fearful things." But, on the other hand, the converse expression in Samuel, "fearful things for Thy land, before

Thy people which Thou redeemedst to Thee from Egypt (from) the nations and their gods," is explained in Chronicles by the interpolation of לְגָרֵשׁ: "fearful things, to drive out before Thy people, which . . . nations." The divergences cannot be explained by the hypothesis that both texts are mutilated, as is sufficiently shown by the contradictions into which Thenius and Bertheau have fallen in their attempts so to explain them.

All the remaining divergences of one text from the other are only variations of the expression, such as involuntarily arise in the endeavour to give a clear and intelligible narrative, without making a literal copy of the authority made use of. Among these we include even מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל, "Thy servant hath found to pray" (Chron. ver. 25), as compared with מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ אֶת־לִבּוֹ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל, "Thy servant hath found his heart," *i.e.* found courage, to pray (Sam. ver. 28); where it is impossible to decide whether the author of the books of Samuel has added אֶת־לִבּוֹ as an explanation, or the author of the Chronicle has omitted it because the phrase "to find his heart" occurs only in this single passage of the Old Testament. מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ להת' signifies, Thy servant has reached the point of directing this prayer to Thee.

CHAP. XVIII.–XX.—DAVID'S WARS AND VICTORIES; HIS PUBLIC OFFICIALS; SOME HEROIC DEEDS DONE IN THE PHILISTINE WARS.

The events recorded in these three chapters are all narrated in the second book of Samuel also, and in the same order. First, there are grouped together in our 18th chapter, and in 2 Sam. viii., in such a manner as to afford a general view of the whole, all the wars which David carried on victoriously against all his enemies round about in the establishment of the Israelitish rule, with a short statement of the results, followed by a catalogue of David's chief public officials. In chap. xix. and in 2 Sam. x. we have a more detailed account of the arduous war against the Ammonites and Syrians, and in chap. xx. 1–3 and 2 Sam. xii. 26–31 the conclusion of the war with the capture of Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites; and finally, in chap. xx. 4–8, we have a few short accounts of the victories of the Israelitish heroes over giants from the land of the Philistines, which are inserted in 2 Sam. xxi. 18–22 as a supplement to the last section of David's history. Apart from this last section, which is to be regarded even in the

Chronicle as an appendix, we find the arrangement and succession of the events to be the same in both books, since the sections which in 2 Sam. ix. and xi. 1–12, 25, stand between the histories of the wars, contain sketches of David's family life, which the author of the Chronicle has, in accordance with his plan, omitted. Even as to individual details the two narrative are perfectly agreed, the divergences being inconsiderable; an even these, in so far as they are original, and are not results careless copying,—as, for instance, the omission of the word xviii. 6, as compared with ver. 13 and 2 Sam. viii. difference in the numbers and names in chap. xvii compared with 2 Sam. iv. 4, 8, are,—are partly mere tions of obscure expressions, partly small additions ments. For the commentary, therefore, we may re remarks on 2d Samuel, where the divergences of the from the record in Samuel are also dealt with. With 1–13 cf. 2 Sam. viii. 1–14; and with the regist officials, xviii. 14–17, cf. 2 Sam. viii. 15–18.

Examples of paraphrastic explanation are found in chap. xviii. 1, where the figurative expression, David took the bridle of the mother out of the hands of the Philistines, *i.e.* deprived them of the hegemony, is explained by the phrase, David took Gath and her cities out of the hands of the Philistines, *i.e.* took from the Philistines the capital with her daughter cities; and in ver. 17, כֹּהֲנִים is rendered by, the first at the king's hand. Among the abridgments, the omission of David's harsh treatment of the Moabites who were taken prisoners is surprising, no reason for it being discoverable; for the assertion that the chronicler has purposely omitted it in order to free David from the charge of such barbarous conduct, is disposed of by the fact that he does not pass over in silence the similar treatment of the conquered inhabitants of Rabbah in chap. xx. 3. Instead of this, the chronicler has several historical notes peculiar to himself, which are wanting in the text of Samuel, and which prove that the author of the Chronicle has not derived his account from the second book of Samuel. Such, *e.g.*, is the statement in chap. xviii. 8, that Solomon caused the brazen sea and the pillars and vessels of the court of the temple to be made of the brass taken as booty in the war against Hadadezer; in ver. 11, the word מֵאֲרוֹם, which is wanting in Samuel, as מֵאֲרָם, which in ver. 11 of that book is used in place of it, probably stood originally in the

Chronicle also. Such also are the more accurate statements in ver. 12 as to the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt (see on 2 Sam. viii. 13).

The same phenomena are met with in the detailed account of the Ammonite-Syriac war, chap. xix. 1, 2, xx. 3, as compared with 2 Sam. x. 1–xi. 1, and xii. 26–31. In xix. 1 the omission of the name חָנוּן after בְּנוֹ is merely an oversight, as the omission of the name נָחָשׁ in 2 Sam. x. 1*a* also is. In ver. 3 there is no need to alter לַחְקֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וּלְרַגְּלָהּ וגו׳ into חֲקֹר אֶת־הָעִיר וגו׳, 2 Sam. x. 3, although the expression in Samuel is more precise. If the actual words of the original document are given in Samuel, the author of the Chronicle has made the thought more general: "to search and to overthrow, and to spy out the land." Perhaps, however, the terms made use of in the original document were not so exact and precise as those of the book of Samuel. In vers. 6, 7, at least, the divergence from 2 Sam. x. 16 cannot be explained otherwise than by supposing that in neither of the narratives is the text of the original document exactly and perfectly reproduced. For a further discussion of the differences, see on 2 Sam. x. 6. The special statement as to the place where the mercenaries encamped, and the Ammonites gathered themselves together from out their cities (ver. 7), is wanting in 2d Samuel. The city Medeba, which, according to Josh. xiii. 16, was assigned to the tribe of Reuben, lay about two hours south-east from Heshbon, and still exists as ruins, which retain the ancient name Medaba (see on Num. xxi. 30). In ver. 9, פֶּתַח הָעִיר, "outside the city" (*i.e.* the capital Rabbah), more correct or exact than פֶּתַח הַשַּׁעַר (Sam. ver. 8). On וַיָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם, as compared with וַיָּבֹא חֵילָאמָה (Sam. ver. 17), cf. the discussion on 2 Sam. x. 16, 17.

The account of the siege of Rabbah, the capital, in the following year, chap. xx. 1–3, is much abridged as compared with that in 2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 26–31. After the clause, "but David sat (remained) in Jerusalem," in 2 Sam. xi., from ver. 2 onwards, we have the story of David's adultery with Bathsheba, and the events connected with it (2 Sam. xi. 3–xii. 25), which the author of the Chronicle has omitted, in accordance with the plan of his book. Thereafter, in 2 Sam. xii. 26, the further progress of the siege of Rabbah is again taken up with the words, "And Joab warred against Rabbah of the sons of Ammon;" and in vers. 27–29 the capture of that city is cir-

cumstantially narrated, viz. how Joab, after he had taken the water-city, *i.e.* the city lying on both banks of the upper Jabbok (the Wady Ammân), with the exception of the Acropolis built on a hill on the north side of the city, sent messages to David, and called upon him to gather together the remainder of the people, *i.e.* all those capable of bearing arms who had remained in the land; and how David, having done this, took the citadel. Instead of this, we have in the Chronicle only the short statement, "And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it" (xx. 1, at the end). After this, both narratives (Chron. vers. 2, 3, and Sam. vers. 30, 31) coincide in narrating how David set the heavy golden crown of the king of the Ammonites on his head, brought much booty out of the city, caused the prisoners of war taken in Rabbah and the other fenced cities of the Ammonites to be slain in the cruellest way, and then returned with all the people, *i.e.* with the whole of his army, to Jerusalem. Thus we see that, according to the record in the Chronicle also, David was present at the capture of the Acropolis of Rabbah, then put on the crown of the Ammonite king, and commanded the slaughter of the prisoners; but no mention is made of his having gone to take part in the war. By the omission of this circumstance the narrative of the Chronicle becomes defective; but no reason can be given for this abridgment of the record, for the contents of 2 Sam. xii. 26–39 must have been contained in the original documents made use of by the chronicler. On the differences between ver. 31 (Sam.) and ver. 3 of the Chronicle, see on 2 Sam. xii. 31. וַיְשַׂר, "he sawed asunder," is the correct reading, and וַיָּשֶׂם in Samuel is an orthographical error; while, on the contrary, בַּמַּגֵרוֹת in the Chronicle is a mistake for בַּמַּגְזֵרוֹת in Samuel. The omission of וְהַעֲבִיר אוֹתָם בַּמַּלְבֵּן is probably explained by the desire to abridge; for if the author of the Chronicle does not scruple to tell of the sawing asunder of the prisoners with saws, and the cutting of them to pieces under threshing instruments and scythes, it would never occur to him to endeavour to soften David's harsh treatment of them by passing over in silence the burning of them in brick-kilns.

The passages parallel to the short appendix-like accounts of the valiant deeds of the Israelitish leaders in chap. xx. 4–8 are to be found, as has already been remarked, in 2 Sam. xxi. 18–24. There, however, besides the three exploits of which we are informed by the chronicler in vers. 15–17, a fourth is recorded,

and that in the first place too, viz. the narrative of David's fight with the giant Jishbi-Benob, who was slain by Abishai the son of Zeruiah. The reason why our historian has not recounted this along with the others is clear from the position which he assigns to these short narratives in his book. In the second book of Samuel they are recounted in the last section of the history of David's reign, as palpable proofs of the divine grace of which David had had experience during his whole life, and for which he there praises the Lord in a psalm of thanksgiving (2 Sam. xxii.). In this connection, David's deliverance by the heroic act of Abishai from the danger into which he had fallen by the fierce attack which the Philistine giant Jishbi-Benob made upon him when he was faint, is very suitably narrated, as being a visible proof of the divine grace which watched over the pious king. For the concluding remark in 2 Sam. xxi. 17, that in consequence of this event his captains adjured David not to go any more into battle along with them, that the light of Israel might not be extinguished, shows in how great danger he was of being slain by this giant. For this reason the author of the book of Samuel has placed this event at the head of the exploits of the Israelite captains which he was about to relate, although it happened somewhat later in time than the three exploits which succeed. The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, has made the account of these exploits an appendix to the account of the victorious wars by which David obtained dominion over all the neighbouring peoples, and made his name to be feared among the heathen, as a further example of the greatness of the power given to the prince chosen by the Lord to be over His people. For this purpose the story of the slaughter of the Philistine giant, who had all but slain the weary David, was less suitable, and is therefore passed over by the chronicler, although it was contained in his authority,[1] as is clear from the almost verbal coincidence of the stories which follow with 2 Sam. xxi. 18 ff. The very first is introduced by the formula, "It happened after this," which in 2d Samuel naturally connects the preceding narrative with this; while the chronicler has retained אַחֲרֵי־כֵן as a general formula of transition,—omitting, however, עוֹד (Sam.) in the following clause, and writing וַתַּעֲמֹד, "there arose," instead of וַיְהִי. עָמַד in the later Hebrew is the same as קוּם. The hypothesis that

[1] Lightfoot says, in his *Chronol. V. T.* p. 68: *Illud prælium, in quo David in periculum venit et unde decore et illæsus exire non potuit, omissum est.*

ותעמד has arisen out of וַתְּהִי עוֹד (in Samuel) is not at all probable, although עמד is not elsewhere used of the origin of a war. Even קום is only once (Gen. xli. 30) used of the coming, or coming in, of a time. On בְּגֹב and סְפֵי instead of בֹּב and סַף, see on 2 Sam. xxi. 18. וַיִּכָּנְעוּ at the end of the fourth verse is worthy of remark, "And they (the Philistines) were humbled," which is omitted from Samuel, and "yet can scarcely have been arbitrarily added by our historian" (Berth.). This remark, however, correct as it is, does not explain the omission of the word from 2d Samuel. The reason for that can scarcely be other than that it did not seem necessary for the purpose which the author of the book of Samuel had in the first place in view. As to the two other exploits (vers. 6–8), see the commentary on 2 Sam. xxi. 19–22. אֵל for אֵלֶּה in the closing remark (ver. 8) is archaic, but the omission of the article (אֵל instead of הָאֵל, [illegible] in Gen. xix. 8, 25, and in other passages in the Pentateuch, be elsewhere paralleled. In the last clause, "[illegible] the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants," that David should be named is surprising, because none of those here mentioned as begotten of Rapha, *i.e.* descendants of the ancient Raphaite race, had fallen by the hand of David, but all by the hand of his servants. Bertheau therefore thinks that this clause has been copied *verbatim* into our passage, and also into 2 Sam. xxi. 22, from the original document, where this enumeration formed the conclusion of a long section, in which the acts of David and of his heroes, in their battles with the giants in the land of the Philistines, were described. But since the author of the second book of Samuel expressly says, "These four were born to Rapha, and they fell" (ver. 22), he can have referred in the words, "And they fell by the hand of David," only to the four above mentioned, whether he took the verse in question unaltered from his authority, or himself added אֶת־עַרְבַּעַת אֵלֶּה. In the latter case he cannot have added the בְּיַד־דָּוִד without some purpose; in the former, the reference of the בְּיַד־דָּוִד in the "longer section," from which the excerpt is taken, to others than the four giants mentioned, to Goliath perhaps in addition, whom David slew, is rendered impossible by אֶת־עַרְבַּעַת אֵלֶּה. The statement, "they fell by the hand of David," does not presuppose that David had slain all of them, or even one of them, with his own *hand;* for בְּיַד frequently signifies only through, *i.e.* by means of, and denotes here that those giants fell in wars which David had

waged with the Philistines—that David had been the main cause of their fall, had brought about their death by his servants through the wars he waged.

CHAP. XXI.–XXII. 1—THE NUMBERING OF THE PEOPLE, THE PESTILENCE, AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE SITE FOR THE TEMPLE (CF. 2 SAM. XXIV.).

The motive which influenced the king, in causing a census of the men capable of bearing arms throughout the kingdom to be taken in the last year of his reign, has already been discussed in the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv., where we have also pointed out what it was which was so sinful and displeasing to God in the undertaking. We have, too, in the same place commented upon the various stages of its progress, taking note of the differences which exist between the numbers given in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, 13, 24, and those in our record, vers. 5, 12, 25; so that here we need only compare the two accounts somewhat more minutely. They correspond not merely in the main points of their narrative of the event, but in many places make use of the same terms, which shows that they have both been derived from the same source; but, at the same time, very considerable divergences are found in the conception and representation of the matter. In the very first verse, David's purpose is said in 2d Samuel to be the effect of the divine anger; in the Chronicle it is the result of the influence of Satan on David. Then, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 4–9, the numbering of the people is narrated at length, while in the Chronicle, vers. 4–6, only the results are recorded, with the remark that Joab did not complete the numbering, Levi and Benjamin not being included, because the king's command was an abomination to him. On the other hand, the Chronicle, in vers. 19–27, narrates the purchase of Araunah's threshing-floor for a place of sacrifice, and gives not merely a more circumstantial account of David's offering than we find in Samuel (vers. 19–25), but also states, in conclusion (vers. 28–30), the circumstances which induced David to offer sacrifice even afterwards, on the altar which he had built at the divine command, on the threshing-floor bought of Araunah. The purpose which the author of the Chronicle had in view in making this concluding remark is manifest from ver. 1 of chap. xxii., which should properly be connected with chap. xxi.: "And David said, Here is the house

of Jahve God, and here the altar for the burnt-offering of Israel." Only in this verse, as Bertheau has correctly remarked, do we find the proper conclusion of the account of the numbering of the people, the pestilence, and the appearance of the angel, and yet it is omitted in the book of Samuel; "although it is manifest from the whole connection, and the way in which the history of David and Solomon is presented in the books of Samuel and Kings, that the account is given there also only to point out the holiness of the place where Solomon built the temple even in the time of David, and to answer the question why that particular place was chosen for the site of the sanctuary." This remark is perfectly just, if it be not understood to mean that the author of our book of Samuel has given a hint of this purpose in his narrative; for the conclusion of 2 Sam. xxiv. 25, "And Jahve was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed," is irreconcilable with any such idea. This concluding sentence, and the omission of any reference to the temple, or to the appointment of the altar built on the threshing-floor of Araunah to be a place of sacrifice for Israel, and of the introductory words of the narrative, "And again the wrath of Jahve was kindled against Israel, and moved David against them" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1), plainly show that the author of the book of Samuel regarded, and has here narrated, the event as a chastisement of the people of Israel for their rebellion against the divinely chosen king, in the revolts of Absalom and Sheba (cf. the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 1). The author of the Chronicle, again, has without doubt informed us of the numbering of the people, and the pestilence, with its results, with the design of showing how God Himself had chosen and consecrated this spot to be the future place of worship for Israel, by the appearance of the angel, the command given to David through the prophet Gad to build an altar where the angel had appeared, and to sacrifice thereon, and by the gracious acceptance of this offering, fire having come down from heaven to devour it. For this purpose he did not require to give any lengthened account of the numbering of the people, since it was of importance to him only as being the occasion of David's humiliation.

Vers. 1–7. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to number Israel." The mention of Satan as the seducer of David is not to be explained merely by the fact that the Israelites in later times traced up everything contrary to God's will to this evil spirit, but in the present case arises from the

author's design to characterize David's purpose from the very beginning as an ungodly thing.—Ver. 2. The naming of the שָׂרֵי הָעָם along with Joab is in accordance with the circumstances, for we learn from 2 Sam. xxiv. 4 that Joab did not carry out the numbering of the people alone, but was assisted by the captains of the host. The object of וְהָבִיאוּ אֵלַי, which is not expressed, the result of the numbering, may be supplied from the context. No objection need be taken to the simple פָּהֵם of ver. 3, instead of the double פָּהֵם וְכָהֵם in Samuel. The repetition of the same word, "there are so and so many of them," is a peculiarity of the author of the book of Samuel (cf. 2 Sam. xii. 8), while the expression in the Chronicle corresponds to that in Deut. i. 11. With the words הֲלֹא אֲדֹנִי וגו׳, "Are they not, my lord king, all my lord's servants," *i.e.* subject to him? Joab allays the suspicion that he grudged the king the joy of reigning over a very numerous people. In Sam. ver. 3 the thought takes another turn; and the last clause, "Why should it (the thing or the numbering) become a trespass for Israel?" is wanting. אַשְׁמָה denotes here a trespass which must be atoned for, not one which one commits. The meaning is therefore, Why should Israel expiate thy sin, in seeking thy glory in the power and greatness of thy kingdom? On the numbers, ver. 5, see on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. In commenting on ver. 6, which is not to be found in Samuel, Berth. defends the statement that Joab did not make any muster of the tribes Levi and Benjamin, against the objections of de Wette and Gramberg, as it is done in my *apologet. Versuche*, S. 349 ff., by showing that the tribe of Levi was by law (cf. Num. i. 47–54) exempted from the censuses of the people taken for political purposes; and the tribe of Benjamin was not numbered, because David, having become conscious of his sin, stopped the numbering before it was completed (cf. also the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9). The reason given, "for the king's word was an abomination unto Joab," is certainly the subjective opinion of the historian, but is shown to be well founded by the circumstances, for Joab disapproved of the king's design from the beginning; cf. ver. 3 (Samuel and Chronicles).—In ver. 7, the author of the Chronicle, instead of ascribing the confession of sin on David's part which follows to the purely subjective motive stated in the words, "and David's heart smote him," *i.e.* his conscience (Sam. ver. 10*a*), has ascribed the turn matters took to objective causes: the thing displeased God; and antici-

pating the course of events, he remarks straightway, "and He (God) smote Israel." This, however, is no reason for thinking, with Berth., that the words have arisen out of a misinterpretation or alteration of 2 Sam. xxiv. 10*a*; for such anticipatory remarks, embracing the contents of the succeeding verses, not unfrequently occur in the historical books (cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings vi. 14, vii. 2).—In reference to vers. 8–10, see on 2 Sam. xxiv. 10–16.—In ver. 12, נִסְפֶּה has not come into the text by mistake or by misreading נָסֹךְ (Sam. ver. 13), but is original, the author of the Chronicle describing the two latter evils more at length than Samuel does. The word is not a participle, but a noun formed from the participle, with the signification "perishing" (the being snatched away). The second parallel clause, "the sword of thine enemies to attaining" (so that it reach thee), serves to intensify. So also in reference to the third evil, the חֶרֶב יהוה which precedes דֶּבֶר בָּאָרֶץ, and the parallel clause added to both: "and the angel of the Lord destroying in the whole domain of Israel."—Ver. 15. וַיִּשְׁלַח הָאֱלֹהִים מַלְאָךְ לִיר', "And God sent an angel towards Jerusalem," gives no suitable sense. Not because of the improbability that God sent the angel with the commission to destroy Jerusalem, and at the same moment gives the contrary command, "Stay now," etc. (Berth.); for the reason of this change is given in the intermediate clause, "and at the time of the destroying the Lord repented it," and command and prohibition are not given "at the same moment;" but the difficulty lies in the indefinite מַלְאָךְ (without the article). For since the angel of Jahve is mentioned in ver. 12 as the bringer of the pestilence, in our verse, if it treats of the sending of this angel to execute the judgment spoken of, הַמַּלְאָךְ must necessarily be used, or אֶת הַמַּלְאָךְ, as in ver. 16; the indefinite מַלְאָךְ can by no means be used for it. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 we read, instead of the words in question, וַיִּשְׁלַח יָדוֹ הַמַּלְאָךְ יר', "and the angel stretched out his hand towards Jerusalem;" and Bertheau thinks that the reading הָאֱלֹהִים (in the Chron.) has arisen out of that, by the letters ידו ה being exchanged for יהוה, and אלהים being substituted for this divine name, as is often the case in the Chronicle; while Movers, S. 91, on the contrary, considers the reading of the Chronicle to be original, and would read יְשַׁלַּח יהוה in Samuel. But in that way Movers leaves the omission of the article before מַלְאָךְ in the Chronicle unexplained; and Bertheau's conjecture is opposed by the improbability of such a misunderstanding of a phrase so frequent and

so unmistakeable as יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ, as would lead to the exchange supposed, ever occurring. But besides that, in Samuel the simple הַמַּלְאָךְ is strange, for the angel has not been spoken of there at all before, and the LXX. have consequently explained the somewhat obscure הַמַּלְאָךְ by ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ. This explanation suggests the way in which the reading of our text arose. The author of the Chronicle, although he had already made mention of the מַלְאַךְ יהוה in ver. 12, wrote in ver. 15 וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים, "the angel of God stretched (his hand) out towards Jerusalem," using האלהים instead of יהוה,—as, for example, in Judg. vi. 20, 22, xiii. 6, 9, and 13, 15, 17. מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים alternates with מַלְאַךְ יהוה, and omitting יָדוֹ with יִשְׁלַח, as is often done, *e.g.* 2 Sam. vi. 6, Ps. xviii. 17, etc. By a copyist מלאך and האלהים have been transposed, and מַלְאָךְ was then taken by the Masoretes for an accusative, and pointed accordingly. The expression is made clearer by וַיִּנָּחֶם, "And as he destroyed, Jahve saw, and it repented Him of the evil." The idea is: Just as the angel had begun to destroy Jerusalem, it repented God. רַב, adverb, "enough," as in 1 Kings xix. 4, etc., with a *dativ. commodi*, Deut. i. 6, etc. Bertheau has incorrectly denied this meaning of the word, connecting רַב with בָּעָם in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, and desiring to alter our text to make it conform to that. In 2d Samuel also רַב is an adverb, as Thenius also acknowledges.

Vers. 16–26. The account of David's repentant beseeching of the Lord to turn away the primitive judgment, and the word of the Lord proclaimed to him by the prophet, commanding him to build an altar to the Lord in the place where the destroying angel visibly appeared, together with the carrying out of this divine command by the purchase of Araunah's threshing-floor, the erection of an altar, and the offering of burnt-offering, is given more at length in the Chronicle than in 2 Sam. xxiv. 17–25, where only David's negotiation with Araunah is more circumstantially narrated than in the Chronicle. In substance both accounts perfectly correspond, except that in the Chronicle several subordinate circumstances are preserved, which, as being minor points, are passed over in Samuel. In ver. 16, the description of the angel's appearance, that he had a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem, and the statement that David and the elders, clad in sackcloth (garments indicating repentance), fell down before the Lord; in ver. 20, the mention of Ornan's (Araunah's) sons, who hid themselves on beholding the angel, and of the fact that

Ornan was engaged in threshing wheat when David came to him; and the statement in ver. 26, that fire came down from heaven upon the altar,—are examples of such minor points. We have already commented on this section in our remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv. 17–25, and the account in the Chronicle is throughout correct and easily understood. Notwithstanding this, however, Bertheau, following Thenius and Böttcher, conjectures that the text is in several verses corrupt, and wishes to correct them by 2d Samuel. But these critics are misled by the erroneous presumption with which they entered upon the interpretation of the Chronicle, that the author of it used as his authority, and revised, our Masoretic text of the second book of Samuel. Under the influence of this prejudice, emendations are proposed which are stamped with their own unlikelihood, and rest in part even on misunderstandings of the narrative in the book of Samuel. Of this one or two illustrations will be sufficient. Any one who compares ver. 17 (Sam.) with vers. 16 and 17 of the Chronicle, without any pre-formed opinions, will see that what is there (Sam.) concisely expressed is more clearly narrated in the Chronicle. The beginning of ver. 17, "And David spake unto Jahve," is entirely without connection, as the thought which forms the transition from ver. 16 to ver. 17, viz. that David was moved by the sight of the destroying angel to pray to God that the destruction might be turned away, is only brought in afterwards in the subordinate clause, "on seeing the angel." This abrupt form of expression is got rid of in the Chronicle by the clause: "And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel ... and fell ... upon his face; and David spake to God." That which in Samuel is crushed away into an infinitive clause subordinate to the principal sentence, precedes in the Chronicle, and is circumstantially narrated. Under these circumstances, of course, the author of the Chronicle could not afterwards in ver. 17 make use of the clause, "on seeing the angel who smote the people," without tautology. Berth., on the contrary, maintains that ver. 16 is an interpolation of the chronicler, and proposes then to cull out from the words and letters בראתו את המלאך המכה בעם (Sam.), the words בראתו אמרתי למנותי בעם (Chron. ver. 17), great use being made in the process of the ever ready auxiliaries, mistakes, and a text which has become obscure. This is one example out of many. Ver. 16 of the Chronicle is not an addition which the Chronicle has interpolated between vers. 16 and 17 of Samuel, but a more detailed representa-

tion of the historical course of things. No mention is made in 2d Samuel of the drawn sword in the angel's hand, because there the whole story is very concisely narrated. This detail need not have been borrowed from Num. xxii. 23, for the drawn sword is a sensible sign that the angel's mission is punitive; and the angel, who is said to have visibly appeared in 2d Samuel also, could be recognised as the bearer of the judicial pestilence only by this emblem, such recognition being plainly the object of his appearance. The mention of the elders along with David as falling on their faces in prayer, clad in sackcloth, will not surprise any reader or critic who considers that in the case of so fearful a pestilence the king would not be alone in praying God to turn away the judgment. Besides, from the mention of the עֲבָדִים of the king who went with David to Ornan (Sam. ver. 20), we learn that the king did not by himself take steps to turn away the plague, but did so along with his servants. In the narrative in 2d Samuel, which confines itself to the main point, the elders are not mentioned, because only of David was it recorded that his confession of sin brought about the removal of the plague. Just as little can we be surprised that David calls his command to number the people the *delictum* by which he had brought the judgment of the plague upon himself.—To alter בְּדָבַר, ver. 19, into כִּדְבַר, as Berth. wishes, would show little intelligence. בְּדָבַר, at Gad's word David went up, is proved by Num. xxxi. 16 to be good Hebrew, and is perfectly suitable.—Ver. 20. וַיָּשָׁב אָרְנָן, "and Ornan turned him about," is translated by Berth. incorrectly, "then Ornan turned back," who then builds on this erroneous interpretation, which is contrary to the context, a whole nest of conjectures. וַיָּשָׁב is said to have arisen out of וַיִּשְׁקֹף, the succeeding הַמַּלְאָךְ out of הַמֶּלֶךְ, עַבְדָיו עֹבְרִים עָלָיו out of עַרְבַּעַת בָּנָיו עִמּוֹ (Sam. ver. 20), "by mistake and further alteration." In saying this, however, he himself has not perceived that ver. 20 (Sam.) does not correspond to the 20th verse of the Chronicle at all, but to the 21st verse, where the words, "and Araunah looked out (וישקף) and saw the king," are parallel to the words, "and Ornan looked (וַיַּבֵּט) and saw David." The 20th verse of the Chronicle contains a statement which is not found in Samuel, that Ornan (Araunah), while threshing with his four sons, turned and saw the angel, and being terrified at the sight, hid himself with his sons. After that, David with his train came from Zion to the threshing-floor in Mount Moriah, and Araunah looking out saw the king, and came out of the

threshing-floor to meet him, with deep obeisance. This narrative contains nothing improbable, nothing to justify us in having recourse to critical conjecture.—Ver. 24. The infinitive הַעֲלוֹת is very frequently used in Hebrew as the continuation of the *verb. fin.*, and is found in all the books of the Old Testament (cf. the collection of passages illustrative of this peculiar form of brief expression, which Ew. gives, § 351, *c*), and that not only with regard to the *infin. absol.*, but the *infin. constr.* also. David's answer to Ornan's offer to give him the place for the altar, and the cattle, plough, and wheat for the burnt-offering, was therefore: "No, I will buy it for full price; I will not take what belongs to thee for Jahve, and bring burnt-offerings without cost," *i.e.* without having paid the price for them.—Ver. 25. As to the different statements of the price, cf. on 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

Vers. 26–30. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 25 the conclusion of this event is shortly narrated thus: David offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and Jahve was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel. In the Chronicle we have a fuller statement of the יַעְתֵּר יהוה in ver. 26*b*. David called upon Jahve, and He answered with fire from heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering (ver. 27); and Jahve spake to the angel, and he returned the sword into its sheath. The returning of the sword into its sheath is a figurative expression for the stopping of the pestilence; and the fire which came down from heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering was the visible sign by which the Lord assured the king that his prayer had been heard, and his offering graciously accepted. The reality of this sign of the gracious acceptance of an offering is placed beyond doubt by the analogous cases, Lev. ix. 24, 1 Kings xviii. 24, 38, and 2 Chron. vii. 1. It was only by this sign of the divine complacence that David learnt that the altar built upon the threshing-floor of Araunah had been chosen by the Lord as the place where Israel should always thereafter offer their burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as is further recorded in vers. 28–30 and in xxii. 1. From the cessation of the pestilence in consequence of his prayer and sacrifice, David could only draw the conclusion that God had forgiven him his transgression, but could not have known that God had chosen the place where he had built the altar for the offering demanded by God as a permanent place of sacrifice. This certainly he obtained only by the divine answer, and this answer was the fire which came down upon the altar of burnt-offering and devoured

the sacrifice. This ver. 28 states: "At the time when he saw that Jahve had answered him at the threshing-floor of Ornan, he offered sacrifice there," *i.e.* from that time forward; so that we may with Berth. translate וַיִּזְבַּח שָׁם, "then he was wont to offer sacrifice there." In vers. 29 and 30 we have still further reasons given for David's continuing to offer sacrifices at the threshing-floor of Ornan. The legally sanctioned place of sacrifice for Israel was still at that time the tabernacle, the Mosaic sanctuary with its altar of burnt-offering, which then stood on the high place at Gibeon (cf. xvi. 39). Now David had indeed brought the ark of the covenant, which had been separated from the tabernacle from the time of Samuel, to Zion, and had there not only erected a tent for it, but had also built an altar and established a settled worship there (chap. xvii.), yet without having received any express command of God regarding it; so that this place of worship was merely provisional, intended to continue only until the Lord Himself should make known His will in the matter in some definite way. When therefore David, after the conquest of his enemies, had obtained rest round about, he had formed the resolution to make an end of this provisional separation of the ark from the tabernacle, and the existence of two sacrificial altars, by building a temple; but the Lord had declared to him by the prophet Nathan, that not he, but his son and successor on the throne, should build Him a temple. The altar by the ark in Zion, therefore, continued to co-exist along with the altar of burnt-offering at the tabernacle in Gibeon, without being sanctioned by God as the place of sacrifice for the congregation of Israel. Then when David, by ordering the numbering of the people, had brought guilt upon the nation, which the Lord so heavily avenged upon them by the pestilence, he should properly, as king, have offered a sin-offering and a burnt-offering in the national sanctuary at Gibeon, and there have sought the divine favour for himself and for the whole people. But the Lord said unto him by the prophet Gad, that he should bring his offering neither in Gibeon, nor before the ark on Zion, but in the threshing-floor of Ornan (Araunah), on the altar which he was there to erect. This command, however, did not settle the place where he was afterwards to sacrifice. But David—so it runs, ver. 29 f.—sacrificed thenceforward in the threshing-floor of Ornan, not at Gibeon in the still existent national sanctuary, because he (according to ver. 30) "could not

go before it (לְפָנָיו) to seek God, for he was terrified before the sword of the angel of Jahve." This statement does not, however, mean, *ex terrore visionis angelicæ infirmitatem corporis contraxerat* (J. H. Mich.), nor yet, "because he, being struck and overwhelmed by the appearance of the angel, did not venture to offer sacrifices elsewhere" (Berth.), nor, "because the journey to Gibeon was too long for him" (O. v. Gerl.). None of these interpretations suit either the words or the context. נִבְעַת מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב, terrified before the sword, does indeed signify that the sword of the angel, or the angel with the sword, hindered him from going to Gibeon, but not during the pestilence, when the angel stood between heaven and earth by the threshing-floor of Araunah with the drawn sword, but—according to the context—afterwards, when the angelophany had ceased, as it doubtless did simultaneously with the pestilence. The words כִּי נִבְעַת וגו׳ can therefore have no other meaning, than that David's terror before the sword of the angel caused him to determine to sacrifice thereafter, not at Gibeon, but at the threshing-floor of Araunah; or that, since during the pestilence the angel's sword had prevented him from going to Gibeon, he did not venture ever afterwards to go. But the fear before the sword of the angel is in substance the terror of the pestilence; and the pestilence had hindered him from sacrificing at Gibeon, because Gibeon, notwithstanding the presence of the sanctuary there, with the Mosaic altar, had not been spared by the pestilence. David considered this circumstance as normative ever for the future, and he always afterwards offered his sacrifices in the place pointed out to him, and said, as we further read in chap. xxii. 1, "Here (זֶה הוּא, properly this, mas. or neut.) is the house of Jahve God, and here is the altar for the burnt-offering of Israel." He calls the site of the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah בֵּית יהוה, because there Jahve had manifested to him His gracious presence; cf. Gen. xxviii. 17.

CHAP. XXII. 2–19.—DAVID'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

With this chapter commences the second section of the history of David's kingship, viz. the account of the preparations, dispositions, and arrangements which he made in the last years of his reign for the establishment of his kingdom in the future

under his successors (see above, p. 169 ff.). All these preparations and dispositions had reference to the firm establishment of the public worship of the Lord, in which Israel, as the people and congregation of Jahve, might show its faithfulness to the covenant, so as to become partakers of the divine protection, and the blessing which was promised. To build the temple—this desire the Lord had not indeed granted the fulfilment of to David, but He had given him the promise that his son should carry out that work. The grey-haired king accordingly made preparations, after the site of the house of God which should be built had been pointed out to him, such as would facilitate the execution of the work by his successor. Of these preparations our chapter treats, and in it we have an account how David provided the necessary labour and materials for the building of the temple (vers. 2–5), committed the execution of the work in a solemn way to his son Solomon (vers. 6–16), and called upon the chiefs of the people to give him their support in the work (vers. 17–19).

Vers. 2–5. *Workmen and materials for the building of the temple.*—Ver. 2. In order to procure the necessary workmen, David commanded that the strangers in the land of Israel should be gathered together, and, as we learn from 2 Chron. ii. 16, also numbered. הַגֵּרִים, the strangers, are the descendants of the Canaanites whom the Israelites had not destroyed when they took possession of the land, but had reduced to bondage (2 Chron. viii. 7–9; 1 Kings ix. 20–22). This number was so considerable, that Solomon was able to employ 150,000 of them as labourers and stone-cutters (1 Kings v. 29; 2 Chron. ii. 16 f.). These strangers David appointed to be stone-cutters, to hew squared stones, אַבְנֵי גָזִית (see on 1 Kings v. 31).—Ver. 3. Iron and brass he prepared in abundance: the iron for the nails of the doors, *i.e.* for the folding-doors of the gates, *i.e.* partly for the pivots (*Zapfen*) on which the folding-doors turned, partly to strengthen the boards of which doors were made; as also for the מְחֻבָּרוֹת, literally, things to connect, *i.e.* properly iron cramps.—Ver. 4. The Tyrians sent him cedar trees or beams in abundance, probably in exchange for grain, wine, and fruit of various sorts, which the Phœnicians obtained from the Israelites; cf. Movers, *Phönizier*, iii. 1, S. 88 ff. Sidonians and Tyrians are named to denote the Phœnicians generally, as in Ezra iii. 7. When Solomon began to build the temple, he made a regular treaty with Hiram king of Tyre about the delivery of the necessary cedar wood, 1 Kings v. 15 ff.—Ver. 5 gives in

substance the reason of what precedes, although it is connected with it only by ו consec. Because his son Solomon was still in tender youth, and the building to be executed was an exceedingly great work, David determined to make considerable preparation before his death. נַעַר וָרָךְ, *puer et tener*, repeated in xxix. 1, indicates a very early age. Solomon could not then be quite twenty years old, as he was born only after the Syro-Ammonite war (see on 2 Sam. xii. 24), and calls himself at the commencement of his reign still נַעַר קָטֹן (1 Kings iii. 7). The word נַעַר may of itself denote not merely a boy, but also a grown youth; but here it is limited to the boyish age by the addition of וָרָךְ. Berth. wrongly compares Ex. xxxiii. 11, where נַעַר denotes not a boy, but a lad, *i.e.* a servant. In the succeeding clause לִבְנוֹת לֵיהוה is to be taken relatively: and the house which is to be built to the Lord is to be made great exceedingly (לְמַעֲלָה, see on xiv. 2), for a name and glory for all lands, *i.e.* that it might be to the Lord for whom it should be built for an honour and glory in all lands. אָכִינָה נָּא לוֹ, I will (= therefore will I) prepare for him (Solomon), *scil.* whatever I can prepare to forward this great work.

Vers. 6–16. *Solomon commissioned to build the temple.*—Ver. 6. Before his death (ver. 5) David called his son Solomon, in order to commit to him the building of the temple, and to press it strongly upon him, vers. 7–10. With this design, he informs him that it had been his intention to build a temple to the Lord, but the Lord had not permitted him to carry out this resolve, but had committed it to his son. The Keri בְּנִי (ver. 7) is, notwithstanding the general worthlessness of the corrections in the Keri, probably to be preferred here to the Keth. בְּנוֹ, for בְּנוֹ might have easily arisen by the copyist's eye having wandered to לִשְׁלֹמֹה בְנוֹ, ver. 6. David's addressing him as בְּנִי is very fitting, nay, even necessary, and not contrary to the following אֲנִי. עִם לְבָבִי, it was with my heart, *i.e.* I had intended, occurs indeed very often in the Chronicle, *e.g.* xxviii. 2, 2 Chron. i. 11, vi. 7 f., ix. 1, xxiv. 4, xxix. 10, but is also found in other books where the sense demands it, *e.g.* Josh. xiv. 7, 1 Kings viii. 17 f., x. 2. In וַיְהִי עָלַי, There came to me the word of Jahve (ver. 8), it is implied that the divine word was given to him as a command. The reason which David gives why the Lord did not allow him to build the temple is not stated in chap. xvii. (2 Sam. vii.), to which David here refers; instead of the reason, only the promise

is there communicated, that the Lord would first build him a house, and enduringly establish his throne. This promise does not exclude the reason stated here and in chap. xxviii. 3, but rather implies it. As the temple was only to be built when God had enduringly established the throne of David, David could not execute this work, for he still had to conduct wars—wars, too, of the Lord—for the establishment of his kingdom, as Solomon also states it in his embassy to Hiram. Wars and bloodshed, however, are unavoidable and necessary in this earth for the establishment of the kingdom of God in opposition to its enemies, but are not consonant with its nature, as it was to receive a visible embodiment and expression in the temple. For the kingdom of God is in its essence a kingdom of peace; and battle, or war, or struggle, are only means for the restoration of peace, the reconciliation of mankind with God after the conquest of sin and all that is hostile to God in this world. See on 2 Sam. vii. 11. David, therefore, the man of war, is not to build the temple, but (ver. 9 f.) his son; and to him the Lord will give peace from all his enemies, so that he shall be אִישׁ מְנוּחָה, a man of rest, and shall rightly bear the name Shelomo (Solomon), *i.e.* Friederich (rich in peace, Eng. Frederick), for God would give to Israel in his days, *i.e.* in his reign, peace and rest (שֶׁקֶט). The participle נוֹלָד after הִנֵּה has the signification of the future, shall be born; cf. 1 Kings xiii. 2. אִישׁ מְנוּחָה, not a man who procures peace (Jer. li. 59), but one who enjoys peace, as the following וְהֵנַחְתִּי לוֹ shows. As to the name שְׁלֹמֹה, see on 2 Sam. xii. 24. Into ver. 10 David compresses the promise contained in chap. xvii. 12 and 13.—Ver. 11. After David had so committed to his son Solomon the building of the temple, a task reserved and destined for him by the divine counsel, he wishes him, in ver. 11, the help of the Lord to carry out the work. וְהַצְלַחְתָּ, *ut prospere agas et felici successu utaris* (J. M. Mich.), cf. Josh. i. 8. דִּבֶּר עַל of a command from on high; cf. עָלַי, ver. 8. Above all, however, he wishes (ver. 12) him right understanding and insight from God (שֵׂכֶל וּבִינָה, so connected in 2 Chron. ii. 11 also), and that God may establish him over Israel, *i.e.* furnish him with might and wisdom to rule over the people Israel; cf. 2 Sam. vii. 11. וְלִשְׁמוֹר, "to observe" = and mayest thou observe the law of Jahve; not thou must keep (Berth.), for וְלִשְׁמוֹר is to be regarded as a continuation of the *verb. finit.*; cf. Ew. § 351, *c*, S. 840.—Ver. 13. The condition of obtaining the result is the faithful observing of the commands of

the Lord. The speech is filled with reminiscences of the law, cf. Deut. vii. 11, xi. 32; and for the exhortation to be strong and of good courage, cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, Josh i. 7, 9, etc.

In conclusion (vers. 14–16), David mentions what materials he has prepared for the building of the temple. בְּעָנְיִי, not, in my poverty (LXX., Vulg., Luth.), but, by my painful labour (*magna molestia et labore*, Lavat.); cf. Gen. xxxi. 42, and the corresponding בְּכָל־כֹּחִי, chap. xxix. 2. Gold 100,000 talents, and silver 1,000,000 talents. As the talent was 3000 shekels, and the silver shekel coined by the Maccabees, according to the Mosaic weight, was worth about 2s. 6d., the talent of silver would be about £375, and 1,000,000 talents £375,000,000. If we suppose the relative value of the gold and silver to be as 10 to 1, 100,000 talents of gold will be about the same amount, or even more, viz. about £450,000,000, *i.e.* if we take the gold shekel at thirty shillings, according to Thenius' calculation. Such sums as eight hundred or eight hundred and twenty-five millions of pounds are incredible. The statements, indeed, are not founded upon exact calculation or weighing, but, as the round numbers show, only upon a general valuation of those masses of the precious metals, which we must not think of as bars of silver and gold, or as coined money; for they were in great part vessels of gold and silver, partly booty captured in war, partly tribute derived from the subject peoples. Making all these allowances, however, the sums mentioned are incredibly great, since we must suppose that even a valuation in round numbers will have more or less correspondence to the actual weight, and a subtraction of some thousands of talents from the sums mentioned would make no very considerable diminution. On the other hand, it is a much more important circumstance that the above estimate of the value in our money of these talents of silver rests upon a presumption, the correctness of which is open to well-founded doubts. For in that calculation the weight of the Mosaic or holy shekel is taken as the standard, and it is presumed that the talents weighed 3000 Mosaic shekels. But we find in 2 Sam. xiv. 26 mention made in David's time of another shekel, "according to the king's weight," whence we may with certainty conclude that in common life another shekel than the Mosaic or holy shekel was in use. This shekel according to the king's weight was in all probability only half as heavy as the shekel of the sanctuary, *i.e.* was equal in weight to a Mosaic beka or half-shekel. This is proved by a

comparison of 1 Kings x. 17 with 2 Chron. ix. 16, for here three golden minæ are reckoned equal to 300 shekels,—a mina containing 100 shekels, while it contained only 50 holy or Mosaic shekels. With this view, too, the statements of the Rabbins agree, *e.g.* R. Mosis Maimonidis *constitutiones de Siclis, quas—illustravit Joa. Esgers.*, Lugd. Bat. 1718, p. 19, according to which the שקל שלחול or שקל המדינה, *i.e.* the common or civil shekel, is the half of the שקל הקדש. That this is the true relation, is confirmed by the fact that, according to Ex. xxxviii. 26, in the time of Moses there existed silver coins weighing ten gera (half a holy shekel) called beka, while the name beka is found only in the Pentateuch, and disappears at a later time, probably because it was mainly such silver coins of ten gera which were in circulation, and to them the name shekel, which denotes no definite weight, was transferred. Now, if the amounts stated in our verse are reckoned in such common shekels (as in 2 Chron. ix. 16), the mass of gold and silver collected by David for the building of the temple would only be worth half the amount above calculated, *i.e.* about £375,000,000 or £400,000,000. But even this sum seems enormously large, for it is five times the annual expenditure of the greatest European states in our day.[1] Yet the calculation of the income or expenditure of modern states is no proper standard for judging of the correctness or probability of the statements here made, for we cannot estimate the accumulation of gold and silver in the states and chief cities of Asia in antiquity by the budgets of the modern European nations. In the capitals of the Asiatic kingdoms of antiquity, enormous quantities of the precious metals were accumulated. Not to mention the accounts of Ktesias, Diodor. Sic., and others, which sound so fabulous to us now, as to the immense booty in gold and silver vessels which was accumulated in Nineveh and Babylon (see the table in Movers, *die Phönizier*, ii. 3, S. 40 ff.), according to Varro, in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 15, Cyrus obtained by the conquest of Asia a booty of 34,000 pounds of gold, besides that which was wrought into vessels and ornaments, and 500,000 talents of silver; and in this statement, as Movers rightly remarks, it does not seem.

[1] According to Otto Hübner, *Statistical Table of all Lands of the Earth*, 18th edition, Frankf. a. M. 1869, the yearly expenditure of Great Britain and Ireland (exclusive of the extra-European possessions) amounts to a little over £70,000,000; of the French Empire, to £85,000,000; of Russia, to about £78,000,000; of Austria and Hungary, to £48,500,000.

probable that there is any exaggeration. In Susa, Alexander plundered the royal treasury of 40,000, according to other accounts 50,000 talents, or, as it is more accurately stated, 40,000 talents of uncoined gold and silver, and 9000 talents in coined darics. These he caused to be brought to Ecbatana, where he accumulated in all 180,000 talents. In Persepolis he captured a booty of 120,000 talents, and in Pasargada 6000 talents (see Mov. *loc. cit.* S. 43). Now David, it is true, had not conquered Asia, but only the tribes and kingdoms bordering on Canaan, including the kingdom of Syria, and made them tributary, and had consecrated all the gold and silver taken as booty from the conquered peoples, from the Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, Amalekites, and Hadadezer the king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 11 f.), to Jahve. Now, in consequence of the ancient connection between Syria and the rich commercial countries of the neighbourhood, great treasures of silver and gold had very early flowed in thither. According to 2 Sam. viii. 7, the servants (*i.e.* generals) of King Hadadezer had golden shields, which David captured; and the ambassadors of King Toi of Hamath brought him vessels of silver, gold, and copper, to purchase his friendship.[1] The other peoples whom David overcame are not to be regarded as poor in the precious metals. For the Israelites under Moses had captured so large a booty in gold rings, bracelets, and other ornaments from the nomadic Midianites, that the commanders of the army alone were able to give 16,750 shekels (*i.e.* over 5½ talents of gold, according to the Mosaic weight) to the sanctuary as a consecrating offering (Num. xxxi. 48 ff.). We cannot therefore regard the sums mentioned in our verse either as incredible or very much exaggerated,[2] nor hold

[1] Apropos of the riches of Syria even in later times, Movers reminds us, S. 45, of the rich temple treasures—of the statue of Jupiter in Antioch, which was of pure gold and fifteen yards high, and of the golden statues in the temple at Hierapolis—and adds: "Even Antiochus the Great had immense treasures in his possession. The private soldiers in his army had their half-boots studded with gold nails, and their cooking utensils were of silver." See the proofs, *loc. cit.*

[2] As Berth. for example does, expressing himself as follows: "In our verse, 100,000 talents of gold, 1,000,000 talents of silver,—a sum with which the debts of the European nations might almost be paid! It is absolutely inadmissible to take these at their literal value, and to consider them as a repetition, though perhaps a somewhat exaggerated one, of actual historical statements. They can have been originally nothing else than the freest periphrasis for much, an extraordinary quantity, such as may even yet be heard from the mouths of those who have not reflected on the value and importance of num-

the round sums which correspond to the rhetorical character of the passage with certainty to be mistakes.[1] Brass and iron were not weighed for abundance; cf. ver. 3. Beams of timber also, and stones—that is, stones hewed and squared—David had prepared; and to this store Solomon was to add. That he did so is narrated in 2 Chron. chap. ii.—Ver. 15. David then turns to the workmen, the carpenters and stone-cutters, whom he had appointed (ver. 2) for the building. חֹצְבִים, properly hewers, in ver. 2 limited to stone-hewers, is here, with the addition חָרְשֵׁי אֶבֶן וְעֵץ, used of the workers in stone and wood, stonemasons and carpenters. כָּל־חָכָם בְּ, all manner of understanding persons in each work, in contradistinction to עֹשֵׂי מְלָאכָה, includes the idea of thorough mastery and skill in the kind of labour. These workmen, whom David had levied for the building of the temple, are mentioned by Solomon, 2 Chron. ii. 6 f.—In ver. 16 all the metals, as being the main thing, are again grouped together, in order that the exhortation to proceed with the erection of the

bers, and consequently launch out into thousands and hundreds of thousands, in an extremely unprejudiced way." On this we remark: (1) The assertion that with the sums named in our verse the debts of the European nations could be paid, is an enormous exaggeration. According to O. Hübner's tables, the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland alone amounts to £809,000,000, that of France to £564,000,000, that of Russia to £400,000,000, that of Austria to £354,000,000, and that of the kingdom of Italy to £288,000,000; David's treasures, consequently, if the weight be taken in sacred shekels, would only have sufficed to pay the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland. (2) The hypothesis that the chronicler, without reflecting on the value and importance of numbers, has launched out into thousands and hundreds of thousands, presupposes such a measure of intellectual poverty as is irreconcilable with evidences of intellect and careful planning such as are everywhere else observable in his writing.

[1] As proof of the incorrectness of the above numbers, it cannot be adduced "that, according to 1 Kings x. 14, Solomon's yearly revenue amounted to 666 talents of gold, *i.e.* to about £3,000,000 in gold; that the queen of Sheba presented Solomon with 120 talents of gold, 1 Kings x. 10, 2 Chron. ix. 9; and King Hiram also gave him a similar amount, 1 Kings ix. 14; all of which sums the context shows are to be considered extraordinarily great" (Berth.). For the 666 talents of gold are not the entire annual income of Solomon, but, according to the distinct statement of the Biblical historian, are only the annual income in gold, exclusive of the receipts from the customs, and the tributes of the subject kings and tribes, which were probably more valuable. The 120 talents of the queen of Sheba are certainly a very large present, but Solomon would give in return not inconsiderable presents also. But the quantities of silver and gold which David had collected for the building of the temple had not been saved out of his yearly income, but had been in great

building may be introduced. The ל before each word serves to bring the thing once more into prominence; cf. Ew. § 310, *a*. "As for the gold, it cannot be numbered." "Arise and be doing! and Jahve be with thee" (vers. 17–19).

Vers. 17–19. *Exhortation to the princes of Israel to assist in the building of the temple.*—David supports his exhortation by calling to remembrance the proofs of his favour which the Lord had showed His people. The speech in ver. 18 is introduced without לֵאמֹר, because it is clear from the preceding וַיְצַו דָּוִיד that the words are spoken by David: "The Lord has given you peace round about; for He has given the inhabitants of the land into my hands, and the land is subdued before Jahve and before His people." The subdued land is Canaan: the inhabitants of the land are, however, not the Israelites over whom the Lord had set David as king, for the words נָתַן בְּיָדִי cannot apply to them, cf. xiv. 10 f., Josh. ii. 24; it is the Canaanites still left in the land in the time of David, and other enemies, who, like the Philistines, possessed

part captured as booty in war, and laid up out of the tribute of the subject peoples. A question which would more readily occur than this is, Whether such enormous sums were actually necessary for the temple? But the materials necessary to enable us to arrive at even a proximate estimate of this building are entirely wanting. The building of a stone temple from 60 to 70 yards long, 20 yards broad, and 30 yards high, would certainly not have cost so much, notwithstanding that, as we read in 2 Chron. iii. 8 f., 650 talents of gold were required to gild the inner walls of the Holy Place, and at the same rate 2000 talents must have been required to gild the inside of the Sanctuary, which was three times as large; and notwithstanding the great number of massive gold vessels, *e.g.* the ten golden candlesticks, for which alone, even if they were no larger and heavier than the candlesticks in the tabernacle, ten talents of gold must have been required. But there belonged to the temple many subordinate buildings, which are not further described; as also the colossal foundation structures and the walls enclosing the temple area, the building of which must have swallowed up millions, since Solomon sent 70,000 porters and 80,000 stone-hewers to Lebanon to procure the necessary materials. Consul Rosen has recently indeed attempted to show, in *das Haram von Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz des Moria*, Gotha (1866), that there is reason to suppose that the temple area was enlarged to the size it is known to have had, and surrounded by a wall only by Herod; but he has been refuted by Himpel in the *Tübinger theol. Quartalschr.* 1867, S. 515 f., who advances very weighty reasons against his hypothesis. Finally, we must have regard to the statement in 1 Kings vii. 51 and 2 Chron. v. 1, that Solomon, after the building was finished, deposited the consecrated silver and gold collected by his father David among the temple treasures. Whence we learn that the treasures collected by David were not intended merely for the building of the House of God.

parts of the land, and had been subdued by David. On נִכְבְּשָׁה הָאָרֶץ, cf. Josh. xviii. 1, Num. xxxii. 22, 29. This safety which the Lord had granted them binds them in duty to seek Him with all their heart, and to build the sanctuary, that the ark and the sacred vessels may be brought into it. The לְ in לַבַּיִת is not a sign of the accusative (Berth.), for הֵבִיא is not construed with *accus. loci*, but generally with אֶל, for which, however, so early as Josh. iv. 5, לְ is used, or it is construed with the *acc.* and ה *locale* —הַבַּיְתָה, Gen. xix. 10, xliii. 47.

CHAP. XXIII.–XXVI.—ENUMERATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE LEVITES ACCORDING TO THEIR DIVISIONS AND EMPLOYMENTS.

These four chapters give a connected view of the condition of the Levites towards the end, *i.e.* in the fortieth year, of David's reign (cf. xxiii. 1 and xxvi. 31), and of the sections into which they were divided according to their various services. This review begins with a statement of the total number belonging to the tribe of Levi according to the census then undertaken, and their divisions according to the duties devolving upon (xxiii. 2–5); which is followed by an enumeration of the heads of the fathers'-houses into which the four families of Levites had branched out (xxiii. 6–23), together with a short review of their duties (xxiii. 24–32). Thereafter we have: 1. In chap. xxiv., a catalogue of the Aaronites, *i.e.* of the priests, who were divided into twenty-four classes, corresponding to the sons of Eleazar and Ithamar, and were appointed to perform the service in succession, according as it was determined by lot, special mention being made of the heads of these twenty-four classes; and a catalogue of the heads of the fathers'-houses of the other descendants of Levi, in an order of succession, which was likewise settled by lot (xxiv. 20–31). Then, 2. In chap. xxv. we have a catalogue of the twenty-four orders of Levitic musicians, in an order fixed by lot. And, 3. In chap. xxvi. the classes of doorkeepers (vers. 1–19), the administrators of the treasures of the sanctuary (vers. 20–28), and the officials who performed the external services (vers. 29–32).

Chap. xxiii. *Number, duties, and fathers'-houses of the Levites.* —This clear account of the state and the order of service of the tribe of Levi is introduced by the words, ver. 1, "David was old, and life weary; then he made his son Solomon king over Israel." וַיָּזְקֵן, generally an adjective, is here *third pers. perf.* of the verb, as in Gen.

xviii. 12, as שָׂבַע also is, to which יָמִים is subordinated in the accusative. Generally elsewhere יָמִים שָׂבַע is used, cf. Gen. xxxv. 29, Job xlii. 17, and also שָׂבַע alone, with the same signification, Gen. xxv. 8. These words are indeed, as Berth. correctly remarks, not a mere passing remark which is taken up again at a later stage, say chap. xxix. 28, but an independent statement complete in itself, with which here the enumeration of the arrangements which David made in the last period of his life begins. But notwithstanding that, it serves here only as an introduction to the arrangements which follow, and is not to be taken to mean that David undertook the numbering of the Levites and the arrangement of their service only after he had given over the government to his son Solomon, but signified that the arrangement of this matter immediately preceded Solomon's elevation to the throne, or was contemporaneous with it. Our verse therefore does not contain, in its few words, a "summary of the contents of the narration in 1 Kings chap. i.," as Berth. thinks, for in 1 Kings i. we have an account of the actual anointing of Solomon and his accession to the throne in consequence of Adonijah's attempt to usurp it. By that indeed Solomon certainly was made king; but the chronicler, in accordance with the plan of his book, has withdrawn his attention from this event, connected as it was with David's domestic relations, and has used הִמְלִיךְ in its more general signification, to denote not merely the actual elevation to the throne, but also his nomination as king. Here the nomination of Solomon to be king, which preceded the anointing narrated in 1 Kings i., that taking place at a time when David had already become bed-rid through old age, is spoken of. This was the first step towards the transfer of the kingdom to Solomon; and David's ordering of the Levitical service, and of the other branches of public administration, so as to give over a well-ordered kingdom to his successor, were also steps in the same process. Of the various branches of the public administration, our historian notices in detail only the Levites and their service, compressing everything else into the account of the army arrangements and the chief public officials, chap. xxvii.

Vers. 2–5. *Numbering of the Levites, and partition of their duties.*—Ver. 2. For this purpose David collected "all the princes of Israel, and the priests and Levites." The princes of Israel, because the numbering of the Levites and the determination of their duties was a matter of national importance. "The meaning is, that David, in a solemn assembly of the princes, *i.e.* of the

representatives of the lay tribes, and of the priests and Levites, fixed the arrangements of which an account is to be given" (Berth.).—Ver. 3. The Levites were numbered from thirty years old and upwards. This statement agrees with that in Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 39 ff., where Moses caused those from thirty to fifty years of age to be numbered, and appointed them for service about the tabernacle during the journey through the wilderness. But Moses himself, at a later time, determined that their period of service should be from twenty-five to fifty; Num. viii. 23–26. It is consequently not probable that David confined the numbering to those of thirty and upwards. But besides that, we have a distinct statement in ver. 24 that they were numbered from twenty years of age, the change being grounded by David upon the nature of their service; and that this was the proper age is confirmed by 2 Chron. xxxi. 17 and Ezra iii. 8, according to which the Levites under Hezekiah, and afterwards, had to take part in the service from their twentieth year. We must therefore regard שְׁלֹשִׁים in ver. 3 as having crept into the text through the error of copyists, who were thinking of the Mosaic census in Num. iv., and must read עֶשְׂרִים instead of it. The various attempts of commentators to get rid of the discrepancy between ver. 3 and ver. 24 are mere makeshifts; and the hypothesis that David took two censuses is as little supported by the text, as that other, that our chapter contains divergent accounts drawn from two different sources; see on ver. 24. The number amounted to 38,000, according to their heads in men. לִגְבָרִים serves for a nearer definition of לִגְלֻגְלֹתָם, and explains that only men were numbered, women not being included.—Vers. 4 and 5 contain words of David, as we learn from אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לְהַלֵּל (ver. 5, end), so that we must supply וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִיד before ver. 4. מֵאֵלֶּה, of these (38,000) 24,000 shall be לְנַצֵּחַ וגו', to superintend the business, *i.e.* to conduct and carry on the business (the work) of the house of Jahve. This business is in vers. 28–32 more nearly defined, and embraces all the business that was to be carried on about the sanctuary, except the specifically priestly functions, the keeping of the doors, and the performance of the sacred music. For these two latter offices special sections were appointed, 4000 for the porters' service, and the same number for the sacred music (ver. 5). Besides these, 5000 men were appointed Shoterim and judges. "The instruments which I have made to sing praise" are the stringed instruments which David had introduced into the service to

accompany the singing of the psalms; cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 26, Neh. xii. 36.

Vers. 6–23. *The fathers'-houses of the Levites.*—Ver. 6. "And David divided them into courses according to the sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari;" see on v. 27. The form וַיְחַלְּקֵם, which recurs in xxiv. 3 with the same pointing, is in more accurate MSS. in that place pointed וַיַּחְלְקֵם. There are also found in MSS. and editions וַיְחַלְּקֵם, and the rare form of the Kal וַיִּחְלְקֵם (for וַיַּחְלְקֵם); cf. J. H. Mich. *Notæ crit.* This last pronunciation is attested for, xxiv. 3, by D. Kimchi, who expressly remarks that the regular form וַיַּחְלְקֵם corresponds to it; cf. Norzi on this passage. Gesen. (in *Thes.* p. 483) and Ew. (§ 83, *c*) regard וַיִּחְלְקֵם as a variety of the Piel (וַיְחַלְּקֵם), to which, however, Berth. rightly remarks that it would be worth a thought only if the punctuation וַיְחַלְּקֵם were confirmed by good MSS., which is not the case, though we find the Piel in the Chronicle in xv. 3, and then with the signification to distribute. Berth. therefore holds—and certainly this is the more correct opinion—that the form וַיְחַלְּקֵם, attested by Kimchi for xxiv. 3, was the original reading in our verse also, and considers it a rare form of the impf. Kal derived from וַיַּחְלְקֵם (cf. xxiv. 4, 5), by Kamets coming into the pretonic syllable, after the analogy of יִשְׁחָטוּם for יִשְׁחֲטוּם, 2 Kings x. 14, and by the passing of an *ă* (Pathach) into *ĕ* (Seghol) before the Kamets, according to well-known euphonic rules. מַחְלְקוֹת is a second accusative: "in divisions." The tribe of Levi had been divided from ancient times into the three great families of Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, corresponding to the three sons of Levi; cf. v. 27–vi. 15, xxviii. 32.—From ver. 7 onwards we have an enumeration of the fathers'-houses into which these three families were divided: vers. 7–11, the fathers'-houses of the Gershonites; vers. 12–20, those of the Kohathites; and vers. 21–23, those of the Merarites. Berth., on the other hand, thinks that in these verses only the fathers'-houses of those Levites who performed the service of the house of Jahve, *i.e.* the 24,000 in ver. 4, and not the divisions of all the Levites, are enumerated. But this opinion is incorrect, and certainly is not proved to be true by the circumstance that the singers, porters, and the scribes and judges, are only spoken of afterwards; nor by the remark that, in great part, the names here enumerated appear again in the sections chap. xxiv. 20–31 and xxvi. 20–28, while in the enumeration of the twenty-four classes of musicians

(xxv. 1–31), of the doorkeepers (xxvi. 1–19), and of the scribes and judges (xxvi. 29–32), quite other names are met with. The recurrence of many of the names here enumerated in the sections chap. xxiv. 20–31 and xxvi. 20–28 is easily explained by the fact that these sections treat of the divisions of the Levites, according to the service they performed, and of course many heads of fathers'-houses must again be named. The occurrence of quite other names in the lists of musicians and doorkeepers, again, is simply the result of the fact that only single branches of fathers'-houses, not whole fathers'-houses, were appointed musicians and doorkeepers. Finally, Bertheau's statement, that in the catalogue of the scribes and judges quite other names occur than those in our verses, is based upon an oversight; cf. xxvi. 31 with xxiii. 19.

Vers. 7–11. *The fathers'-houses of the Gershonites.*—According to the natural development of the people of Israel, the twelve sons of Jacob founded the twelve tribes of Israel; his grandsons, or the sons of the twelve patriarchs, founded the families (מִשְׁפָּחוֹת); and their sons, *i.e.* the great-grandsons of Jacob, founded the fathers'-houses (בֵּית־אָבוֹת). But this natural division or ramification of the people into tribes, families, and fathers'-houses (groups of related households), was not consistently carried out. Even the formation of the tribes suffered a modification, when the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, who were born before Jacob's arrival in Egypt, were adopted by him as his sons, and so made founders of tribes (Gen. xlviii. 5). The formation of the families and fathers'-houses was also interfered with, partly by the descendants of many grandsons or great-grandsons of Jacob not being numerous enough to form independent families and fathers'-houses, and partly by individual fathers'-houses (or groups of related households) having so much decreased that they could no longer form independent groups, and so were attached to other fathers'-houses, or by families which had originally formed a בֵּית־אָב becoming so numerous as to be divided into several fathers'-houses. In the tribe of Levi there came into operation this special cause, that Aaron and his sons were chosen to be priests, and so his family was raised above the other Levites. From these causes, in the use of the words מִשְׁפָּחָה and בֵּית־אָב many fluctuations occur; cf. my *bibl. Archäol.* ii. § 140. Among the Levites, the fathers'-houses were founded not by the grandsons, but by the great-grandsons of the patriarch.—Ver. 7.

"Of the Gershonites, Laadan and Shimei," *i.e.* these were heads of groups of related families, since, according to ver. 9, their sons and descendants formed six fathers'-houses. The sons of Gershon, from whom all branches of the family of Gershon come, are called in vi. 2, as in Ex. vi. 17 and Num. xiii. 18, Libni and Shimei; while in our verse, on the contrary, we find only the second name Shimei, whose sons are enumerated in vers. 10, 11; and instead of Libni we have the name Laadan, which recurs in xxvi. 21. Laadan seemingly cannot be regarded as a surname of Libni; for not only are the sons of Shimei named along with the sons of Laadan in vers. 8 and 9 as heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan, without any hint being given of the genealogical connection of this Shimei with Laadan, but mainly because of לַגֵּרְשֻׁנִּי in ver. 7. In the case of Kohath and Merari, the enumeration of the fathers'-houses descended from them is introduced by the mention of their sons, בני קהת and בני מררי (vers. 12, 21); while in the case of Gershon it is not so;—in his case, instead of בני גרשון, we find the Gentilic designation גֵּרְשֻׁנִּי, to point out that Laadan and Shimei are not named as being sons of Gershon, but as founders of the two chief lines of Gershonites, of which only the second was named after Gershon's son Shimei, while the second derived their name from Laadan, whose family was divided in David's time into two branches, the sons of Laadan and the sons of Shimei, the latter a descendant of Libni, not elsewhere mentioned. That the Shimei of ver. 9 is not the same person as Shimei the son of Gershon mentioned in ver. 7, is manifest from the fact that the sons of the latter are enumerated only in ver. 10. Each of these two lines numbered at that time three fathers'-houses, the heads of which are named in vers. 8 and 9. הָרֹאשׁ in ver. 8 belongs to יְחִיאֵל: "the sons of Laadan were: the head (also the first; cf. vers. 11, 16) Jehiel, Zetham, and Joel, three."—Ver. 9. The sons of Shimei: Shelomoth or Shelomith (both forms are found in xxvi. 35 of another Shelomith), Haziel, and Haran, three. These (three and three) are the heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan.—In vers. 10 and 11 there follow the fathers'-houses of the Shimei mentioned in ver. 7 along with Laadan: they are likewise three, derived from the four sons of Shimei, Jahath, Zina, Jeush, and Beriah; for the last two, as they had not many sons, were included in one father's-house, one פְּקֻדָּה, *i.e.* one official class (xxiv. 3; 2 Chron. xvii. 14). The Gershonites at that time,

therefore, numbered nine fathers'-houses — six named after Laadan, and three after Shimei.

Vers. 12–20. *The fathers'-houses of the Kohathites.*—The four sons of Kohath who are named in ver. 12, as in v. 28, vi. 3, and Ex. vi. 18, founded the four families of Kohath, Num. iii. 27. From Amram came Aaron and Moses; see on Ex. vi. 20. Of these, Aaron with his sons was set apart "to sanctify him to be a most holy one; he and his sons for ever to offer incense before Jahve, to serve Him, and to bless in His name for ever." לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ קֹדֶשׁ ק׳ signifies neither, *ut ministraret in sancto sanctorum* (Vulg., Syr.), nor, *ut res sanctissimas, sacrificia, vasa sacra etc. consecrarent* (Cler.). Against this interpretation we adduce not only the objection advanced by Hgstb. *Christol.* iii. p. 119, trans., that the office assigned by it to the Levites is far too subordinate to be mentioned here in the first place, but also the circumstance that the suffix in הַקְדִּישׁוֹ, after the analogy of שָׁרְתוֹ, must denote the object of the sanctifying; and this view is confirmed by the subject, who offers incense and blesses, not being expressed with לְהַקְטִיר and לְבָרֵךְ. The Vulgate translation cannot be accepted, for קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים cannot be the ablative, and the most holy place in the temple is always called קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים with the article. קדשׁ קדשׁים, without the article, is only used of the most holy things, *e.g.* of the vessels connected with the worship, the sacrificial gifts, and other things which no lay person might touch or appropriate. See on Ex. xxx. 10, Lev. ii. 3, and Dan. ix. 24. Here it is committed to Aaron, who, by being chosen for the priest's service and anointed to the office, was made a most holy person, to discharge along with his sons all the priestly functions in the sanctuary. Specimens of such functions are then adduced: הַקְטִיר לִפְנֵי יי׳, the offering of the sacrifice of incense upon the altar of the inner sanctuary, as in 2 Chron. ii. 3, 5, Ex. xxx. 7 f.; לְשָׁרְתוֹ, "to serve Him," Jahve,—a general expression, including all the other services in the sanctuary, which were reserved for the priests; and לְבָרֵךְ בִּשְׁמוֹ, to bless in His name, *i.e.* to pronounce the blessing in the name of the Lord over the people, according to the command in Num. vi. 23, cf. xvi. 2, Deut. xxi. 5; not "to bless His name" (Ges., Berth.). To call upon or praise the name of God is בָּרַךְ שְׁמוֹ, Ps. xcvi. 2, c. 4; and the assertion that בָּרַךְ בְּשֵׁם is a somewhat later phrase formed on the model of קָרָא בְּשֵׁם, for "to call upon God" (Ges. in *Lex. sub voce* ברך), is quite groundless. Our phrase occurs as early as in Deut. x. 8 and xxi. 5; in the latter passage

in connection with לְשָׁרְתוֹ of the priests; in the former, of the tribe of Levi, but so used that it can refer only to the priests, not to the Levites also.—Ver. 14. "But as to Moses the man of God" (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1), "his sons were called after the tribe of Levi," *i.e.* were reckoned in the ranks of the Levites, not of the priests. On נִקְרָא עַל, cf. Gen. xlviii. 6, Ezra ii. 61, Neh. vii. 63. —Vers. 15–17. Each of his two sons Gershon and Eliezer (see Ex. ii. 22 and xviii. 3 f.) founded a father's-house; Gershon through his son Shebuel (שֶׁבוּאֵל, in xxiv. 20 שׁוּבָאֵל), Eliezer through Rehabiah. The plurals בני ג', בני א' are used, although in both cases only one son, he who was head (רֹאשׁ) of the father's-house, is mentioned, either because they had other sons, or those named had in their turn sons, who together formed a father's-house. From the remark in ver. 17, that Eliezer had no other sons than Rehabiah, while Rehabiah had very many, we may conclude that Gershon had other sons besides Shebuel, who are not mentioned because their descendants were numbered with Shebuel's father's-house.—Ver. 18. Only one son of Jizhar, the brother of Amram, is mentioned, Shelomith as head, after whom the Jizharite father's-house is named.—Ver. 19. Amram's next brother .Hebron had four sons, and the youngest brother Uzziel two, who founded fathers'-houses; so that, besides the priests, nine Levitical fathers'-houses are descended from Kohath, and their chiefs who served in the sanctuary are enumerated in chap. xxiv. 20–25.

Vers. 21–23. *The fathers'-houses of the Merarites.*—Ver. 21 f. As in vi. 4, Ex. vi. 19, and Num. iii. 33, two sons of Merari are mentioned—Mahli and Mushi—who founded the two families of Merari which existed in the time of Moses. Mahli had two sons, Eleazar and Kish; the first of whom, however, left behind him at his death only daughters, who were married to the sons of Kish (אֲחֵיהֶם, *i.e.* their cousins), according to the law as to daughters who were heiresses (Num. xxxvi. 6–9). The descendants of Mahli, therefore, were comprehended in the one father's-house of Kish, whose head at that time (xxiv. 29) was Jerahmeel.—Ver. 23. Of the sons of Mushi, three founded fathers'-houses; so that the Merarites formed only four fathers'-houses in all. If we compare the enumeration of the Merarites in chap. xxiv. 26–30, we find there in ver. 30 Eleazar and Kish called sons of Mahli, with the remark that Eleazar had no sons. In ver. 26, however, of the same passage we read, "sons of Merari

(were) Mahli and Mushi, sons of Jaaziah his son;" and ver. 27, "sons of Merari by Jaaziah his son; and Shoham, and Zaccur, and Ibri." From this Bertheau concludes that Merari had really three sons, and that the name of the third has been dropped out of chap. xxiii.; but in this he is incorrect, for vers. 26 and 27 of the 24th chapter are at once, from their whole character, recognisable as arbitrary interpolations. Not only is it strange that בְּנֵי יַעֲזִיָהוּ בְּנוֹ should follow the before-mentioned sons of Merari in this unconnected way (*Vav* being omitted before בְּנֵי), but the form of the expression also is peculiar. If יַעֲזִיָהוּ be a third son of Merari, or the founder of a third family of Merarites, coordinate with the families of Mahli and Mushi, as we must conclude from the additional word בְּנוֹ, we should expect, after the preceding, simply the name with the conjunction, *i.e.* וְיַעֲזִיָהוּ. The בְּנֵי יַעֲזִיָהוּ is all the more surprising that the names of the sons of Jaaziah follow in ver. 27, and there the name of the first son שֹׁהַם is introduced by the *Vav* copulative. This misled the older commentators, so that they took בְּנוֹ for a proper name. The repetition of בְּנֵי מְרָרִי, too, at the beginning of the second verse is strange, and without parallel in the preceding enumeration of the fathers'-houses founded by Amram's sons (xxiv. 20–25). We must, then, as the result of all this, since the Pentateuch knows only two descendants of Merari who founded families of fathers'-houses,[1] regard the additions in xxiv. 26, 27 as later glosses, although we are not in a position to explain the origin or the meaning of the interpolation. This inability arises from the fact that, of the names Jaaziah, Shoham, Zaccur, and Ibri, only Zaccur again occurs among the Asaphites (xxv. 2), and elsewhere of other persons, while the

[1] Bertheau, on the contrary, proceeding on the hypothesis that we may presume the list of Merari's descendants which is given in our verses to have been originally in perfect agreement with that in xxii. 26–31, would emend our text according to chap. xxiv. 26, 27, for it cannot be doubted that in our passage also Jaaziah and his three sons were named. But since elsewhere only the two sons Mahli and Mushi occur, one can easily see why the third son Jaaziah came to be omitted from our passage, while we cannot conceive any motive which would account for the later and arbitrary interpolation of the names in xxiv. 26 f. This argumentation is weak to a degree, since it quite overlooks the main difficulty connected with this hypothesis. Had we no further accounts of the descendants of Merari than those in the two passages of the Chronicle (chap. xxiii. 11 f. and xxiv. 26–29), it would be natural to suppose that in xxiii. 21 ff. the additional names which we find in

others are nowhere else to be met with. The three families of Levi numbered therefore 9+9+4=22 fathers'-houses, exclusive of the priests.

Vers. 24–32. *Concluding remarks.*—Ver. 24. "These (the just enumerated) are the sons of Levi according to their fathers'-houses, according to those who were counted (Num. i. 21 f.; Ex. xxx. 14) in the enumeration by name (Num. i. 18, iii. 43), by the head, performing the work for the service of the house of Jahve, from the men of twenty years and upwards." עֹשֵׂה הַמְּלָאכָה is not singular, but plural, as in 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, xxxiv. 10, 13, Ex. iii. 9, Neh. ii. 16, cf. 2 Chron. xi. 1. It occurs along with עֹשֵׂי, with a similar meaning and in a like position, 2 Chron. xxiv. 13, xxxiv. 17, Neh. xi. 12, xiii. 10. It is only another way of writing עֹשֵׂי, and the same form is found here and there in other words; cf. Ew. § 16, *b*. The statement that the Levites were numbered from twenty years old and upwards is accounted for in ver. 25 thus: David said, The Lord has given His people rest, and He dwells in Jerusalem; and the Levites also have no longer to bear the dwelling (tabernacle) with all its vessels. From this, of course, it results that they had not any longer to do such heavy work as during the march through the wilderness, and so might enter upon their service even at the age of twenty. In ver. 27 a still further reason is given: "For by the last words of David was this, (viz.) the numbering of the sons of Levi from twenty years old and upwards." There is a difference of opinion as to how בִּדְבָרֵי דָוִיד הָאַחֲרוֹנִים are to be understood. Bertheau translates, with Kimchi, "in the later histories of David are the number = the numbered," and adduces in support of his translation chap. xxix. 29, whence it is clear that by "the later

chap. xxiv. had been dropped out. But in the genealogical lists in the Pentateuch also (Ex. vi. 19 and Num. iii. 33), only two sons of Merari are named; and according to them, the Merarites, when Moses' census of the Levites was taken, formed only two families. Had Merari had yet a third son besides the two—Mahli and Mushi, who alone were known in the time of Moses—who left descendants, forming three fathers'-houses in David's time, the omission of this third son in the family register in the Pentateuch would be quite incomprehensible. Or are we to suppose that in Ex. vi. 19 also the name Jaaziah had been dropped out, and that in consequence of that the family descended from him has been omitted from Num. iii. 33? Supported by the Pentateuch, the text of our verses is presumably entire, and this presumption of its integrity is confirmed by the character of the additions in xxiv. 26, 27, as above exhibited.

histories of David" a part of a historical work is meant. But the passage quoted does not prove this. In the formula דִּבְרֵי הָרִאשׁוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים . . . (xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xvi. 11, etc.), which recurs at the end of each king's reign, דִּבְרֵי denotes not *historiæ*, in the sense of a history, but *res gestæ*, which are recorded in the writings named. In accordance with this, therefore, דִּבְרֵי דָוִיד cannot denote writings of David, but only words or things (=deeds); but the Levites who were numbered could not be in the acts of David. We must rather translate according to 2 Chron. xxix. 30 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. In the latter passage דִּבְרֵי דָוִיד הָאַחֲרוֹנִים are the last words (utterances) of David, and in the former בְּדִבְרֵי דָוִיד, "by the words of David," *i.e.* according to the commands or directions of David. In this way, Cler. and Mich., with the Vulg. *juxta præcepta*, have already correctly translated the words: "according to the last commands of David." הָיְתָה is nowhere found in the signification *sunt* as the mere copula of the subject and verb, but is everywhere an independent predicate, and is here to be taken, according to later linguistic usage, as *neutr. sing.* (cf. Ew. § 318, *b*): "According to the last commands of David, this," *i.e.* this was done, viz. the numbering of the Levites from twenty years and upwards. From this statement, from twenty years and upwards, which is so often repeated, and for which the reasons are so given, it cannot be doubtful that the statement in ver. 3, "from thirty years and upwards," is incorrect, and that, as has been already remarked on ver. 3, שְׁלֹשִׁים has crept into the text by an error of the copyist, who was thinking of the Mosaic census.[1] In vers. 28–32 we have, in the enumeration of the duties which the Levites had to perform, another ground for the employment

[1] The explanation adopted from Kimchi by the older Christian commentators, *e.g.* by J. H. Mich., is an untenable makeshift. It is to this effect: that David first numbered the Levites from thirty years old and upwards, according to the law (Num. iv. 3, xxiii. 30), but that afterwards, when he saw that those of twenty years of age were in a position to perform the duties, lightened as they were by its being no longer necessary for the Levites to bear the sanctuary from place to place, he included all from twenty years of age in a second census, taken towards the end of his life; cf. ver. 27. Against this Bertheau has already rightly remarked that the census of the Levites gave the number at 38,000 (ver. 3), and these 38,000 and no others were installed; it is nowhere said that this number was not sufficient, or that the arrangements based upon this number (vers. 4, 5) had no continued existence. He is, however, incorrect in his further remark, that the historian clearly enough is

of those from twenty years old and upwards in actual service. —Ver. 28. Their appointed place or post was at the hand of the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* they were ready to the priest's hand, to aid him in carrying on the service of the house of God. "Over the courts and the cells (of the courts; cf. ix. 26), and the purifying of every holy thing," *i.e.* of the temple rooms and the temple vessels. On לְ before בֶּל־קֹדֶשׁ, used for mediate connection after the *stat. const.*, cf. Ew. § 289, *b*. וּמַעֲשֵׂה עֲבֹדַת, and for the performance of the service of the house of God. Before מעשׂה, עַל is to be supplied from the preceding. The individual services connected with the worship are specialized in vers. 29–31, and introduced by the preposition לְ. For the bread of the pile, *i.e.* the shew-bread (see on Lev. xxiv. 8 f.), viz. to prepare it; for the laying of the bread upon the table was the priest's business. For fine meal (סֹלֶת, see on Lev. ii. 1) for the meat-offering and unleavened cakes (רְקִיקֵי הַמַּצּוֹת, see on Lev. ii. 4), and for the pans, *i.e.* that which was baked in pans (see on Lev. ii. 5), and for that which was roasted (מֻרְבֶּכֶת, see on Lev. vi. 14), and for all measures of capacity and measures of length which were kept by the Levites, because meal, oil, and wine were offered along with the sacrifices in certain fixed quantities (cf. *e.g.* Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 24), and the Levites had probably to watch over the weights and measures in general (Lev. xix. 35).—Ver. 30. "On each morning and evening to praise the Lord with song and instruments." These words refer to the duties of the singers and musicians, whose classes and orders are enumerated in chap. xxv. The referring of them to the Levites who assisted the priests in the sacrificial worship (Berth.) needs no serious refutation, for

desirous of calling attention to the fact that here a statement is made which is different from the former, for of this there is no trace; the contrary, indeed, is manifest. Since אֵלֶּה (ver. 24) refers back to the just enumerated fathers'-houses of the Levites, and ver. 24 consequently forms the subscription to the preceding register, the historian thereby informs us plainly enough that he does not communicate here a statement different from the former, but only concludes that which he has formerly communicated. We cannot very well see how, from the fact that he here for the first time adduces the motive which determined David to cause the Levites from twenty years old and upwards to be numbered and employed in the service, it follows that he derived this statement of David's motive from a source different from that account which he has hitherto made use of. Nor would it be more manifest if ver. 27 contained—as it does not contain—a reference to the source from which he derived this statement.

הוֹדוֹת וּלְהַלֵּל is the standing phrase for the sacred temple music; and we can hardly believe that the Levites sang psalms or played on harps or lutes while the beasts for sacrifices were slaughtered and skinned, or the meat-offerings baked, or such duties performed. —Ver. 31. "And for all the bringing of offerings to Jahve on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the feasts, in the number according to the law concerning them (*i.e.* according to the regulations that existed for this matter), continually before Jahve." It was the duty of the Levites to procure the necessary number of beasts for sacrifice, to see to their suitableness, to slaughter and skin them, etc. תָּמִיד refers to עֹלוֹת, the burnt-offerings for Jahve, which are תָּמִיד, because they must always be offered anew on the appointed days.—Ver. 32. In conclusion, the whole duties of the Levites are summed up in three clauses: they were to keep the charge of the tabernacle, the charge of the sacred things, *i.e.* of all the sacred things of the worship, and the charge of the sons of Aaron, *i.e.* of all that the priests committed to them to be done; cf. Num. xviii. 3 ff., where these functions are more exactly fixed.

Chap. xxiv. *The division of the priests and Levites into classes.* —Vers. 1–19. *The twenty-four classes of priests.* After the statement as to the fathers'-houses of the Levites (chap. xxiii.), we have next the arrangements of the priests for the performance of the service in the sanctuary; the priestly families descended from Aaron's sons Eleazar and Ithamar being divided into twenty-four classes, the order of whose service was settled by lot.—Ver. 1*a* contains the superscription, "As for the sons of Aaron, their divisions (were these)." To make the division clear, we have an introductory notice of Aaron's descendants, to the effect that of his four sons, the two elder, Nadab and Abihu, died before their father, leaving no sons, so that only Eleazar and Ithamar became priests (יְכַהֲנוּ), *i.e.* entered upon the priesthood. The four sons of Aaron, ver. 1, as in v. 29, Ex. vi. 23. —Ver. 2; cf. Lev. x. 1 f., Num. iii. 4. These priestly families David caused (ver. 3) to be divided, along with the two high priests (see on xviii. 16), "according to their service." פְּקֻדָּה, office, official class, as in xxiii. 11.—Ver. 4. As the sons of Eleazar proved to be more numerous in respect of the heads of the men than the sons of Ithamar, they (David, Zadok, and Ahimelech) divided them thus: "For the sons of Eleazar, heads of fathers'-houses, sixteen; and for the sons of Ithamar, (heads)

of fathers'-houses, eight." לְרָאשֵׁי הַגְּבָרִים means neither in respect to the number of the men by the head (cf. xxiii. 3), nor with respect to the chiefs of the men, divided according to their fathers'-houses (Berth.). The supplying of the words, "divided according to their fathers'-houses," is perfectly arbitrary. The expression רָאשֵׁי הַגְּבָרִים is rather to be explained by the fact that, according to the natural articulations of the people, the fathers'-houses, *i.e.* the groups of related families comprehended under the name בֵּית־אָבוֹת, divided themselves further into individual households, whose heads were called גְּבָרִים, as is clear from Josh. vii. 16–18, because each household had in the man, הַגֶּבֶר, its natural head. רָאשֵׁי הַגְּבָרִים are therefore the heads, not of the fathers'-houses, but of the individual households, considered in their relation to the men as heads of households. Just as בֵּית־אָב is a technical designation of the larger groups of households into which the great families fell, so הַגֶּבֶר is the technical expression for the individual households into which the fathers'-houses fell. —Ver. 5. They divided them by lot, אֵלֶּה עִם־אֵלֶּה, these with these, *i.e.* the one as the other (cf. xxv. 8), so that the classes of both were determined by lot, as both drew lots mutually. "For holy princes and princes of God were of the sons of Eleazar, and among the sons of Ithamar;" *i.e.*, of both lines of priests holy princes had come, men who had held the highest priestly dignity. The high-priesthood, as is well known, went over entirely to Eleazar and his descendants, but had been held for a considerable period in the time of the judges by the descendants of Ithamar; see above, p. 113. In the settlement of the classes of priests for the service, therefore, neither of the lines was to have an advantage, but the order was to be determined by lot for both. שָׂרֵי קֹדֶשׁ, cf. Isa. xliii. 28, = שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14, are the high priests and the heads of the priestly families, the highest officers among the priests, but can hardly be the same as the *ἀρχιερεῖς* of the gospel history; for the view that these *ἀρχιερεῖς* were the heads of the twenty-four classes of priests cannot be made good: cf. Wichelhaus, *Comment. zur Leidensgesch.* (Halle, 1855), S. 32 ff. שָׂרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים would seem to denote the same, and to be added as synonymous; but if there be a distinction between the two designations, we would take the princes of God to denote only the regular high priests, who could enter in before God into the most holy place.—Ver. 6. "He set them down," viz. the classes, as the lot had determined them. מִן־הַלֵּוִי,

of the tribe of Levi. לְכֹהֲנִים וּלְ belongs to רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת, heads of the fathers'-houses of the priests and of the Levites. The second hemistich of ver. 6 gives a more detailed account of the drawing of the lots: "One father's-house was drawn for Eleazar, and drawn for Ithamar." The last words are obscure. אָחוּז, to lay hold of, to draw forth (Num. xxxi. 30, 47), here used of drawing lots, signifies plucked forth or drawn from the urn. The father's-house was plucked forth from the urn, the lot bearing its name being drawn. וְאָחוּז אָחוּז, which is the only well-attested reading, only some few MSS. containing the reading וְאָחֵר אָחוּז, is very difficult. Although this various reading is a mere conjecture, yet Gesen. (*Thes.* p. 68), with Cappell and Grotius, prefers it. The repetition of the same word expresses sometimes totality, multitude, sometimes a distributive division; and here can only be taken in this last signification: one father's-house drawn for Eleazar, and then always drawn (or always one drawn) for Ithamar. So much at least is clear, that the lots of the two priestly families were not placed in one urn, but were kept apart in different urns, so that the lots might be drawn alternately for Eleazar and Ithamar. Had the lot for Eleazar been first drawn, and thereafter that for Ithamar, since Eleazar's family was the more numerous, they would have had an advantage over the Ithamarites. But it was not to be allowed that one family should have an advantage over the other, and the lots were consequently drawn alternately, one for the one, and another for the other. But as the Eleazarites were divided into sixteen fathers'-houses, and the Ithamarites into eight, Bertheau thinks that it was settled, in order to bring about an equality in the numbers sixteen and eight, in so far as the drawing of the lots was concerned, that each house of Ithamar should represent two lots, or, which is the same thing, that after every two houses of Eleazarites one house of Ithamarites should follow, and that the order of succession of the single houses was fixed according to this arrangement. To this or some similar conception of the manner of settling the order of succession we are brought, he says, by the relation of the number eight to sixteen, and by the words אָחוּז and וְאָחוּז אָחוּז. But even though this conception be readily suggested by the relation of the number sixteen to eight, yet we cannot see how the words אָחוּז and וְאָחוּז אָחוּז indicate it. These words would much rather suggest that a lot for Eleazar alternated with the drawing of one for Ithamar, until the eight

heads of Ithamar's family had been drawn, when, of course, the remaining eight lots of Eleazar must be drawn one after the other. We cannot, however, come to any certain judgment on the matter, for the words are so obscure as to be unintelligible even to the old translators. In vers. 7–18 we have the names of the fathers'-houses in the order of succession which had been determined by the lot. יָצָא, of the lot coming forth from the urn, as in Josh. xvi. 1, xix. 1. The names Jehoiarib and Jedaiah occur together also in ix. 10; and Jedaiah is met with, besides, in Ezra ii. 36 and Neh. vii. 39. The priest Mattathias, 1 Macc. ii. 1, came of the class Jehoiarib. Of the succeeding names, שְׂעוֹרִים (ver. 8), יֶשֶׁבְאָב (ver. 13), and חַפִּצֵּץ (ver. 15) do not elsewhere occur; others, such as חַפָּה (ver. 13), נָמוּל (ver. 17), do not recur among the names of priests. The sixteenth class, Immer, on the contrary, and the twenty-first, Jachin, are often mentioned; cf. ix. 10, 12. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged to the eighth, Abiah (Luke i. 5).—Ver. 19. These are their official classes for their service (cf. ver. 3), לָבוֹא, so that they came (according to the arrangement thus determined) into the house of Jahve, according to their law, through Aaron their father (ancestor), *i.e.* according to the lawful arrangement which was made by Aaron for their official service, as Jahve the God of Israel had commanded. This last clause refers to the fact that the priestly service in all its parts was prescribed by Jahve in the law.[1]

Vers. 20–31. *The classes of the Levites.*—The superscription, "As to the other Levites" (ver. 20), when compared with the subscription, "And they also cast lots, like to their brethren the sons of Aaron" (ver. 31), leads us to expect a catalogue of these classes of Levites, which performed the service in the house of God at the hand of, *i.e.* as assistants to, the priests. הַנּוֹתָרִים are

[1] Of these twenty-four classes, each one had to perform the service during a week in order, and, as may be gathered with certainty from 2 Kings xi. 9 and 2 Chron. xxiii. 9, from Sabbath to Sabbath. Josephus bears witness to this division in *Antt.* vii. 14. 7: *διέμεινεν οὗτος ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.* Herzfeld, on the contrary (*Geschichte des Volks Israel von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels*, Bd. i. S. 381 ff.), following de Wette and Gramb., has declared the reference of this organization of the priests to David to be an invention of the chronicler, and maintains that the twenty-four classes of priests were formed only after the exile, from the twenty-two families of priests who returned out of exile with Zerubbabel. But this baseless hypothesis is sufficiently refuted by the evidence adduced by Movers, *die bibl.*

the Levites still remaining after the enumeration of the priests. We might certainly regard the expression as including all the Levites except the Aaronites (or priests); but the statement of the subscription that they cast lots like the sons of Aaron, and the circumstance that in chap. xxv. the twenty-four orders of singers and musicians, in chap. xxvi. 1–19 the class of the doorkeepers, and in xxvi. 20–32 the overseers of the treasures, and the scribes and judges, are specially enumerated, prove that our passage treats only of the classes of the Levites who were employed about the worship. Bertheau has overlooked these circumstances, and, misled by false ideas as to the catalogue in chap. xxiii. 6–23, has moreover drawn the false conclusion that the catalogue in our verses is imperfect, from the circumstance that a part of the names of the fathers'-houses named in xxiii. 6–23 recur here in vers. 20–29, and that we find a considerable number of the names which are contained in chap. xxiii. 6–23 to be omitted from them. In vers. 20–25, for example, we find only names of Kohathites, and in vers. 26–29 of Merarites, and no Gershonites. But it by no means follows from that, that the classes of the Gershonites have been dropped out, or even omitted by the author of the Chronicle as an unnecessary repetition. This conclusion would only be warrantable if it were otherwise demonstrated, or demonstrable, that the Levites who were at the hand of the priests in carrying on the worship had been taken from all the three Levite families, and that consequently Gershonites also must have been included. But no such thing can be proved. Several fathers'-houses of the Gershonites were, according to xxvi. 20 ff., entrusted with the oversight of the treasures of the sanctuary. We have indeed no further accounts as to the employment of the other Gershonites; but the statements about the management of the treasures, and the scribes and judges, in chap. xxvi. 20–32, are everywhere imperfect. David had appointed 6000 men to be

Chron. S. 279 ff., for the historical character of the arrangements attributed to David, and described in our chapters; but the remarks of Oehler in Herzog's *Realenc.* xii. S. 185 f. may also be compared. An unimpeachable witness for the præ-exilic origin of the division of the priests into twenty-four orders is the vision of Ezekiel (chap. viii. 16–18), where the twenty-five men who worship the sun in the priests' court represent the twenty-four classes of priests, with the high priest at their head. In Neh. xii. 1–7 and 12–21 also unimpeachable evidence for the Davidic origin of the division of the priests into twenty-four classes is to be found, as we shall show in treating of these passages.

scribes and judges: those mentioned in chap. xxvi. 29–32 amounted to only 1700 and 2700, consequently only 4400 persons in all; so that it is quite possible the remaining 1600 were taken from among the Gershonites. Thus, therefore, from the fact that the Gershonites are omitted from our section, we cannot conclude that our catalogue is mutilated. In it all the chief branches of the Kohathites are named, viz. the two lines descended from Moses' sons (vers. 20, 21); then the Izharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites (vers. 22–25), and the main branches of the Merarites (vers. 26–30).—Ver. 20*b* is to be taken thus: Of the sons of Amram, *i.e.* of the Kohathite Amram, from whom Moses descended (xxiii. 13), that is, of the chief Shubael, descended from Moses' son Gershon (xxiii. 16), his son Jehdeiah, who as head and representative of the class made up of his sons, and perhaps also of his brothers, is alone mentioned.—Ver. 21. Of the father's-house Rehabiah, connected with Eliezer the second son of Moses (xxiii. 16); of the sons of this Rehabiah, Isshiah was the head.—Ver. 22. Of the Izharites, namely of the father's-house Shelomoth (xxiii. 18), his sons were under the head Jahath. The heads of the class formed by David mentioned in vers. 20–22, Jehdeiah, Isshiah, and Jahath, are not met with in chap. xxiii.,—a clear proof that chap. xxiii. treats of the fathers'-houses; our section, on the contrary, of the official classes of the Levites.—Ver. 23 treats of the Hebronites, as is clear from xxiii. 19; but here the text is imperfect. Instead of enumerating the names of the chiefs of the classes into which David divided the four fathers'-houses into which Hebron's descendants fell for the temple service, we find only the four names of the heads of the fathers'-houses repeated, just as in xxiii. 19,—introduced, too, by בְּנֵי as sons of . . . Bertheau would therefore interpolate the name חֶבְרוֹן after בְּנֵי (according to xxiii. 19). This interpolation is probably correct, but is not quite beyond doubt, for possibly only the בְּנֵי of the four sons of Hebron named could be mentioned as being busied about the service of the sanctuary according to their divisions. In any case, the names of the heads of the classes formed by the Hebronites are wanting; but it is impossible to ascertain whether they have been dropped out only by a later copyist, or were not contained in the authority made use of by our historian, for even the LXX. had our text. —Vers. 26–28. The classes of the Merarites. As to Jaaziah and his sons, see the remarks on xxiii. 31. As Mahli's son

Eleazar had no sons, only Jerahmeel from his second son Kish, as head of the class formed by Mahli's sons, is named. Of Mushi's sons only the names of the four fathers'-houses into which they fell are mentioned, the chiefs of the classes not being noticed. The heads mentioned in our section are fifteen in all; and supposing that in the cases of the fathers'-houses of the Hebronites and of the Merarite branch of the Mushites, where the heads of the classes are not named, each father's-house formed only one class, we would have only fifteen classes. It is, however, quite conceivable that many of the fathers'-houses of the Hebronites and Mushites were so numerous as to form more than one class; and so out of the Levite families mentioned in vers. 20–29 twenty-four classes could be formed. The subscription, that they cast the lot like their brethren, makes this probable; and the analogy of the division of the musicians into twenty-four classes (chap. xxv.) turns the probability that the Levites who were appointed to perform service for the priests, were divided into the same number of classes, into a certainty, although we have no express statement to that effect, and in the whole Old Testament no information as to the order of succession of the Levites is anywhere to be found.—Ver. 31. לִפְנֵי דָוִיד וגו׳, as in ver. 6. In the last clause אָבוֹת is used for בֵּית־אָבוֹת, as רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת stands frequently for רָאשֵׁי בֵית־אָבוֹת in these catalogues. הָרֹאשׁ stands in apposition to בֵּית־אָבוֹת, the father's-house; the head even as his younger brother, *i.e.* he who was the head of the father's-house as etc., *i.e.* the oldest among the brethren as his younger brethren. The Vulgate gives the meaning correctly: *tam majores quam minores; omnes sors æqualiter dividebat.*

Chap. xxv. *The twenty-four classes of musicians.*—Ver. 1. "David and the princes of the host separated for the service the sons of Asaph," etc. שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא are not princes of the Levite host; for although the service of the Levites is called צָבָא צָבָא in Num. iv. 23, yet the princes of the Levites are nowhere called שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא. This expression rather denotes either the leaders of the army or the chiefs of Israel, as the host of Jahve, Ex. xii. 17, 41, etc. Here it is used in the last signification, as synonymous with princes of Israel (xxiii. 2); in xxiv. 6 we have simply the princes, along with whom the heads of the fathers'-houses of the priests and the Levites are mentioned. הִבְדִּיל לַעֲבֹדָה, separate for the service; cf. Num. xvi. 9. The לְ in לִבְנֵי אָסָף is *nota acc.* Since Asaph was, according to vi. 24–28, a descendant of Gershon, Heman,

according to vi. 18–23, a descendant of Kohath, and Jeduthun (=Ethan) a descendant of Merari (vi. 29–32), all the chief families of Levi had representatives among the singers. The Kethibh הנביאים is an orthographical error for הַנִּבְּאִים (Keri), *partic. Niph.*, corresponding to the singular הַנִּבָּא, vers. 2 and 3. נָבָא, *prophetare*, is here used in its wider signification of the singing and playing to the praise of God performed in the power of the Divine Spirit. In reference to the instruments of these chief musicians, cf. xv. 16. The suffix in מִסְפָּרָם refers to the following noun, which is subordinated to the word מִסְפָּר as genitive; cf. the similar construction נַפְשׁוֹ עָצֵל, his, the sluggard's, soul, Prov. xiii. 4, and Ew. § 309, *e*. "Their number (the number) of the workmen for the service, *i.e.* of those who performed the work of the service, was (as follows)."—Ver. 2. With לִבְנֵי אָסָף the enumeration begins: "Of Asaph's sons were, or to Asaph's sons belonged, Zacchur," etc. Four are here named, but the number is not stated, while it is given in the case of the sons of Jeduthun and Heman, vers. 3 and 5. עַל־יַד, at the hand, alternates with עַל־יְדֵי (vers. 3 and 6), and עַל יַד אָסָף does not of itself express a different relationship to Asaph than that expressed by עַל יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ with reference to the king. It signifies only "under (according to) the direction of;" and in ver. 6 the king, Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman are co-ordinated, inasmuch as the musical part of the worship was arranged by David and the three chief musicians in common, although only the latter were concerned in its performance. In ver. 3 לִידוּתוּן is placed at the beginning, because the choir of singers led by him bore his name; and so also in the case of Heman, ver. 4. "As to Jeduthun, were sons of Jeduthun." The word sons in these catalogues denotes not merely actual sons, but those intellectually sons, *i.e.* scholars taught by the master. This is clear from the fact that the twenty-four classes, each of which numbered twelve men, consist of sons and brothers of the leaders. The names given as those of the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, in vers. 2–5, do not represent the whole number of the scholars of these masters, but only the presidents of the twenty-four classes of Levites who were engaged under their leadership in performing the sacred music. Only five sons of Jeduthun are named in our text, while according to the number given there should be six. A comparison of the names in vers. 9–31 shows that in ver. 3 the name שִׁמְעִי (ver. 17) has been dropped out. בְּנֵי belongs to יְדוּתוּן: under the direction of their father

Jeduthun (the master), upon the kinnor (see on xv. 16), who was inspired to sing praise, *i.e.* who played inspiredly to bring praise and honour to the Lord; cf. xvi. 4, xxiii. 30, etc.—Ver. 4 f. Fourteen sons of Heman are enumerated. רֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר is one name, cf. 31, although עֶזֶר is without doubt to be supplied also after גְּדַלְתִּי. Probably also מַחֲזִיאוֹת is to be supplied in thought after the names. מַלּוֹתִי, I made full, and הוֹתִיר, increased.[1] Heman is called in ver. 5 the seer of the king in the words of God, because he, along with his gift of song, was endowed also with the prophetic gift, and as seer made known to the king revelations of God. In 2 Chron. xxxv. 15 the same thing is predicated also of Jeduthun, and in the same sense the prophet Gad is called in xxi. 9 David's seer. לְהָרִים קָרֶן the Masoretes have connected with the preceding, by placing Athnach under the קרן, and the phrase has been wholly misunderstood by the Rabbins and Christian commentators. Berth., *e.g.*, connects it with בְּדִבְרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, and translates, "to sound loud upon horns, according to the divine command," referring to 2 Chron. xxix. 15, where, however, both meaning and accentuation forbid us to connect בְּדִבְרֵי יהוה with what follows. This interpretation of the words is thoroughly wrong, not only because the Levites under Heman's direction did not blow horns, the horn not being one of the instruments played by the Levites in connection with the worship, but also because on linguistic grounds it is objectionable. הֵרִים קֶרֶן never has the signification to blow the horn; for to elevate the horn signifies everywhere to heighten the power of any one, or unfold, show power; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 10; Lam. ii. 17; Ps. cxlviii. 14, lxxxix. 18, xcii. 11, etc. That is the meaning of the phrase here, and the words are to be connected, according to their sense, with what follows: "to elevate the horn," *i.e.* to give power, God gave Heman fourteen sons and three daughters; *i.e.* to make Heman's race

[1] On these names Ewald says, *ausf. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, § 274, S. 672, der 7 Ausg.: "It is thought that the utterance of a great prophet is to be found cut up into names of near relatives, when the words,

גְּדַלְתִּי רֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר
מַלּוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת

'I have given great and lofty help,
I have to fulness spoken oracles,'

which manifestly form a verse, and may have been the commencement of a famed ancient oracle, are found transferred to the five musical sons of Heman, Giddalti(ezer), Romamtiezer, Mallothi, Hothir, and Machazioth."

mighty for the praise of God, God gave him so many sons and daughters.—Ver. 6 is the subscription to the enumeration, vers. 2-5. כָּל־אֵלֶּה are not the fourteen sons of Heman, but all the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman. All these were under the direction of their fathers for song in the house of Jahve, with cymbals . . . for the service in the house of God under the direction of the king, etc. אֲבִיהֶם is used distributively of each father of the sons named. Bertheau supplies after אֲבִיהֶם the name Heman, and thereby the first half of the verse contradicts the second, which he correctly understands to refer to the twenty-four persons enumerated.—In ver. 7 the total number is given. Their number (the number) of the sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (*i.e.* of the twenty-four [4+6+14] mentioned by name), with their brethren, was 288 (24×12); whence we learn that each of those named had eleven אַחִים, all of them מְלֻמְּדֵי שִׁיר, learned, practised in song for Jahve. In כָּל־הַמֵּבִין the sons and the brothers are both included, in order to give the total number. מֵבִין, having understanding, knowledge of a thing, denotes here those who by education and practice were skilled in song—the accomplished musicians. Their number was 288, and these were divided into twenty-four choirs (classes). David had, according to xxiii. 5, appointed 4000 Levites for the performance of the music. Of these, 288 were מְבִינִים skilled in song; the others were scholars (תַּלְמִידִים), as ver. 8 shows, where מֵבִין and תַּלְמִיד are the two categories into which the musicians are divided.—Ver. 8. They cast lots, גּוֹרָלוֹת מִשְׁמֶרֶת, *κλήρους ἐφημερίων* (LXX.), by which the מִשְׁמֶרֶת, the waiting upon the service, was fixed, that is, the order of their succession in the official service. לְעֻמַּת is variously translated. As no name follows, R. Shel. and Kimchi would repeat the preceding מִשְׁמֶרֶת: one class as the other; and this is supported by xxvi. 16 and Neh. xii. 24, and by the fact that in xvii. 5, after מִמִּשְׁפַּחְתָּן, the words אֶל מִשְׁפַּחְתָּן have been dropped out. But according to the accentuation מִשְׁמֶרֶת belongs to גּוֹרָלוֹת, and so the proposed completion is at once disposed of. Besides this, however, the thought "class like class" does not appear quite suitable, as the classes were only formed by the lots, and so were not in existence so as to be able to cast lots. We therefore, with Ewald, § 360, *a*, and Berth., hold the clause כַּקָּטֹן כַּגָּדוֹל to be the genitive belonging to לְעֻמַּת, since עֻמַּת is in Eccles. v. 15 also connected with a clause: "in the manner of, as the small, so the great," *i.e.* the small and the great, the older as the younger.

This is further defined by "the skilled as the scholars." From these words it is manifest that not merely the 288 cast lots, for these were כָּל־מֵבִין (ver. 7), but also the other 3712 Levites appointed for the service of the singers; whence it further follows that only the 288 who were divided by lot into twenty-four classes, each numbering twelve persons, were thoroughly skilled in singing and playing, and the scholars were so distributed to them that each class received an equal number of them, whom they had to educate and train. These, then, were probably trained up for and employed in the temple music according to their progress in their education, so that the ἐφημερία which had at any time charge of the service consisted not only of the twelve skilled musicians, but also of a number of scholars who assisted in singing and playing under their direction.

Vers. 9–31. The order of succession was so determined by lot, that the four sons of Asaph (ver. 3) received the first, third, fifth, and seventh places; the six sons of Jeduthun, the second, fourth, eighth, twelfth, and fourteenth; and finally, the four sons of Heman (first mentioned in ver. 4), the sixth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth places; while the remaining places, 15–24, fell to the other sons of Heman. From this we learn that the lots of the sons of the three chief musicians were not placed in separate urns, and one lot drawn from each alternately; but that, on the contrary, all the lots were placed in one urn, and in drawing the lots of Asaph and Jeduthun came out so, that after the fourteenth drawing only sons of Heman remained.[1] As to the details in ver. 9, after Joseph we miss the statement, "he and his sons and his brothers, twelve;" which, with the exception of the הוּא, used only of the second lot, and omitted for the sake of brevity in all the other cases, is repeated with all the 23 numbers, and so can have been dropped here only by an error. The words לְאָסָף לִיוֹסֵף are to be understood thus: The first lot drawn was for

[1] Bertheau, S. 218, draws quite another conclusion from the above-mentioned order in which the lots were drawn. He supposes "that two series, each of seven, were first included in the lot: to the one series belonged the four sons of Asaph and the three sons of Heman, Mattaniah, Uzziel or Azarel, and Shebuel or Shubael; to the other, the six sons of Jeduthun and Bukkiah the son of Heman. A lot was drawn from each series alternately, commencing with the first, so that the four sons of Asaph and the three sons of Heman obtained the places 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13; while to the six sons of Jeduthun, and the son of Heman added to them, fell the places 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14. The still remaining ten sons of Heman were then finally drawn for, and re-

Asaph, viz. for his son Joseph. In the succeeding verses the names are enumerated, sometimes with and sometimes without לְ. Some of the names diverge somewhat in form. Izri, ver. 11, stands for Zeri, ver. 3; Jesharelah, ver. 14, for Asarelah, ver. 2; Azarel, ver. 18, for Uzziel, ver. 4 (like the king's names Uzziah and Azariah, iii. 12, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 1); Shubael, ver. 20, for Shebuel, ver. 4 (cf. xxiii. 16 with xxiv. 20); Jeremoth, ver. 22, for Jerimoth, ver. 4; Eliyathah, ver. 27, for Eliathah, ver. 4. Besides these, the fuller forms Nethanyahu (ver. 12), Hashabyahu (ver. 3), Hananyahu (ver. 23), are used instead of the shorter Nethaniah, etc. (vers. 2, 19, 4). Of the 24 names which are here enumerated, besides those of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, only Mattithiah recurs (xv. 18, 21) in the description of the solemnities connected with the bringing in of the ark; "but we are not justified in seeking there the names of our twenty-four classes" (Berth.).

Chap. xxvi. *The classes of the doorkeepers, the stewards of the treasures of the sanctuary, and the officers for the external business.* —Vers. 1–19. *The classes of the doorkeepers.* Ver. 1. The superscription runs shortly thus: "As to (לְ) the divisions of the doorkeepers." The enumeration begins with לַקָּרְחִים: to the Korahites (belongs) Meshelemiah (in ver. 14, Shelemiah). Instead of מִן־בְּנֵי אָסָף we should read, according to ix. 19, מִן־בְּנֵי אֶבְיָסָף, for the Korahites are descended from Kohath (Ex. vi. 21, xviii. 16), but Asaph is a descendant of Gershon (vi. 24 f.).—In vers. 2, 3, seven sons of Meshelemiah are enumerated; the first-born Zechariah is mentioned also in ix. 21, and was entrusted, according to ver. 14, with the guarding of the north side.—Vers. 4–8. Obed-edom's family. Obed-edom has been already mentioned in chap. xvi. 38 and xv. 24 as doorkeeper; see the commentary on the passage. From our passage we learn that Obed-edom belonged to the Kohathite family of the Korahites. According to ver. 19, the doorkeepers were Korahites and Merarites. The Merarites,

ceived the places from the 15th to the 24th." This very artificial hypothesis explains, indeed, the order of the lots, but we cannot think it probable, because (1) for the supposed dividing of the lots to be drawn into divisions of 10 and 14 no reason can be assigned; (2) by any such division the sons of Heman would have been placed at a disadvantage from the beginning as compared with the sons of Asaph and Jeduthun, since not only Asaph's four sons, but also all Jeduthun's six sons, would have been placed in the first rank, while only four sons of Heman accompany them, Heman's ten remaining sons having had the last place assigned them.

however, are only treated of from ver. 10 and onwards. לְעֹבֵד אֱדֹם (ver. 4) corresponds to וְלִמְשֶׁלְמְיָהוּ (ver. 2), and is consequently thereby brought under לַקָּרְחִים (ver. 1). Here, vers. 4, 5, eight sons with whom God had blessed him (cf. xiii. 14), and in 6 and 7 his grandchildren, are enumerated. The verb נוֹלַד is used in the singular, with a subject following in the plural, as frequently (cf. Ew. § 316, *a*). The grandchildren of Obed-edom by his first-born son Shemaiah are characterized as הַמֹּשְׁלִים, the dominions, *i.e.* the lords (rulers) of the house of their fathers (מֶמְשָׁל, the abstract dominion, for the concrete מֹשֵׁל; cf. Ew. § 160, *b*), because they were גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, valiant heroes, and so qualified for the office of doorkeepers. In the enumeration in ver. 7, the omission of the ו cop. with אֶלְזָבָד אֲחָיו is strange; probably we must supply וְ before both words, and take them thus: And Elzabad and his brethren, valiant men, (viz.) Elihu and Semachiah. For the conjecture that the names of the אֲחָיו are not given (Berth.) is not a very probable one.—Ver. 8. The whole number of doorkeepers of Obed-edom's family, his sons and brethren, was sixty-two; able men with strength for the service. The singular אִישׁ חַיִל, after the preceding plural, is most simply explained by taking it to be in apposition to the כֹּל at the beginning of the verse, by repeating כֹּל mentally before אִישׁ.—In ver. 9 the number of Meshelemiah's sons and brothers is brought in in a supplementary way.—Vers. 10, 11. The Merarites. Hosah's sons and brothers. חוֹסָה has been already mentioned (xvi. 38) along with Obed-edom as doorkeeper. Hosah made Shimri head of the Merarites, who served as doorkeepers, because there was no first-born, *i.e.* because his first-born son had died without leaving any descendant, so that none of the families descended from Hosah had the natural claim to the birthright. All the sons and brothers of Hosah were thirteen. Meshelemiah had eighteen (cf. ver. 9), and Obed-edom sixty-two (ver. 8); and all taken together they make ninety-three, whom we are (according to ver. 12 f.) to regard as the heads of the 4000 doorkeepers. In ix. 22 the number of the doorkeepers appointed by David is stated to be 212, but that number most probably refers to a different time (see on ix. 22). Bertheau further remarks: "According to xvi. 38, sixty-eight are reckoned to Obed-edom and Hosah, in our passage seventy-five; and the small difference between the numbers is explained by the fact that in the first passage only the doorkeepers before the ark are referred to." Against this we

have already shown, in our remarks on xvi. 38, that the number there mentioned cannot be held with certainty to refer to the doorkeepers. — Vers. 12–19. The division of the doorkeepers according to their posts of service. Ver. 12. "To these classes of doorkeepers, viz. to the heads of the men, (were committed) the watches, in common with their brethren, to serve in the house of Jahve." By לְאֵלֶּה מַחְלְקוֹת it is placed beyond doubt that the above-mentioned names and numbers give us the classes of the doorkeepers. By the apposition לְרָאשֵׁי הַגְּבָרִים, the meaning of which is discussed in the commentary on xxiv. 4, מַחְלְקוֹת הש׳ is so defined as to show that properly the heads of the households are meant, only these having been enumerated in the preceding section, and not the classes.—Ver. 13. The distribution of the stations by lot followed (cf. xxv. 8), the small as the great; *i.e.* the younger as the older cast lots, according to their fathers'-houses, "for door and door," *i.e.* for each door of the four sides of the temple, which was built so that its sides corresponded to the points of the compass.—Ver. 14. The lot towards the east, *i.e.* for the guarding of the east side, fell to Shelemiah (cf. vers. 1, 2); while that towards the north fell to his first-born Zechariah. Before וְזַכַרְיָהוּ, לְ is to be repeated. To him the title יוֹעֵץ בְּשֵׂכֶל is given, for reasons unknown to us. הִפִּילוּ גו׳, (for him) they threw lots.—Ver. 15. To Obed-edom (fell the lot) towards the south, and to his sons it fell (to guard) the house Asuppim. As to בֵּית־הָאֲסַפִּים, called for brevity אֲסַפִּים in ver. 17, *i.e.* house of collections or provisions (cf. Neh. xii. 25), we can say nothing further than that it was a building used for the storing of the temple goods, situated in the neighbourhood of the southern door of the temple in the external court, and that it probably had two entrances, since in ver. 19 it is stated that two guard-stations were assigned to it.—Ver. 16. The word לְשֻׁפִּים is unintelligible, and probably has come into the text merely by a repetition of the two last syllables of the preceding word, since the name שֻׁפִּים (vii. 12) has no connection with this passage. To Hosah fell the lot towards the west, by the door Shallecheth on the ascending highway. הַמִּסְלָּה הָעוֹלָה is the way which led from the lower city up to the more lofty temple site. Instead of the door on this highway, in ver. 18, in the statement as to the distribution of the guard-stations, Parbar is named, and the highway distinguished from it, four doorkeepers being appointed for the מִסְלָּה, and two for פַּרְבַּר. פַּרְבַּר, probably identical

with פַּרְוָרִים, 2 Kings xxiii. 11, a word of uncertain meaning, was the name of an out-building on the western side, the back of the outer court of the temple by the door Shallecheth, which contained cells for the laying up of temple goods and furniture. שַׁלֶּכֶת, Böttcher translates, *Proben*, S. 347, "refuse-door;" see on 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Nothing more definite can be said of it, unless we hold, with Thenius on 2 Kings xxiii. 11, that Ezekiel's temple is in all its details a copy of the Solomonic temple, and use it, in an unjustifiable way, as a source of information as to the præ-exilic temple. מִשְׁמָר לְעֻמַּת מִשְׁמָר (as in Neh. xii. 24), guard with (over against?) guard, or one guard as the other (cf. on לְעֻמַּת, ver. 12 and xxv. 8), Bertheau connects with Hosah, according to the Masoretic punctuation, and explains it thus: "Because it was Hosah's duty to set guards before the western gate of the temple, and also before the gate Shallecheth, which lay over against it." Clericus, on the contrary, refers the words to all the guard-stations: *cum ad omnes januas essent custodiæ, sibi ex adverso respondebant.* This reference, according to which the words belong to what follows, and introduce the statement as to the number of guards at the individual posts which follows in ver. 17 ff., seems to deserve the preference. So much is certain in any case, that there is no ground in the text for distinguishing the gate Shallecheth from the western gate of the temple, for the two gates are not distinguished either in ver. 16 or in ver. 18.— Ver. 17 f. Settlement of the number of guard-stations at the various sides and places. Towards morning (on the east side) were six of the Levites (six kept guard); towards the north by day (*i.e.* daily, on each day), four; towards the south daily, four; and at the storehouse two and two, consequently four also; at Parbar towards the west, four on the highway and two at Parbar, *i.e.* six. In all, therefore, there were twenty-four guard-stations to be occupied daily; but more than twenty-four persons were required, because, even supposing that one man at a time was sufficient for each post, one man could not stand the whole day at it: he must have been relieved from time to time. Probably, however, there were always more than one person on guard at each post. It further suggests itself that the number twenty-four may be in some way connected with the divisions or classes of doorkeepers; but there is only a deceptive appearance of a connection. The division of the priests and musicians each into twenty-four classes respectively is no sufficient analogy in the case, for these classes

had to perform the service in succession each for a week at a time, while the twenty-four doorkeepers' stations had to be all occupied simultaneously every day.—In vers. 2–11, then, twenty-eight heads in all are enumerated by name (Meshelemiah with seven sons, Obed-edom with eight sons and six grandsons, and Hosah with four sons); but the total number in all the three families of doorkeepers is stated at ninety-three, and neither the one nor the other of these numbers bears any relation to twenty-four. Finally, the posts are so distributed that Meshelemiah with his eighteen sons and brothers kept guard on the east and north sides with six posts; Obed-edom with his sixty-two sons and brothers on the south side with four and 2 × 2, that is, eight posts; and Hosah with his thirteen sons and brothers on the western side with four and two, that is, six; so that even here no symmetrical distribution of the service can be discovered. —Ver. 19. Subscription, in which it is again stated that the classes of doorkeepers were taken from among the Korahites and Merarites.

Vers. 20–28. *The stewards of the treasures of the sanctuary.*— Ver. 20 appears to contain the superscription of the succeeding section. For here the treasures of the house of God and the treasures of the consecrated things are grouped together, while in vers. 22 and 26 they are separated, and placed under the oversight of two Levite families: the treasures of the house of Jahve under the sons of the Gershonite Laadan (vers. 21, 22); the treasures of the consecrated things under the charge of the Amramites. But with this the words הַלְוִים אֲחִיָּה cannot be made to harmonize. According to the Masoretic accentuation, הַלְוִים alone would be the superscription; but הַלְוִים alone gives no suitable sense, for the Levites have been treated of already from chap xxiii. onwards. Moreover, it appears somewhat strange that there is no further characterization of אֲחִיָּה, for the name is a very common one, but has not before occurred in our chapter, whence we would expect a statement of his descent and his family, such as we find in the case of the succeeding chief overseers. All these things tend to throw doubt upon the correctness of the Masoretic reading, while the LXX., on the contrary, in *καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν*, κ.τ.λ., give a perfectly suitable superscription, which involves the reading אֲחֵיהֶם instead of אֲחִיָּה. This reading we, with J. D. Mich. and Berth., hold to be the original. On הַלְוִים אֲחֵיהֶם, cf. vi. 29, 2 Chron. xxix. 34.—

Vers. 21 and 22 go together: "The sons of Laadan, (namely) the sons of the Gershonite family which belong to Laadan, (namely) the heads of the fathers'-houses of Laadan of the Gershonite family: Jehieli, (namely) the sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother Joel (see xxiii. 7), were over the treasures of the house of Jahve." The meaning is this: "Over the treasures of the house of Jahve were Zetham and Joel, the heads of the father's-house of Jehieli, which belonged to the Laadan branch of the Gershonites." Light is thrown upon these words, so obscure through their brevity, by chap. xxiii. 7, 8, according to which the sons of Jehiel, or the Jehielites, are descended from Laadan, the older branch of the Gershonites. This descent is briefly but fully stated in the three clauses of the 21st verse, each of which contains a more definite characterization of the father's-house Jehieli, whose two heads Zetham and Joel were entrusted with the oversight of the treasures of the house of God.—Vers. 23 and 24 also go together: "As to the Amramites, Jisharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites (the four chief branches of the Kohathite family of Levites, chap. xxiii. 15–20), Shebuel the son of Gershon, the son of Moses, was prince over the treasures" (ו before Shebuel introduces the apodosis, cf. Ew. § 348, *a*, and = Germ. "so war").—Ver. 25. "And his (Shebuel's) brethren of Eliezer were Rehabiah his (Eliezer's) son, and Jeshaiah his son, . . . and Shelomoth his son." These descendants of Eliezer were called brethren of Shebuel, because they were descended through Eliezer from Moses, as Shebuel was through his father Gershon.—Ver. 26. This Shelomoth (a descendant of Eliezer, and so to be distinguished both from the Jisharite Shelomith (xxiii. 18 and xxiv. 22), and the Gershonite of the same name (xxiii. 9)), and his brethren were over the treasures of the consecrated things which David the king had consecrated, and the heads of the fathers'-houses, etc. Instead of לְשָׂרֵי we must read וְשָׂרֵי, according to xxix. 6. The princes over the thousands and hundreds are the war captains, and the שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא are the commanders-in-chief, *e.g.* Abner, Joab, xxvii. 34, 2 Sam. viii. 16, 1 Chron. xviii. 15.—The 27th verse is an explanatory parenthesis: "from the wars and from the booty," *i.e.* from the booty taken in war had they consecrated. לְחַזֵּק, to make strong, *i.e.* to preserve in strength and good condition the house of Jahve. חָזַק elsewhere of the renovation of old buildings, 2 Kings xii. 8 ff., Neh. iii. 2 ff., here in a somewhat general signification.—In ver. 28 the enumeration of

those who had consecrated, thus interrupted, is resumed, but in the form of a new sentence, which concludes with a predicate of its own. In הַהֶקְדִּישׁ the article represents אֲשֶׁר, as in xxix. 17, 2 Chron. xxix. 36, and elsewhere; cf. Ew. § 331, *b*. With כֹּל הַמַּקְדִּישׁ, all who had consecrated, the enumeration is concluded, and the predicate, "was at the hand of Shelomith and his brethren," is then brought in. עַל־יַד, laid upon the hand, *i.e.* entrusted to them for preservation; Germ. *unter der Hand* (under the hand).

If we glance back at the statements as to the stewards of the treasures (vers. 20–28), we find that the treasures of the house of Jahve were under the oversight of the Jehielites Zetham and Joel, with their brethren, a branch of the Gershonites (ver. 22); and the treasures of the consecrated things under the oversight of the Kohathite Shelomith, who was of the family of Moses' second son Eliezer, with his brethren (ver. 28). But in what relation does the statement in ver. 24, that Shebuel, the descendant of Moses through Gershon, was נָגִיד עַל־הָאֹצָרוֹת, stand to this? Bertheau thinks "that three kinds of treasures are distinguished, the guarding of which was committed to different officials: (1) The sons of Jehieli, Zetham and Joel, had the oversight of the treasures of the house of God, which, as we may conclude from xxix. 8, had been collected by voluntary gifts: (2) Shebuel was prince over the treasures, perhaps over the sums which resulted from regular assessment for the temple (Ex. xxx. 11–16), from redemption-money, *e.g.* for the first-born (Num. xviii. 16 ff.), or for vows (Lev. xxvii.); consequently over a part of the sums which are designated in 2 Kings xii. 5 by the name כֶּסֶף הַקְּדָשִׁים: (3) Shelomith and his brothers had the oversight of all the אוֹצְרוֹת הַקֳּדָשִׁים, *i.e.* of the consecrated gifts which are called in 2 Kings xii. 19 קָדָשִׁים, and distinguished from the כֶּסֶף קֳדָשִׁים in ver. 5." But this view has no support in the text. Both in the superscription (ver. 20) and in the enumeration (vers. 22, 26) only two kinds of treasures—treasures of the house of God (of Jahve), and treasures of the קָדָשִׁים—are mentioned. Neither by the facts nor by the language used are we justified in supposing that there was a third kind of treasures, viz. the sums resulting from the regular assessment for the holy place. For it is thoroughly arbitrary to confine the treasures of the house of God to the voluntary contributions and the consecrated gifts given from the war-booty; and it is still more arbitrary to limit the treasures

over which Shebuel was prince to the sums flowing into the temple treasures from the regular assessment; for the reference to 2 Kings xii. 19 and 5 is no proof of this, because, though two kinds of קדשים are there distinguished, yet both are further defined. The quite general expression הָאֲצָרוֹת, the treasures, can naturally be referred only to the two different kinds of treasures distinguished in ver. 22. This reference is also demanded by the words נָגִיד . . . שְׁבוּאֵל (ver. 24). Heads of fathers'-houses, with their brethren (אֲחֵיהֶם), are mentioned as guardians of the two kinds of treasures spoken of in ver. 20; while here, on the contrary, we have Shebuel alone, without assistants. Further, the other guardians are not called נָגִיד, as Shebuel is. The word נָגִיד denotes not an overseer or steward, but only princes of kingdoms (kings), princes of tribes (xii. 27, xiii. 1, xxvii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 21), ministers of the palace and the temple, and commanders-in-chief (2 Chron. xi. 11, xxviii. 7), and is consequently used in our section neither of Zetham and Joel, nor of Shelomoth. The calling of Shebuel נָגִיד consequently shows that he was the chief guardian of the sacred treasures, under whose oversight the guardians of the two different kinds of treasures were placed. This is stated in vers. 23, 24; and the statement would not have been misunderstood if it had been placed at the beginning or the end of the enumeration; and its position in the middle between the Gershonites and the Kohathites is explained by the fact that this prince was, according to xxiii. 16, the head of the four Levite families descended from Kohath.

Vers. 29–32. *The officials for the external business.*—Ver. 29. "As to the Izharites, Chenaniah (see on xv. 22) with his sons was for the outward business over Israel for scribes and judges." According to this, the external business of the Levites consisted of service as scribes and judges, for which David had set apart 6000 Levites (xxiii. 4). Without sufficient reason, Bertheau would refer the external business to the exaction of the dues for the temple, because in Neh. xi. 16 הַמְּלָאכָה הַחִיצֹנָה for the temple is spoken of. But it does not at all follow that in our verse the external work had any reference to the temple, and that the scribes and judges had only this narrow sphere of action, since here, instead of the house of God, עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל is mentioned as the object with which the external service was connected.—Ver. 30. Of Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, 1700 valiant men,

were עַל פְּקֻדַּת יִשְׂ', for the oversight (inspection) of Israel this side Jordan, for all the business of Jahve and the service of the king. Bertheau takes פְּקֻדָּה to mean "due," "fixed tribute," a meaning which the word cannot be shown to have. The LXX. have translated correctly, *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ad inspectionem Israelis, i.e. præfecti erant* (J. H. Mich.). For עַל פְּקֻדַּת is in ver. 32 rendered by יַפְקִיד עַל. מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן is shown by the addition כַּעֲרָבָה to refer to the land of Canaan, as in Josh. v. 1, xxii. 7, since Israel, both under Joshua and also after the exile, had come from the eastward over Jordan into Canaan. The words מְלֶאכֶת and עֲבֹדַת are synonymous, and are consequently both represented in ver. 32 by דְּבַר.—Ver. 31 f. David set another branch of the Hebronites, under the head Jeriah (cf. xxiii. 9), over the East-Jordan tribes. Between the words "Jeriah the head," ver. 31, and וְאֶחָיו, ver. 32, a parenthesis is inserted, which gives the reason why David made these Hebronites scribes and judges among the East-Jordan tribes. The parenthesis runs thus: "As to the Hebronites, according to their generations, according to fathers, they were sought out in the fortieth year of David's rule, and valiant heroes were found among them in Jazer of Gilead." Jazer was a Levite city in the tribal domain of Gad, assigned, according to Josh. xxi. 39, to the Merarites (see on vi. 66). The number of these Hebronites was 2700 valiant men (ver. 32). The additional רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת is obscure, for if we take אָבוֹת to be, as it often is in the genealogies, a contraction for בֵּית־אָבוֹת, the number given does not suit; for a branch of the Hebronites cannot possibly have numbered 2700 fathers'-houses (*πατριαί*, groups of related households): they must be only 2700 men (גִּבֹּרִים), or heads of families, *i.e.* households. Not only the large number demands this signification, but also the comparison of this statement with that in ver. 30. The 1700 בְּנֵי חַיִל of which the Hebronite branch, Hashabiah with his brethren, consisted, were not so many *πατριαί*, but only so many men of this *πατριά*. In the same way, the Hebronite branch of which Jeriah was head, with his brethren, 2700 בְּנֵי חַיִל, were also not 2700 *πατριαί*, but only so many men, that is, fathers of families. It is thus placed beyond doubt that רָאשֵׁי אָבוֹת cannot here denote the heads of fathers'-houses, but only heads of households. And accordingly we must not understand לְאָבוֹת (ver. 31) of fathers'-houses, as the LXX. and all commentators do, but only of heads of households. The use of the verb נִדְרְשׁוּ also

favours this view, for this verb is not elsewhere used of the legal census of the people, *i.e.* the numbering and entering of them in the public lists, according to the great families and fathers'-houses. There may therefore be in וַיִּדְרֹשׁ a hint that it was not a genealogical census which was undertaken, but only a numbering of the heads of households, in order to ascertain the number of scribes and judges to be appointed. There yet remain in this section three things which are somewhat strange: 1. Only 1700 scribes and judges were set over the cis-Jordanic land, inhabited as it was by ten and a half tribes, while 2700 were set over the trans-Jordanic land with its two and a half tribes. 2. Both numbers taken together amount to only 4400 men, while David appointed 6000 Levites to be scribes and judges. 3. The scribes and judges were taken only from two fathers'-houses of the Kohathites, while most of the other Levitical offices were filled by men of all the families of the tribe of Levi. On all these grounds, it is probable that our catalogue of the Levites appointed to be scribes and judges, *i.e.* for the external business, is imperfect.

CHAP. XXVII.—DIVISION OF THE ARMY. TRIBAL PRINCES, ADMINISTRATORS OF THE DOMAINS, AND COUNCILLORS OF STATE.

This chapter treats of the organization of the army (vers. 1–15) and the public administration; in vers. 16–24, the princes of the twelve tribes being enumerated; in vers. 25–31, the managers of the royal possessions and domains; and in vers. 32–34, the chief councillors of the king. The information on these points immediately succeeds the arrangement of the service of the Levites, because, as we learn from ver. 23 f., David attempted in the last year of his reign to give a more stable form to the political constitution of the kingdom also. In the enumeration of the twelve divisions of the army, with their leaders (vers. 1–15), it is not indeed said when David organized the men capable of bearing arms for the alternating monthly service; but the reference in ver. 23 f. of our chapter to the numbering of the people, spoken of in chap. xxi., leaves no doubt of the fact that this division of the people stands in intimate connection with that numbering of the people, and that David caused the people to be numbered in order to perfect the military constitution of the

kingdom, and to leave his kingdom to his son strong within and mighty without.

Vers. 1–15. *The twelve divisions of the army.*—Ver. 1. The lengthy superscription, "And the sons of Israel according to their number, the heads of the fathers'-houses, and the princes over the thousands and the hundreds, and their scribes, who served the king in regard to every matter of the divisions; which month for month of all months of the year went and came, one division 24,000 men," is towards the end so intimately interwoven with the divisions of the army, that it can only refer to this, *i.e.* only to the catalogue, vers. 2–15. Since, then, we find in this catalogue only the twelve classes, the number of the men belonging to each, and their leaders, and since for this the short superscription, "the Israelites according to their number, and the princes of the divisions which served the king," would be amply sufficient, Bertheau thinks that the superscription originally belonged to a more complete description of the classes and their different officers, of which only a short extract is here communicated. This hypothesis is indeed possible, but is not at all certain; for it is questionable whether, according to the above superscription, we have a right to expect an enumeration by name of the various officials who served the king in the classes of the army. The answer to this question depends upon our view of the relation of the words, "the heads of the fathers'-houses, and the princes," to the first clause, "the sons of Israel according to their number." Had these words been connected by the conjunction ו (וְרָאשֵׁי) with this clause, and thereby made co-ordinate with it, we should be justified in having such an expectation. But the want of the conjunction shows that these words form an apposition, which as to signification is subordinate to the main idea. If we take this appositional explanation to mean something like this, "the sons of Israel, according to their number, with the heads of the fathers'-houses and the princes," the emphasis of the superscription falls upon לְמִסְפָּרָם, and the number of the sons of Israel, who with their heads and princes were divided into classes, is announced to be the important thing in the following catalogue. That this is the meaning and object of the words may be gathered from this, that in the second half of the verse, the number of the men fit for service, who from month to month came and went as one class, is stated הָאַחַת, one at a time (distributive), as in Judg. viii. 18, Num. xvii. 18, etc.; cf. Ew. § 313, *a*, note 1. בּוֹא

וַיָּצָא, used of entering upon and leaving the service (cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, 8; 2 Kings xi. 5, 7, 9). But the words are hardly to be understood to mean that the classes which were in service each month were ordered from various parts of the kingdom to the capital, and there remained under arms; but rather, as Clericus, that they *paratæ essent ducum imperiis parere, si quid contigisset, dum ceterœ copiæ, si necesse essent, convenirent.*—Ver. 2 ff. Over the first division was Jashobeam, *scil.* commander. The second עַל מַחֲלָקְתּוֹ is to be rendered, "in his division were 24,000 men," *i.e.* they were reckoned to it. As to Jashobeam, see on xi. 11 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8.—Ver. 3 further relates of him that he was of the sons (descendants) of Perez, and the head of all the army chiefs in the first month (*i.e.* in the division for the first month).—Ver. 4. Before דּוֹדַי, according to xi. 12, אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן has been dropped out (see on 2 Sam. xxiii. 9). The words וּמַחֲלָקְתּוֹ וּמִקְלוֹת הַנָּגִיד are obscure. At the end of the sixth verse similar words occur, and hence Bertheau concludes that ו before מִקְלוֹת is to be struck out, and translates, "and his divisions, Mikloth the prince," which might denote, perhaps, "and his division is that over which Mikloth was prince." Older commentators have already translated the word in a similar manner, as signifying that Mikloth was prince or chief of this division under the Ahohite Eleazar. All that is certain is, that מִקְלוֹת is a name which occurred in viii. 32 and ix. 37 among the Benjamites.—Ver. 5. Here the form of expression is changed; שַׂר הַצָּבָא, the chief of the third host, begins the sentence. As to Benaiah, see xi. 22 and the commentary on 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. רֹאשׁ does not belong to הַכֹּהֵן, but is the predicate of Benaiah: "the prince of the ... was Benaiah ... as head," *sc.* of the division for the third month. This is added, because in ver. 6 still a third military office held by Benaiah is mentioned. He was hero of the (among the) thirty, and over the thirty, *i.e.* more honoured than they (cf. xi. 25 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 23).—With ver. 6*b* cf. what is said on the similar words, ver. 4.—Ver. 7. From here onwards the mode of expression is very much compressed: the fourth of the fourth month, instead of the chief of the fourth host of the fourth month. Asahel (see xi. 26 and on 2 Sam. xxiii. 24) was slain by Abner (2 Sam. ii. 18–23) in the beginning of David's reign, and consequently long before the division of the army here recorded. The words, "and Zebadiah his son after him," point to his death, as they mention his son as his successor in the command of the fourth division of the

army. When Asahel, therefore, is called commander of the fourth division of the host, it is done merely *honoris causâ*, since the division over which his son was named, *de patris defuncti nomine* (Cler.).—Ver. 8. Shamhuth is called in xi. 27 Shammoth, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 25 Shamma. He was born in Harod; here he is called הַיִּזְרָה, the Jizrahite, = הַזַּרְחִי, ver. 13, of the family of Zerah the son of Judah (ii. 4, 6).—Ver. 9. Ira; see xi. 28, 2 Sam. xxiii. 26. —Ver. 10. Helez: xi. 27; 2 Sam. xxiii. 26.—Ver. 11. Sibbecai; see xi. 29, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27.—Ver. 12. Abiezer; see xi. 28, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27; he was of Anathoth in the tribe of Benjamin (Jer. i. 1). —Ver. 13. Maharai (see xi. 30, 2 Sam. xxiii. 28) belonged also to the family of Zerah; see vers. 11, 8.—Ver. 14. Benaiah of Pirathon; see xi. 31, 2 Sam. xxiii. 30.—Ver. 15. Heldai, in xi. 30 Heled, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 erroneously called Heleb, belonging to Othniel's family (Josh. xv. 17).

Vers. 16–24. *The princes of the twelve tribes.*—The enumeration of the tribal princes, commencing with the words, "and over the tribes of Israel," immediately follows the catalogue of the divisions of the army with their commanders, because the subjects are in so far connected as the chief management of the internal business of the people, divided as they were into tribes, was deposited in their hands. In the catalogue the tribes Gad and Asher are omitted for reasons unknown to us, just as in chap. iv.–vii., in the genealogies of the tribes, Dan and Zebulun are. In reference to Levi, on the contrary, the *Nagid* of Aaron, *i.e.* the head of the priesthood, is named, viz. Zadok, the high priest of the family of Eleazar.—Ver. 18. Elihu, of the brethren of David, is only another form of the name Eliab, ii. 13, David's eldest brother, who, as Jesse's first-born, had become tribal prince of Judah.—Ver. 20 f. Of Manasseh two tribal princes are named, because the one half of this tribe had received its inheritance on this side Jordan, the other beyond Jordan. גִּלְעָדָה, towards Gilead, to designate the East-Jordan Manassites.—Vers. 23 and 24 contain a concluding remark on the catalogue of the twelve detachments into which the men capable of bearing arms in Israel were divided, contained in vers. 2–15. David had not taken their number from the men of twenty years and under, *i.e.* he had only caused those to be numbered who were over twenty years old. The word מִסְפָּרָם points back to לִמְסִפָּרָם, ver. 1. נָשָׂא מִסְפָּר as in Num. iii. 40 = נָשָׂא רֹאשׁ, Ex. xxx. 12, Num. i. 49, to take up the sum or total. The reason of this is given in the clause, "for Jahve had said

(promised) to increase Israel like to the stars of heaven" (Gen. xxii. 17), which cannot mean: For it was impossible for David to number all, because they were as numerous as the stars of heaven, which of course cannot be numbered (Berth.). The thought is rather that David never intended to number the whole people from the youngest to the eldest, for he did not desire *in fidem divinarum promissionum inquirere aut eam labefactare* (J. H. Mich.); and he accordingly caused only the men capable of bearing arms to be numbered, in order to organize the military constitution of the kingdom in the manner recorded in vers. 2–15. But even this numbering which Joab had begun was not completed, because wrath came on Israel because of it, as is narrated in chap. xxi. For this reason also the number, *i.e.* the result of the numbering begun by Joab, but not completed, is not included in the number of the chronicle of King David, *i.e.* in the official number which was usually inserted in the public annals. בְּמִסְפָּר neither stands for בְּסֵפֶר (according to 2 Chron. xx. 34), nor does it denote, "in the section which treats of the numberings" (Berth.). דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים is a shorter expression for סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי ה', book of the events of the day.

Vers. 25-31. *The managers of David's possessions and domains.* —The property and the income of the king were (ver. 25) divided into treasures of the king, and treasures in the country, in the cities, the villages, and the castles. By the "treasures of the king" we must therefore understand those which were in Jerusalem, *i.e.* the treasures of the royal palace. These were managed by Azmaveth. The remaining treasures are specified in ver. 26 ff. They consisted in fields which were cultivated by labourers (ver. 26); in vineyards (ver. 27); plantations of olive trees and sycamores in the Shephelah, the fruitful plain on the Mediterranean Sea (ver. 28); in cattle, which pastured partly in the plain of Sharon between Cæsarea Palestina and Joppa (see p. 107 f.), partly in various valleys of the country (ver. 29); and in camels, asses, and sheep (ver. 30 f.). All these possessions are called רְכוּשׁ, and the overseers of them שָׂרֵי הָרְכוּשׁ. They consisted in the produce of agriculture and cattle-breeding, the two main branches of Israelitish industry.—Ver. 27. Special officers were set over the vineyards and the stores of wine. The שְׁ in שְׁפִי בַּכְּרָמִים is a contraction of אֲשֶׁר: "over that which was in the vineyards of treasures (stores) of wine." The officer over the vineyards, Shimei, was of Ramah in Benjamin (cf. Josh. xviii. 25); he who

was over the stores of wine, Zabdi, is called הַשִּׁפְמִי, probably not from שִׁפְמִי on the northern frontier of Canaan, Num. xxxiv. 10, the situation of which has not yet been discovered, but from the equally unknown שִׁפְמוֹת in the Negeb of Judah, 1 Sam. xxx. 28. For since the vineyards, in which the stores of wine were laid up, must certainly have lain in the tribal domain of Judah, so rich in wine (Num. xiii. 23 ff.; Gen. xlix. 11), probably the overseers of it were born in the same district.—Ver. 28. As to the שְׁפֵלָה, see on Josh. xv. 33. הַגְּדֵרִי, he who was born in Geder, not Gedera, for which we should expect הַגְּדֵרָתִי (xii. 4), although the situation of Gedera, south-east from Jabne (see on xii. 4), appears to suit better than that of גֶּדֶר or גְּדוֹר in the hill country of Judah; see Josh. xii. 13 and xv. 58.—Ver. 30. The name of the Ishmaelite who was set over the camels, Obil (אוֹבִיל), reminds us of the Arab أَبِلَ *multos possedit vel acquisivit camelos.* הַמֵּרֹנֹתִי, he of Meronoth (ver. 30 and Neh. iii. 17). The situation of this place is unknown. According to Neh. iii. 7, it is perhaps to be sought in the neighbourhood of Mizpah. Over the smaller cattle (sheep and goats) Jaziz the Hagarite, of the people Hagar (cf. v. 10), was set. The oversight, consequently, of the camels and sheep was committed to a Hagarite and an Ishmaelite, probably because they pastured in the neighbourhood where the Ishmaelites and Hagarites had nomadized from early times, they having been brought under the dominion of Israel by David. The total number of these officials amounted to twelve, of whom we may conjecture that the ten overseers over the agricultural and cattle-breeding affairs of the king had to deliver over the annual proceeds of the property committed to them to the chief manager of the treasures in the field, in the cities, and villages, and towns.

Vers. 32–34. *David's councillors.* This catalogue of the king's officials forms a supplementary companion piece to the catalogues of the public officials, chap. xviii. 15–17, and 2 Sam. viii. 15–18 and xx. 25, 26. Besides Joab, who is met with in all catalogues as prince of the host, *i.e.* commander-in-chief, we find in our catalogue partly other men introduced, partly other duties of the men formerly named, than are mentioned in these three catalogues. From this it is clear that it is not the chief public officials who are enumerated, but only the first councillors of the king, who formed as it were his senate, and that the catalogue probably is derived from the same source as the preceding cata

logues. Jonathan, the דּוֹד of David. The word דּוֹד generally denotes a father's brother; but since a Jonathan, son of Shimea, the brother of David, occurs xx. 7 and 2 Sam. xxi. 21, Schmidt and Bertheau hold him to be the same as our Jonathan, when דּוֹד would be used in the general signification of "relative," here of a nephew. Nothing certain can be ascertained in reference to it. He was יוֹעֵץ, councillor, and, as is added, a wise and learned man. סוֹפֵר is here not an official designation, but signifies *literatus*, learned, scholarly, as in Ezra vii. 6. Jehiel, the son of Hachmon, was with the children of the king, *i.e.* was governor of the royal princes.—Ver. 33. Ahithophel was also, according to 2 Sam. xv. 31, xvi. 23, David's confidential adviser, and took his own life when Absalom, in his conspiracy against David, did not regard his counsel (2 Sam. xvii.). Hushai the Archite was also a friend and adviser of David (2 Sam. xv. 37 and xvi. 16), who caused Absalom to reject Ahithophel's counsel (2 Sam. xvii.).—Ver. 34. After Ahithophel, *i.e.* after his death, was Jehoiada the son of Benaiah (*scil.* counsellor of the king), and Abiathar. As Benaiah the son of Jehoiada is elsewhere, when named among the public officials of David, called chief of the royal body-guard (cf. xviii. 17), Bertheau does not scruple to transpose the names here. But the hypothesis of such a transposition is neither necessary nor probable in the case of a name which, like Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, so frequently occurs (*e.g.* in ver. 5). Since sons not unfrequently received the name of the grandfather, Jehoiada the son of the hero Benaiah may have been named after his grandfather Jehoiada. Abiathar is without doubt the high priest of this name of Ithamar's family (xv. 11, etc.; see on v. 27–31), and is here mentioned as being also a friend and adviser of David. As to Joab, see on xviii. 15.

CHAP. XXVIII. AND XXIX.—DAVID'S LAST DIRECTIONS, AND HIS DEATH.

In order to give over the throne before his death to his son Solomon, and so secure to him the succession, and facilitate his accomplishment of the great work of his reign, the building of the temple, David summoned the estates of his kingdom, the court officials, and the heroes of the people in Jerusalem. In a solemn address he designated Solomon as his divinely chosen successor on the throne, and exhorted him to keep the command-

ments of God, to serve the Lord with devoted heart, and to build Him a house for a sanctuary (xxviii. 1–10). He then committed to Solomon the sketches and plans for the sacred buildings and sacred objects of various sorts, with the confident promise that he, by the help of God, and with the co-operation of the priests and of the people, would complete the work (vers. 11–21). Finally, he announced, in the presence of the whole assembly, that he gave over his treasures of gold and silver to this building, and called upon the chiefs of the people and kingdom for a voluntary contribution for the same purpose; and on their freely answering this call, concluded with a solemn prayer of thanks, to which the whole assembly responded, bowing low before God and the king (xxix. 1–20). This reverence they confirmed by numerous burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and by the repeated anointing of Solomon to be king (vers. 21 and 22).

Chap. xxviii. 1–10. David summoned the estates of the kingdom, and presented Solomon to them as his divinely chosen successor on the throne.—Ver. 1. "All the princes of Israel" is the general designation, which is then specialized. In it are included the princes of the tribes who are enumerated in chap. xxvii. 16–22, and the princes of the divisions which served the king, who are enumerated in xxvii. 1–15; the princes of thousands and hundreds are the chiefs and captains of the twelve army corps (xxvii. 1), who are subordinate to the princes of the host; the princes of all the substance and possessions of the king are the managers of the domains enumerated in xxvii. 25–31. וּלְבָנָיו is added to לַמֶּלֶךְ, "of the king and of his sons," because the possession of the king as a property belonging to the house (*domanium*) belonged also to his sons. The Vulg. incorrectly translates לְבָנָיו *filiosque suos*, for in this connection ל cannot be *nota accus.* עִם הַסָּרִיסִים, with (together with) the court officials. סָרִיסִים are not eunuchs, but royal chamberlains, as in 1 Sam. viii. 15; see on Gen. xxxvii. 36. הַגִּבֹּרִים has been well translated by the LXX. τοὺς δυνάστας, for here the word does not denote properly or merely war heroes, but powerful influential men in general, who did not occupy any special public or court office. In וְלָכָל־גִּבּוֹר חָיִל all the others who were present in the assembly are comprehended.—Ver. 2. The king rose to his feet, in order to speak to the assembly standing; till then he had, on account of his age and feebleness, sat, not lain in bed, as Kimchi and others infer from 1 Kings i.—Ver. 3. The address, "My brethren and

my people," is expressive of condescending goodwill; cf. on אֲחַי, 1 Sam. xxx. 23, 2 Sam. xix. 13. What David here says (vers. 3–7) of the temple building, he had in substance already (chap. xxii. 7–13) said to his son Solomon: I, it was with my heart, *i.e.* I purposed (cf. xxii. 7) to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of Jahve, and the footstool of the feet of our God, *i.e.* for the ark and for the capporeth upon it, which is called "footstool of the feet of our God," because God was enthroned above the cherubim upon the capporeth. "And I have prepared to build," *i.e.* prepared labour and materials, xxii. 2–4 and 14 ff.; on ver. 3, cf. xxii. 8.—In ver. 4 David states how his election to be king was of God, who had chosen Judah to be ruler (cf. v. 2); and just so (vers. 5, 6) had God chosen Solomon from among all his many sons to be heir to the throne, and committed to him the building of the temple; cf. xxii. 10. The expression, "throne of the kingdom of Jahve," and more briefly, "throne of Jahve" (xxix. 23, or מַלְכוּתִי, xvii. 14), denotes that Jahve is the true King of Israel, and had chosen Solomon as He had chosen David to be holder and administrator of His kingly dominion.—On vers. 6*b* and 7, cf. xxii. 10 and xvii. 11 f.; and with the condition אִם יֶחֱזַק וגו׳, cf. 1 Kings iii. 14, ix. 4, where God imposes an exactly similar condition on Solomon. כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה, as is done at this time; cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, and the commentary on Deut. ii. 30. On this speech J. H. Mich. well remarks: "*tota hæc narratio aptata est ad propositum Davidis: vult enim Salomoni auctoritatem apud principes et fratres conciliare, ostendendo, non humana, sed divina voluntate electum esse.*" To this David adds an exhortation to the whole assembly (ver. 8), and to his son Solomon (ver. 9), to hold fast their faithfulness to God.—Ver. 8. "And now before the eyes of all Israel, of the congregation of Jahve (collected in their representatives), and into the ears of our God (so that God should hear as witness), (*scil.* I exhort you), observe and seek . . . that ye may possess (that is, keep as possession) the good land (cf. Deut. iv. 21 f.), and leave it to your sons after you for an inheritance" (cf. Lev. xxv. 46).—In ver. 9 he turns to his son Solomon in particular with the fatherly exhortation, "My son, know thou the God of thy father (*i.e.* of David, who has ever helped him, Ps. xviii. 3), and serve Him with whole (undivided) heart (xxix. 9, 19; 1 Kings viii. 61) and willing soul." To strengthen this exhortation, David reminds him of the omniscience of God. Jahve seeks, *i.e.* searches, all

hearts and knows all the imagination of the thoughts; cf. Ps. vii. 10, 1 Sam. xvi. 7, Jer. xi. 20, Ps. cxxxix. 1 ff. יֵצֶר מַחְשָׁבוֹת as in Gen. vi. 5. With the last clauses cf. Deut. iv. 29, Isa. lv. 6, etc. יְזַנֶּיךָּ, only here and 2 Chron. xi. 14, xxix. 19.—With ver. 10 the discourse turns to the building of the temple. The exhortation חֲזַק וַעֲשֵׂה is interrupted by the giving over of the sketches and plans of the temple, and is taken up again only in ver. 20.

Vers. 11–19. *The sketches and plans of the sacred buildings and vessels.*—The enumeration begins in ver. 11 with the temple house, progressing from outside to inside, and in ver. 12 goes on to the courts and the buildings in them, and in ver. 13 ff. to the vessels, etc. תַּבְנִית, model, pattern; cf. Ex. xxv. 9; here the sketches and drawings of the individual things. וְאֶת־בָּתָּיו is a contraction for וְאֶת־תַּבְנִית בָּתָּיו, and the suffix refers, as the succeeding words show, not to הָאוּלָם, but to הַבַּיִת, which may be easily supplied from the context (ver. 10). In the porch there were no houses. The בָּתִּים are the buildings of the temple house, viz. the holy place and the most holy, with the three-storeyed side-building, which are specified in the following words. גְּנָזָיו occurs only here, but is related to גִּנִּים, Esth. iii. 9, iv. 7, Ezra xxvii. 24, and to the Chald. גִּנְזִין, Ezra vii. 20, and signifies store and treasure chambers, for which the chambers of the three-storeyed side-building served. עֲלִיּוֹת are the upper chambers over the most holy place, 2 Chron. iii. 9; חֲדָרָיו הַפְּנִימִים are the inner rooms of the porch and of the holy place, since בֵּית הַכַּפֹּרֶת, the house of the ark with the mercy-seat, *i.e.* the most holy place, is mentioned immediately after.—Ver. 12. And the pattern, *i.e.* the description of all that was in the spirit with him, *i.e.* what his spirit had designed, לַחֲצֵרוֹת, as to the courts. לְכָל־הַלְּשָׁכוֹת סָבִיב, in reference to all the chambers round about, *i.e.* to all the rooms on the four sides of the courts. לְאֹצְרוֹת, for the treasures of the house of God; see on xxvi. 20.—Ver. 13. וְלַמַּחְלְקוֹת הכ׳ (continuation of לְאֹצְרוֹת), "and for the divisions of the priests and Levites, and for all the work of the service, and for all vessels,"—for for all these purposes, viz. for the sojourn of the priests and Levites in the service, as well as for the performance of the necessary works, *e.g.* preparation of the shew-bread, cooking of the sacrificial flesh, holding of the sacrificial meals, and for the storing of the vessels necessary for these purposes, the cells and buildings of the courts were set apart.—With ver. 14 begins the enumeration of the vessels. לַזָּהָב is co-ordinate with לְכָל־הַלְּשָׁכוֹת . . . לַחֲצֵרוֹת, ver. 12:

he gave him the description of that which he had in mind "with regard to the golden (*i.e.* to the golden vessels, cf. xxix. 2), according to the weight of the golden, for all vessels of every service," in regard to all silver vessels according to the weight.—With ver. 15 the construction hitherto employed is dropped. According to the usual supposition, the verb וַיִּתֵּן is to be supplied from ver. 11 after וּמִשְׁקָל: "and gave him the weight for the golden candlesticks and their golden lamps," זָהָב being in a state of free subordination to the word וְנֵרֹתֵיהֶם (J. H. Mich., Berth., and others). But apart from the fact that no analogous case can be found for such a subordination (for in 2 Chron. ix. 15, which Berth. cites as such, there is no subordination, for there the first זָהָב שָׁחוּט is the accusative of the material dependent upon וַיַּעַשׂ), the supplying of וַיִּתֵּן gives no suitable sense; for David here does not give Solomon the metal for the vessels, but, according to vers. 11, 12, 19, only a תַּבְנִית, pattern or model for them. If וַיִּתֵּן be supplied, נָתַן must be "he appointed," and so have a different sense here from that which it has in ver. 11. This appears very questionable, and it is simpler to take מִשְׁקָל without the article, as an accusative of nearer definition, and to connect the verse thus: "and (what he had in mind) as weight for the golden candlesticks and their lamps, in gold, according to the weight of each candlestick and its lamps, and for the silver candlesticks, in weight—בַּעֲבוֹדַת, according to the service of each candlestick" (as it corresponded to the service of each).—In ver. 16 the enumeration is continued in very loose connection: "And as to the gold (אֶת, *quoad*; cf. Ew. § 277, *d*) by weight (מִשְׁקָל, acc. of free subordination) for the tables of the spreading out, *i.e.* of the shew-bread (מַעֲרֶכֶת = מַעֲרֶכֶת לֶחֶם, 2 Chron. xiii. 11; see on Lev. xxiv. 6), for each table, and silver for the silver tables." Silver tables, *i.e.* tables overlaid with silver-lamin, and silver candlesticks (ver. 15), are not elsewhere expressly mentioned among the temple vessels, since the whole of the vessels are nowhere individually registered even in the description of the building of the temple. Yet, when the temple was repaired under Joash, 2 Kings xii. 14, 2 Chron. xxiv. 14, and when it was destroyed by the Chaldeans, 2 Kings xxv. 15, vessels of gold and silver are spoken of. The silver candlesticks were probably, as Kimchi has conjectured, intended for the priests engaged in the service, and the tables for reception of the sacrificial flesh after it had been prepared for burning upon the altar.—Ver. 17. Before וְהַמִּזְרָקוֹת וגו׳

we should probably supply from ver. 11: "he gave him the pattern of the forks . . . וְלִכְפוֹרֵי, and for the golden tankards, according to the weight of each tankard." For מְזָלָגוֹת and מִזְרָקוֹת, see on 2 Chron. iv. 22. קְשָׂוֹת, *σπονδεῖα*, cups for the libations, occur only in Ex, xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16, and Num. iv. 7. זָהָב טָהוֹר, in free subordination: of pure gold. כְּפוֹרִים from כָּפַר, to cover, are vessels provided with covers, tankards; only mentioned here and in Ezra i. 10, viii. 27.—Ver. 18. And (the pattern) for the altar of incense of pure gold by weight. In the second member of the verse, at the close of the enumeration, תַּבְנִית, from vers. 11, 12, is again taken up, but with לְ, which Berth. rightly takes to be *nota accus.:* and (gave him) "the model of the chariot of the cherubim of gold, as spreading out (wings), and sheltering over the ark of the covenant of Jahve." הַכְּרוּבִים is not subordinated in the genitive to הַמֶּרְכָּבָה, but is in explanatory apposition to it. The cherubim, not the ark, are the chariot upon which God enters or is throned; cf. Ps. xviii. 11, xcix. 1, Ex. xxv. 22. The conception of the cherubim set upon the golden cover of the ark as מֶרְכָּבָה is derived from the idea עַל־כְּרוּב יִרְכַּב, Ps. xviii. 11. Ezekiel, it is true, saw wheels on the throne of God under the cherubim (i. 15 ff., 26), and in accordance with this the LXX. and Vulg. have made a cherubim-chariot out of the words (*ἅρμα τῶν Χερουβίμ, quadriga cherubim*); but as against this Berth. rightly remarks, that the idea of a chariot of the cherubim does not at all appear in the two sculptured cherubim upon the ark, nor yet in our passage. לְפֹרְשִׂים (without the article, and with לְ) Berth. thinks quite unintelligible, and would alter the text, reading הַפֹּרְשִׂים וְהַסֹּכְכִים, because the two participles should be in apposition to הַכְּרוּבִים. But this is an error; for neither by the meaning of the words, nor by the passages, 2 Chron. v. 8, Ex. xxv. 20, 1 Kings viii. 7, are we compelled to make this alteration. The two first-mentioned passages prove the opposite, viz. that these participles state for what purpose the cherubim are to serve. לְפֹרְשִׂים וְסֹכְכִים have the signification of וְהָיוּ הַכְּרוּבִים פֹּרְשֵׂי כְנָפַיִם, "that the cherubim might be spreading wings and protecting" (Ex. xxv. 20), as J. H. Mich. has rightly seen. This use of לְ, where in לְ even without a verb the idea of "becoming something" lies, but which Berth. does not understand, has been already discussed, Ew. § 217, *d*, and illustrated by passages, among which 1 Chron. xxviii. 18 is one. The reference to Ex. xxv. 20 explains also the use of פֹּרֵשׂ without כְּנָפַיִם, the author of the

Chronicle not thinking it necessary to give the object of פָּרַשׂ, as he might assume that that passage would be known to readers of his book.—Ver. 19. In giving over to Solomon the model of all the parts and vessels of the temple enumerated in vers. 11–18, David said: "All this, viz. all the works of the pattern, has He taught by writing from the hand of Jahve which came upon me." הַכֹּל is more closely defined by the apposition כֹּל מַלְאֲכוֹת תַּבְנִית. That the verse contains words of David is clear from עָלַי. The subject of הִשְׂכִּיל is Jahve, which is easily supplied from מְיַד יהוה. It is, however, a question with what we should connect עָלַי. Its position before the verb, and the circumstance that הִשְׂכִּיל construed with עַל *pers.* does not elsewhere occur, are against its being taken with הִשְׂכִּיל; and there remains, therefore, only the choice between connecting it with מְיַד יהוה and with בִּכְתָב. In favour of the last, Ps. xl. 8, בְּחוּב עָלַי, prescribed to me, may be compared; and according to that, כְּתָב עָלַי can only mean, "what is prescribed to me;" cf. for the use of כְּתָב for written prescription, the command in 2 Chron. xxxv. 4. Bertheau accordingly translates בִּכְתָב מְיַד יהוה עָלַי, "by a writing given to me for a rule from Jahve's hand," and understands the law of Moses to be meant, because the description of the holy things in Ex. xxv. ff. is manifestly the basis of that in our verses. But had David wished to say nothing further than that he had taken the law in the Scriptures for the basis of his pattern for the holy things, the expression which he employs would be exceedingly forced and wilfully obscure. And, moreover, the position of the words would scarcely allow us to connect בִּכְתָב with עָלַי, for in that case we should rather have expected בִּכְתָב עָלַי מְיַד יהוה. We must there take עָלַי along with מְיַד יהוה: "writing from the hand of Jahve came upon me," *i.e.*, according to the analogy of the phrase הָיְתָה יַד יהוה עָלַי (2 Kings iii. 15, Ezek. i. 3, iii. 14, etc.), a writing coming by divine revelation, or a writing composed in consequence of divine revelation, and founded upon divine inspiration. David therefore says that he had been instructed by a writing resting upon divine inspiration as to all the works of the pattern of the temple. This need not, however, be understood to mean that David had received *exemplar vel ideam templi et vasorum sacrorum* immediately from Jahve, either by a prophet or by vision, as the model of the tabernacle was shown to Moses on the mount (Ex. xxv. 40, xxvii. 8); for it signifies only that he had not himself invented the pattern which he had committed to

writing, *i.e.* the sketches and descriptions of the temple and its furniture and vessels, but had drawn them up under the influence of divine inspiration.

Vers. 20, 21. In conclusion, David encourages his son to go forward to the work with good courage, for his God would not forsake him; and the priests and Levites, cunning workmen, and the princes, together with the whole people, would willingly support him. With the encouragement, ver. 20*a*, cf. xxii. 13; and with the promise, ver. 20*b*, cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 8, Josh. i. 5. אֱלֹהַי, my God, says David, *ut in mentem ei revocet, quomodo multis in periculis servatus sit* (Lav.). כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבוֹדָה, all the work-business, *i.e.* all the labour necessary for the building of the house of God.—Ver. 21. וְהִנֵּה is fittingly translated by Clericus, "*en habes.*" The reference which lies in the הִנֵּה to the classes of the priests and Levites, *i.e.* the priests and Levites divided into classes, does not presuppose their presence in the assembly. With the וְהִנֵּה corresponds וְעִמְּךָ, with thee, *i.e.* for assistance to thee, in the second half of the verse. The לְ before לְכָל־נָדִיב, "are all freely willing with wisdom," in the middle of the sentence introducing the subject is strange; Bertheau would therefore strike it out, thinking that, as לכל goes immediately before, and follows immediately afterwards twice, לכל here may easily be an error for כל. This is certainly possible; but since this לְ is very frequently used in the Chronicle, it is a question whether it should not be regarded as authentic, "serving to bring into emphatic prominence the idea of the כל נדיב: with thee is for each business, what regards each willing person, for also all willing persons;" cf. Ew. § 310, *a.* נָדִיב לֵב = נְדִיב, 2 Chron. xxix. 31, Ex. xxxv. 5, 22, usually denotes him who brings voluntary gifts, but here, him who voluntarily brings wisdom to every service, who willingly employs his wisdom and knowledge in a service. Cunning, intelligent workmen and artists are meant, xxii. 15, 2 Chron. ii. 6. לְכָל־דְּבָרֶיךָ, "towards all thy words," *i.e.* as thou sayest or commandest them, the princes and the people, or callest upon them for assistance in the work.

Chap. xxix. 1–9. *Contributions of the collected princes for the building of the temple.*—David then turns to the assembled princes to press upon them the furthering of the building of the temple. After referring to the youth of his son, and to the greatness of the work to be accomplished (ver. 1), he mentions what materials he has prepared for the building of the temple (ver. 2); then

further states what he has resolved to give in addition from his private resources (ver. 4); and finally, after this introduction, calls upon those present to make a voluntary collection for this great work (ver. 5). The words, "as only one hath God chosen him," form a parenthesis, which is to be translated as a relative sentence for "my son, *whom* alone God hath chosen." נַעַר עֶנֶךְ as in xxii. 5. The work is great, because not for man the palace, *scil.* is intended, *i.e.* shall be built, but for Jahve God. הַבִּירָה, the citadel, the palace; a later word, generally used of the residence of the Persian king (Esth. i. 2, 5, ii. 3; Neh. i. 1), only in Neh. ii. 8 of the citadel by the temple; here transferred to the temple as the glorious palace of Jahve, the God-king of Israel. With ver. 2*a*, cf. xxii. 14. הַזָּהָב לַזָּהָב וגו׳, the gold for the golden, etc., *i.e.* for the vessels and ornaments of gold, cf. xxviii. 14. אַבְנֵי שֹׁהַם וּמִלֻּאִים as in Ex. xxv. 7, xxxv. 9, precious stones for the ephod and choshen. שֹׁהַם, probably beryl. אַבְנֵי מִלֻּאִים, stones of filling, that is, precious stones which are put in settings. אַבְנֵי פּוּךְ, stones of pigment, *i.e.* ornament, conjecturally precious stones which, from their black colour, were in appearance like פּוּךְ, *stibium*, a common eye pigment (see 2 Kings ix. 30). אַבְנֵי רִקְמָה, stones of variegated colour, *i.e.* with veins of different colours. אֶבֶן יָקָרָה, precious stones, according to 2 Chron. iii. 6, for ornamenting the walls. אַבְנֵי שַׁיִשׁ, white marble stones. — Ver. 3. "And moreover, because I have pleasure in the house of my God, there is to me a treasure of gold and silver; it have I appointed for the house of my God over and above all that . . ." הַכִּינוֹתִי with כֹּל without the relative, cf. xv. 12.—Ver. 4. Gold 3000 talents, *i.e.* about 13½, or, reckoning according to the royal shekel, 6¾ millions of pounds; 7000 talents of silver, *circa* 2½ or 1¾ millions of pounds: see on xxii. 14. Gold of Ophir, *i.e.* the finest, best gold, corresponding to the pure silver. לָטוּחַ, to overlay the inner walls of the houses with gold and silver leaf. הַבָּתִּים as in xxviii. 11, the different buildings of the temple. The walls of the holy place and of the most holy, of the porch and of the upper chambers, were overlaid with gold (cf. 2 Chron. iii. 4–6, 8, 9), and probably only the inner walls of the side buildings.— Ver. 5. לַזָּהָב לַזָּהָב, for every golden thing, etc., cf. ver. 2. וּלְכָל־מְלָאכָה, and in general for every work to be wrought by the hands of the artificer. וּמִי, who then is willing (ו expressing it as the consequence). To fill one's hand to the Lord, means to provide oneself with something which one brings to the Lord; see on

Ex. xxxii. 29. The infinitive מַלְּאוֹת occurs also in Ex. xxxi. 5 and Dan. ix. 4, and along with מִלֵּא, 2 Chron. xiii. 9.—Ver. 6 f. The princes follow the example, and willingly respond to David's call. שָׂרֵי הָאָבוֹת = רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת, xxiv. 31, xxvii. 1, etc. וְלִשָּׂרֵי מְלֶאכֶת הַמ', and as regards the princes of the work of the king. The שָׂרֵי רְכוּשׁ וּמִקְנֶה לַמֶּלֶךְ, xxviii. 1, the officials enumerated in xxvii. 25–31 are meant; on ל see on xxviii. 21. They gave 5000 talents of gold (22½ or 11½ millions of pounds), and 1000 darics = 11½ millions of pounds. אֲדַרְכֹנִים, with א *prosth.* here and in Ezra viii. 27, and דַּרְכְּמוֹן, Ezra ii. 69, Neh. vii. 70 ff., does not correspond to the Greek δραχμή, Arab. *dirhem*, but to the Greek δαρεικός; as the Syrian translation ܕܪܟܡܢ, Ezra viii. 27, shows; a Persian gold coin worth about 22s. 6d. See the description of these coins, of which several specimens still exist, in Cavedoni *bibl. Numismatik*, übers. von A. Werlhof, S. 84 ff.; J. Brandis, *das Münz-Mass und Gewichtssystem in Vorderasien* (1866), S. 244; and my *bibl. Archäol.* § 127, 3. "Our historian uses the words used in his time to designate the current gold coins, without intending to assume that there were darics in use in the time of David, to state in a way intelligible to his readers the amount of the sum contributed by the princes" (Bertheau). This perfectly correct remark does not, however, explain why the author of the Chronicle has stated the contribution in gold and that in silver in different values, in talents and in darics, since the second cannot be an explanation of the first, the two sums being different. Probably the sum in darics is the amount which they contributed in gold pieces received as coins; the talents, on the other hand, probably represent the weight of the vessels and other articles of gold which they brought as offerings for the building. The amount contributed in silver is not large when compared with that in gold: 10,000 talents = £3,500,000, or one half that amount. The contribution in copper also, 18,000 talents, is not very large. Besides these, those who had stones, *i.e.* precious stones, also brought them. הִנְמְצָא אִתּוֹ, that was found with him, for: that which he (each one) had of stones they gave. The sing. אִתּוֹ is to be taken distributively, and is consequently carried on in the plural, נָתְנוּ; cf Ew. § 319, *a*. אֲצָרִים is *accus.* of subordination. נָתַן עַל יַד, to give over for administration (Ew. § 282, *b*): יְחִיאֵל, the Levite family of this name which had the oversight of the treasures of the house of God (xxvi. 21 f.).—Ver. 9. The people and

the king rejoiced over this willingness to give. בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם, as in xxviii. 9.

Vers. 10–19. *David's thanksgiving prayer.*—David gives fitting expression to his joy on the success of the deepest wish of his heart, in a prayer with which he closes the last parliament of his reign. Since according to the divine decree, not he, the man of war, but his son, the peace-king Solomon, was to build a temple to the Lord, David had taken it upon himself to prepare as far as possible for the carrying out of the work. He had also found the princes and chiefs of the people willing to further it, and to assist his son Solomon in it. In this the pious and grey-haired servant of the Lord saw a special proof of the divine favour, for which he must thank God the Lord before the whole congregation. He praises Jahve, "the God of Israel our father," ver. 10, or, as it is in ver. 18, "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, our fathers." Jahve had clearly revealed himself to David and his people as the God of Israel and of the patriarchs, by fulfilling in so glorious a manner to the people of Israel, by David, the promises made to the patriarchs. God the Lord had not only by David made His people great and powerful, and secured to them the peaceful possession of the good land, by humbling all their enemies round about, but He had also awakened in the heart of the people such love to and trust in their God, that the assembled dignitaries of the kingdom showed themselves perfectly willing to assist in furthering the building of the house of God. In this God had revealed His greatness, power, glory, etc., as David (in vers. 11, 12) acknowledges with praise: "Thine, Jahve, is the greatness," etc. הַגְּדֻלָּה, according to the Aramaic usage, *gloria*, splendour, honour. כִּי כֹל, yea all, still dependent on לְךָ at the commencement of the sentence, so that we do not need to supply לְךָ after כִּי. "Thine is the dominion, and the raising of oneself to be head over all." In His מַמְלָכָה God reveals His greatness, might, glory, etc. מִתְנַשֵּׂא is not a participle requiring אַתָּה, "thou art," to be supplied (Berth.), but an appellative, an Aramaic infinitive,—the raising oneself (Ew. § 160, *e*).—Ver. 12. "From Thee came the riches and the glory . . ., and in Thy hand is it (it lies) to make all things great and strong."—Ver. 13. For this we must thank God, and sing praise to His holy name. By the partic. מוֹדִים, from הוֹדָה, confess, praise, the praising of God is characterized as an enduring praise, always rising anew.—Ver. 14. For man of him-

self can give nothing: "What am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to show ourselves so liberal?" עָצַר כֹּחַ, to hold strength together; both to have power to do anything (here and 2 Chron. ii. 5, xxii. 9), and also to retain strength (2 Chron. xiii. 20; Dan. x. 8, 16, xi. 6), only found in Daniel and in the Chronicle. הִתְנַדֵּב, to show oneself willing, especially in giving. כָּזֹאת refers to the contribution to the building of the temple (vers. 3–8). From Thy hand, *i.e.* that which is received from Thee, have we given.—Ver. 15. For we are strangers (as Ps. xxxix. 13), *i.e.* in this connection we have no property, no enduring possession, since God had only given them the usufruct of the land; and as of the land, so also of all the property of man, it is only a gift committed to us by God in usufruct. The truth that our life is a pilgrimage (Heb. xi. 12, 13, 14), is presented to us by the brevity of life. As a shadow, so swiftly passing away, are our days upon the earth (cf. Job viii. 9, Ps. xc. 9 f., cii. 12, cxliv. 4). וְאֵין מִקְוֶה, and there is no trust, *scil.* in the continuance of life (cf. Jer. xiv. 8).—Ver. 16. All the riches which we have prepared for the building of the temple come from the hand of God. The Keth. הִיא is neuter, the Keri הוּא corresponds to הֲהָמוֹן.—Ver. 17. Before God, who searches the heart and loves uprightness, David can declare that he has willingly given in uprightness of heart, and that the people also have, to his joy, shown equal willingness. כָּל־אֵלֶּה, all the treasures enumerated (vers. 3–8). The plural הִנְדַּבְנוּ refers to עַמְּךָ, and the demonstrative הַ stands for אֲשֶׁר as in xxvi. 28.—Ver. 18. He prays that God may enable the people ever to retain this frame of heart. זֹאת is more closely defined by לְיֵצֶר מח', viz. the frame of the thoughts of the heart of Thy people. "And direct their heart (the people's heart) to Thee," cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3.—Ver. 19. And to Solomon may God give a whole (undivided) heart, that he may keep all the divine commands and do them, and build the temple. לֵב שָׁלֵם as in ver. 9. לַעֲשׂוֹת הַכֹּל, that he may do all, *scil.* that the commands, testimonies, and statutes require. For הַבִּירָה, see ver. 1.

Vers. 20–22. *Close of the public assembly.*—Ver. 20. At the conclusion of the prayer, David calls upon the whole assembly to praise God; which they do, bowing before God and the king, and worshipping. וַיִּקְדוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ, connected as in Ex. iv. 31, Gen. xliii. 28, etc.—Ver. 21. To seal their confession, thus made in word and deed, the assembled dignitaries prepared a great sacrificial feast to the Lord on the following day. They sacrificed to

the Lord sacrifices, viz. 1000 bullocks, 1000 rams, and 1000 lambs as burnt-offering, with drink-offerings to correspond, and sacrifices, *i.e.* thank-offerings (שְׁלָמִים), in multitude for all Israel, *i.e.* so that all those present could take part in the sacrificial meal prepared from these sacrifices. While זְבָחִים in the first clause is the general designation of the bloody offerings as distinguished from the meat-offerings, in the last clause it is restricted by the contrast with עֹלוֹת and the שְׁלָמִים, from which joyous sacrificial meals were prepared.—Ver. 22. On this day they made Solomon king a second time, anointing him king to the Lord, and Zadok to be priest, *i.e.* high priest. The שֵׁנִית refers back to chap. xxiii. 1, and the first anointing of Solomon narrated in 1 Kings i. 32 ff. לִיהוָה, not: before Jahve, which לְ cannot signify, but: "to Jahve," in accordance with His will expressed in His choice of Solomon (xxviii. 4). The לְ before צָדוֹק is *nota accus.*, as in לִשְׁלֹמֹה. From the last words we learn that Zadok received the high-priesthood with the consent of the estates of the kingdom.

Vers. 23–30. *Solomon's accession and David's death*, with a statement as to the length of his reign and the sources of the history.—Vers. 23–25. The remarks on Solomon's accession and reign contained in these verses are necessary to the complete conclusion of a history of David's reign, for they show how David's wishes for his son Solomon, whom Jahve chose to be his successor, were fulfilled. On עַל־כִּסֵּא יהוה see the commentary on xxviii. 5. וַיִּצְלַח, he was prosperous, corresponds to the hope expressed by David (xxii. 13), which was also fulfilled by the submission of all princes and heroes, and also of all the king's sons, to King Solomon (ver. 24). There can hardly, however, be in these last words a reference to the frustrating of Adonijah's attempted usurpation of the throne (cf. 1 Kings i. 15 ff.). נָתַן יָד תַּחַת=to submit. But this meaning is not derived (Rashi) from the custom of taking oaths of fidelity by clasping of hands, for this custom cannot be certainly proved to have existed among the Israelites; still less can it have arisen from the ancient custom mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 2, 9, xlvii. 29, of laying the hand under the thigh of the person to whom one swore in making promises with oath. The hand, as the instrument of all activity, is here simply a symbol of power.—Ver. 25. Jahve made Solomon very great, by giving him the glory of the kingdom, as no king before him had had it. כֹּל is to be taken along with לֹא, *nullus*, and does not presuppose a number of kings before Solomon; it involves only

more than one. Before him, Saul, Ishbosheth, and David had been kings, and the kingship of the latter had been covered with glory.—Ver. 26-30. עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל (as in xi. 1, xii. 38), referring to the fact that David had been for a time king only over Judah, but had been recognised at a later time by all the tribes of Israel as king. The length of his reign as in 1 Kings ii. 11. In Hebron seven years; according to 2 Sam. v. 5, more exactly seven years and six months.—Ver. 28. On עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד cf. 1 Kings iii. 13, 2 Chron. xvii. 5.—Ver. 29. On the authorities cited see the Introduction, p. 30 ff. עִם כָּל־מַלְכוּתוֹ וגו׳ goes with הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים: the acts of David . . . are written . . . together with his whole reign and his power, and the times which went over him. הָעִתִּים, the times, with their joys and sorrows, as in Ps. xxxi. 16, Job xxiv. 1. The kingdoms of the lands (cf. 2 Chron. xii. 8, xvii. 10, xx. 29) are the kingdoms with which the Israelites under David came into contact,—Philistia, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Aram.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES.

III. HISTORY OF SOLOMON'S KINGSHIP.—CHAP. I.–IX.

THE kingship of Solomon centres in the building of the temple of the Lord, and the account of that begins in chap. ii. with a statement of the preparations which Solomon made for the accomplishment of this great work, so much pressed upon him by his father, and concludes in chap. vii. with the answer which the Lord gave to his consecrating prayer in a vision. In chap. i., before the history of the temple building, we have an account of the sacrifice at Gibeon by which Solomon inaugurated his reign (ver. 1–13), with some short notices of his power and riches (vers. 14–17); and in chap. viii. and ix., after the temple building, we have summary statements about the palaces and cities which he built (viii. 1–11), the arrangement of the regular religious service (vers. 12–16), the voyage to Ophir (vers. 17 and 18), the visit of the queen of Sheba (ix. 1–12), his riches and his royal magnificence and glory (vers. 13–28), with the concluding notices of the duration of his reign, and of his death (vers. 29, 30). If we compare with this the description of Solomon's reign in 1 Kings i.–xi., we find that in the Chronicle not only are the narratives of his accession to the throne in consequence of Adonijah's attempted usurpation, and his confirming his kingdom by punishing the revolter (1 Kings chap. i. and ii.), of his marriage to the Egyptian princess (iii. 1 and 2), his wise judgment (iii. 16–28), his public officers, his official men, his royal magnificence and glory (1 Kings iv. 1–v. 14), omitted, but also the accounts of the building of his palace (1 Kings vii. 1–12), of his idolatry, and of the adversaries who rose against him (1 Kings xi. 1–40). On the other hand, the description of the building and consecration of the temple is supplemented by various important details which are omitted from the first book of Kings. Hence it is clear that the author of the Chronicle purposed only to portray more exactly the building of

the house of God, and has only shortly touched upon all the other undertakings of this wise and fortunate king.

CHAP. I. 1–17.—SOLOMON'S SACRIFICE, AND THE THEOPHANY AT GIBEON. CHARIOTS, HORSES, AND RICHES OF SOLOMON.

Vers. 1–13. *The sacrifice at Gibeon, and the theophany.*—Vers. 1–6. When Solomon had established himself upon his throne, he went with the princes and representatives of the congregation of Israel to Gibeon, to seek for the divine blessing upon his reign by a solemn sacrifice to be offered there before the tabernacle. Ver. 1 forms, as it were, the superscription of the account of Solomon's reign which follows. In וַיִּתְחַזֵּק וגו׳ = Solomon established himself in his kingdom, *i.e.* he became strong and mighty in his kingdom, the older commentators saw a reference to the defeat of Adonijah, the pretender to the crown, and his followers (1 Kings ii.). But this view of the words is too narrow; we find the same remark made of other kings whose succession to the throne had not been questioned (cf. xii. 13, xiii. 21, xvii. 1, and xxi. 4), and the remark refers to the whole reign,—to all that Solomon undertook in order to establish a firm dominion, not merely to his entry upon it. With this view of the words, the second clause, "his God was with him, and made him very great," coincides. God gave His blessing to all that Solomon did for this end. With the last words cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 25.

We have an account of the sacrifice at Gibeon (vers. 7–13) in 1 Kings iii. 4–15 also. The two narratives agree in all the main points, but, in so far as their form is concerned, it is at once discernible that they are two independent descriptions of the same thing, but derived from the same sources. In 1 Kings iii. the theophany—in our text, on the contrary, that aspect of the sacrifice which connected it with the public worship—is more circumstantially narrated. While in 1 Kings iii. 4 it is briefly said the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, our historian records that Solomon summoned the princes and representatives of the people to this solemn act, and accompanied by them went to Gibeon. This sacrifice was no mere private sacrifice,—it was the religious consecration of the opening of his reign, at which the estates of the kingdom were present as a matter of course. "All Israel" is defined by "the princes over the thousands . . ., the

judges, and all the honourable;" then לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל is again taken up and explained by the apposition רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת: to all Israel, viz. the heads of the fathers'-houses. לְ is to be repeated before רָאשֵׁי. What Solomon said to all Israel through its representatives, is not communicated; but it may be gathered from what succeeds, that he summoned them to accompany him to Gibeon to offer the sacrifice. The reason why he offered his sacrifice at the בָּמָה, *i.e.* place of sacrifice, is given in ver. 3 f. There the Mosaic tabernacle stood, yet without the ark, which David had caused to be brought up from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem (1 Chron. xiii. and xv f.). In בַּהֶכִין לוֹ the article in בַּ represents the relative בַּאֲשֶׁר = אֲשֶׁר or בִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין לוֹ; cf. Jud. v. 27, Ruth i. 16, 1 Kings xxi. 19; see on 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. Although the ark was separated from the tabernacle, yet by the latter at Gibeon was the Mosaic altar of burnt-offering, and on that account the sanctuary at Gibeon was Jahve's dwelling, and the legal place of worship for burnt-offerings of national-theocratic import. "As our historian here brings forward emphatically the fact that Solomon offered his burnt-offering at the legal place of worship, so he points out in 1 Chron. xxi. 28–xxx. 1, how David was only brought by extraordinary events, and special signs from God, to sacrifice on the altar of burnt-offering erected by him on the threshing-floor of Ornan, and also states how he was prevented from offering his burnt-offering in Gibeon" (Berth.). As to Bezaleel, the maker of the brazen altar, cf. Ex. xxxi. 2 and xxxvii. 1. Instead of שָׁם, which most manuscripts and many editions have before לִפְנֵי, and which the Targ. and Syr. also express, there is found in most editions of the 16th century, and also in manuscripts, שָׂם, which the LXX. and Vulgate also read. The reading שָׂם is unquestionably better and more correct, and the Masoretic pointing שָׁם, *posuit*, has arisen by an undue assimilation of it to Ex. xl. 29. The suffix in יְדָרְשֵׁהוּ does not refer to the altar, but to the preceding word יהוה; cf. דָּרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים, 1 Chron. xxi. 30, xv. 13, etc.—Vers. 7–13. The theophany, cf. 1 Kings iii. 5–15. In that night, *i.e.* on the night succeeding the day of the sacrifice. The appearance of God by night points to a dream, and in 1 Kings xxxv. 15 we are expressly informed that He appeared in a vision. Solomon's address to God, vers. 8–10, is in 1 Kings v. 6–10 given more at length. The mode of expression brings to mind 1 Chron. xvii. 23, and recurs in 2 Chron. vi. 17, 1 Kings viii. 26. מְרַע, with Pathach in the second syllable,

elsewhere מָדַע (vers. 11, 12), occurs elsewhere only in Dan. i. 4, 17, Eccles. x. 20.—Vers. 11 and 12. The divine promise. Here עֹשֶׁר is strengthened by the addition נְכָסִים, treasures (Josh. xxii. 8; Eccles. v. 18, vi. 2). אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁפֹּט, *ut judicare possis.* In general, the mode of expression is briefer than in 1 Kings iii. 11–13, and the conditional promise, "long life" (1 Kings iii. 14), is omitted, because Solomon did not fulfil the condition, and the promise was not fulfilled. In ver. 13 לְבָמָה is unintelligible, and has probably come into our text only by a backward glance at ver. 3, instead of מֵהַבָּמָה, which the contents demand, and as the LXX. and Vulgate have rightly translated it. The addition, "from before the tabernacle," which seems superfluous after the preceding "from the Bamah at Gibeon," is inserted in order again to point to the place of sacrifice at Gibeon, and to the legal validity of the sacrifices offered there (Berth.). According to 1 Kings iii. 15, Solomon, on his return to Jerusalem, offered before the ark still other burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, and prepared a meal for his servants. This is omitted by the author of the Chronicle, because these sacrifices had no ultimate import for Solomon's reign, and not, as Then. supposes, because in his view only the sacrifices offered on the ancient brazen altar of burnt-offering belonging to the temple had legal validity. For he narrates at length in 1 Chron. xxi. 18, 26 ff. how God Himself directed David to sacrifice in Jerusalem, and how the sacrifice offered there was graciously accepted by fire from heaven, and the threshing-floor of Araunah thereby consecrated as a place of sacrifice; and it is only with the purpose of explaining to his readers why Solomon offered the solemn burnt-offering in Gibeon, and not, as we should have expected from 1 Chron. xxi., in Jerusalem, that he is so circumstantial in his statements as to the tabernacle. The last clause of ver. 13, "and he was king over Israel," does not belong to the section treating of the sacrifice at Gibeon, but corresponds to the remark in 1 Kings iv. 1, and forms the transition to what follows.

Vers. 14–17. *Solomon's chariots, horses, and riches.*—In order to prove by facts the fulfilment of the divine promise which Solomon received in answer to his prayer at Gibeon, we have in 1 Kings iii. 16–28 a narrative of Solomon's wise judgment, then in chap. iv. an account of his public officers; and in chap. v. 1–14 the royal magnificence, glory, and wisdom of his reign is further portrayed. In our Chronicle, on the contrary, we have in vers. 14–17 only a short statement as to his chariots and horses, and

the wealth in silver and gold to be found in the land, merely for the purpose of showing how God had given him riches and possessions. This statement recurs verbally in 1 Kings x. 26–29, in the concluding remarks on the riches and splendour of Solomon's reign; while in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. ix. 13–28, it is repeated in an abridged form, and interwoven with other statements. From this we see in how free and peculiar a manner the author of the Chronicle has made use of his authorities, and how he has arranged the material derived from them according to his own special plan.[1] For the commentary on this section, see on 1 Kings x. 26–28.—Vers. 14, 15, with the exception of one divergence in form and one in matter, correspond word for word to 1 Kings x. 26 and 27. Instead of וַיְנִיחֵם, he led them (Kings), there stands in ver. 15, as in ix. 25, the more expressive word וַיַּנִּיחֵם, "he laid them" in the chariot cities; and in ver. 15 וְאֶת־הָעֲרָבָה is added to אֶת־הַבָּקָר, while *it* is omitted from both 1 Kings x. 27 and also 2 Chron. ix. 27. It is, however, very suitable in this connection, since the comparison "like stones" has reference to quantity, and Solomon had collected not only silver, but also gold, in quantity.—Vers. 16, 17 coincide with 1 Kings x. 28, 29, except that מִקְוֵה is used for מִקְוֶה, and וַתַּעֲלֶה וַתֵּצֵא is altered into וַיַּעֲלוּ וַיּוֹצִיאוּ. For the commentary on these verses, see 1 Kings x. 28 f.

CHAP. I. 18–II. 17. SOLOMON'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE. (CF. 1 KINGS V. 15–32.)

The account of these is introduced by i. 18: "Solomon thought to build." אָמַר with an infinitive following does not signify here to command one to do anything, as *e.g.* in 1 Chron. xxi. 17, but to purpose to do something, as *e.g.* in 1 Kings v. 19. For לְשֵׁם יהוה, see on 1 Kings v. 17. בַּיִת לְמַלְכוּתוֹ, house for his kingdom, *i.e.* the royal palace. The building of this palace is indeed shortly spoken of in ii. 11, vii. 11, and viii. 1, but is not in the Chronicle described in detail as in 1 Kings vii. 1–12.

[1] The assertion of Thenius on 1 Kings x. 26 ff., that he found this section in his authorities in two different places and in different connections, copied them mechanically, and only towards the end of the second passage remarked the repetition and then abridged the statement, is at once refuted by observing, that in the supposed repetition the first half (ix. 25, 26) does not at all agree with 1 Kings x. 26, but coincides with the statement in 1 Kings v. 6, 7.

With chap. ii. 1 begins the account of the preparations which Solomon made for the erection of these buildings, especially of the temple building, accompanied by a statement that the king caused all the workmen of the necessary sort in his kingdom to be numbered. There follows thereafter an account of the negotiations with King Hiram of Tyre in regard to the sending of a skilful architect, and of the necessary materials, such as cedar wood and hewn stones, from Lebanon (vers. 2–15); and, in conclusion, the statements as to the levying of the statute labourers of Israel (ver. 1) are repeated and rendered more complete (vers. 16, 17). If we compare the parallel account in 1 Kings v. 15–32, we find that Solomon's negotiation with Hiram about the proposed buildings is preceded (ver. 15) by a notice, that Hiram, after he had heard of Solomon's accession, had sent him an embassy to congratulate him. This notice is omitted in the Chronicle, because it was of no importance in the negotiations which succeeded. In the account of Solomon's negotiation with Hiram, both narratives (Chron. vers. 2–15 and 1 Kings v. 16–26) agree in the main, but differ in form so considerably, that it is manifest that they are free adaptations of one common original document, quite independent of each other, as has been already remarked on 1 Kings v. 15. On ver. 1 see further on ver. 16 f.

Vers. 2–9. Solomon, through his ambassadors, addressed himself to Huram *king* of Tyre, with the request that he would send him an architect and building wood for the temple. On the Tyrian king Huram or Hiram, the contemporary of David and Solomon, see the discussion on 2 Sam. v. 11. According to the account in 1 Kings v., Solomon asked cedar wood from Lebanon from Hiram; according to our account, which is more exact, he desired an architect, and cedar, cypress, and other wood. In 1 Kings v. the motive of Solomon's request is given in the communication to Hiram, viz. that David could not carry out the building of the proposed temple on account of his wars, but that Jahve had given him (Solomon) rest and peace, so that he now, in accordance with the divine promise to David, desired to carry on the building (vers. 17–19). In the Chron. vers. 2–5, on the contrary, Solomon reminds the Tyrian king of the friendliness with which he had supplied his father David with cedar wood for his palace, and then announces to him his purpose to build a temple to the Lord, at the same time stating that it was designed for the worship of God, whom the heavens and the

earth cannot contain. It is clear, therefore, that both authors have expanded the fundamental thoughts of their authority in somewhat freer fashion. The apodosis of the clause beginning with כַּאֲשֶׁר is wanting, and the sentence is an anacolouthon. The apodosis should be: "do so also for me, and send me cedars." This latter clause follows in vers. 6, 7, while the first can easily be supplied, as is done *e.g.* in the Vulg., by *sic fac mecum.*— Ver. 3. "Behold, I will build." הִנֵּה with a participle of that which is imminent, what one intends to do. לְהַקְדִּישׁ לוֹ, to sanctify (the house) to Him. The infinitive clause which follows (לְהַקְטִיר וגו׳) defines more clearly the design of the temple. The temple is to be consecrated by worshipping Him there in the manner prescribed, by burning incense, etc. קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים, incense of odours, Ex. xxv. 6, which was burnt every morning and evening on the altar of incense, Ex. xxx. 7 f. The clauses which follow are to be connected by zeugma with לְהַקְטִיר, *i.e.* the verbs corresponding to the objects are to be supplied from הקטיר: "and to spread the continual spreading of bread" (Ex. xxv. 30), and to offer burnt-offerings, as is prescribed in Num. xxviii. and xxix. לְעוֹלָם זֹאת וגו׳, for ever is this enjoined upon Israel, cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.— Ver. 4. In order properly to worship Jahve by these sacrifices, the temple must be large, because Jahve is greater than all gods; cf. Ex. xviii. 11, Deut. x. 17.—Ver. 5. No one is able (עָצַר כֹּחַ as in 1 Chron. xxix. 14) to build a house in which this God could dwell, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him. These words are a reminiscence of Solomon's prayer (1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. vi. 18). How should I (Solomon) be able to build Him a house, *scil.* that He should dwell therein? In connection with this, there then comes the thought: and that is not my purpose, but only to offer incense before Him will I build a temple. הַקְטִיר is used as *pars pro toto*, to designate the whole worship of the Lord. After this declaration of the purpose, there follows in ver. 6 the request that he would send him for this end a skilful chief workman, and the necessary material, viz. costly woods. The chief workman was to be a man wise to work in gold, silver, etc. According to chap. iv. 11–16 and 1 Kings vii. 13 ff., he prepared the brazen and metal work, and the vessels of the temple; here, on the contrary, and in ver. 13 also, he is described as a man who was skilful also in purple weaving, and in stone and wood work, to denote that he was an artificer who could take charge of all the artistic work connected with

the building of the temple. To indicate this, all the costly materials which were to be employed for the temple and its vessels are enumerated. אַרְגָּוָן, the later form of אַרְגָּמָן; deep-red purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. כַּרְמִיל, occurring only here, vers. 6, 13, and in iii. 14, in the signification of the Heb. תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, crimson or scarlet purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. It is not originally a Hebrew word, but is probably derived from the Old-Persian, and has been imported, along with the thing itself, from Persia by the Hebrews. תְּכֵלֶת, deep-blue purple, hyacinth purple, see on Ex. xxv. 4. פַּתַּח פִּתּוּחִים, to make engraved work, and Ex. xxviii. 9, 11, 36, and xxxix. 6, of engraving precious stones, but used here, as כָּל־פִּתּוּחַ, ver. 13, shows, in the general signification of engraved work in metal or carved work in wood; cf. 1 Kings vi. 29. עִם־הַחֲכָמִים depends upon לַעֲשׂוֹת: to work in gold . . ., together with the wise (skilful) men which are with me in Judah. אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין, *quos comparavit*, cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 21, xxii. 15.—Ver. 7. The materials Hiram was to send were cedar, cypress, and algummim wood from Lebanon. אַלְגֻּמִּים, ver. 7 and ix. 10, instead of אַלְמֻגִּים, 1 Kings x. 11, probably means sandal wood, which was employed in the temple, according to 1 Kings x. 12, for stairs and musical instruments, and is therefore mentioned here, although it did not grow in Lebanon, but, according to ix. 10 and 1 Kings x. 11, was procured at Ophir. Here, in our enumeration, it is inexactly grouped along with the cedars and cypresses brought from Lebanon.—Ver. 8. The infinitive וְלִהְכִין cannot be regarded as the continuation of לִכְרוֹת, nor is it a continuation of the imperat. שְׁלַח לִי (ver. 7), with the signification, "and let there be prepared for me" (Berth.). It is subordinated to the preceding clauses: send me cedars, which thy people who are skilful in the matter hew, and in that my servants will assist, in order, viz. to prepare me building timber in plenty (the ו is *explic.*). On ver. 8*b* cf. ver. 4. The infin. abs. הַפְלֵא is used adverbially: "wonderfully" (Ew. § 280, *c*). In return, Solomon promises to supply the Tyrian workmen with grain, wine, and oil for their maintenance,—a circumstance which is omitted in 1 Kings v. 10; see on ver. 14. לַחֹטְבִים is more closely defined by לְכֹרְתֵי הָעֵצִים, and לְ is the introductory לְ: "and behold, as to the hewers, the fellers of trees." חָטַב, to hew (wood), and to dress it (Deut. xxix. 10; Josh. ix. 21, 23), would seem to have been supplanted by חָצַב, which in vers. 1, 17 is used for it, and it is therefore explained by כָּרַת הָעֵצִים. "I will give wheat מַכּוֹת to thy servants" (the

hewers of wood). The word מַכּוֹת gives no suitable sense; for "wheat of the strokes," for threshed wheat, would be a very extraordinary expression, even apart from the facts that wheat, which is always reckoned by measure, is as a matter of course supposed to be threshed, and that no such addition is made use of with the barley. מַכּוֹת is probably only an orthographical error for מַכֹּלֶת, food, as may be seen from 1 Kings v. 25.

Vers. 10–15. *The answer of King Hiram;* cf. 1 Kings v. 21–25.—Hiram answered בִּכְתָב, in a writing, a letter, which he sent to Solomon. In 1 Kings v. 21 Hiram first expresses his joy at Solomon's request, because it was of importance to him to be on a friendly footing with the king of Israel. In the Chronicle his writing begins with the congratulation: because Jahve loveth His people, hath He made thee king over them. Cf. for the expression, ix. 8 and 1 Kings x. 9. He then, according to both narratives, praises God that He has given David so wise a son. וַיֹּאמֶר, ver. 11, means: then he said further. The praise of God is heightened in the Chronicle by Hiram's entering into Solomon's religious ideas, calling Jahve the Creator of heaven and earth. Then, further, בֵּן חָכָם is strengthened by יוֹדֵעַ שֵׂכֶל וּבִינָה, having understanding and discernment; and this predicate is specially referred to Solomon's resolve to build a temple to the Lord. Then in ver. 12 f. he promises to send Solomon the artificer Huram-Abi. On the title אָבִי, my father, *i.e.* minister, counsellor, and the descent of this man, cf. the commentary on 1 Kings vii. 13, 14. In ver. 13 of the Chronicle his artistic skill is described in terms coinciding with Solomon's wish in ver. 6, only heightened by small additions. To the metals as materials in which he could work, there are added stone and wood work, and to the woven fabrics בּוּץ (byssus), the later word for שֵׁשׁ; and finally, to exhaust the whole, he is said to be able וְלַחְשֹׁב כָּל־מח', to devise all manner of devices which shall be put to him, as in Ex. xxxi. 4, he being thus raised to the level of Bezaleel, the chief artificer of the tabernacle. עִם־חֲכָמֶיךָ is dependent upon לַעֲשׂוֹת, as in ver. 6. The promise to send cedars and cypresses is for the sake of brevity here omitted, and only indirectly indicated in ver. 15. In ver. 14, however, it is mentioned that Hiram accepted the promised supply of grain, wine, and oil for the labourers; and ver. 15 closes with the promise to fell the wood required in Lebanon, and to cause it to be sent in floats to Joppa (Jaffa), whence Solomon could take it up

to Jerusalem. The word צֹרֶךְ, "need," is a ἅπαξ λεγ. in the Old Testament, but is very common in Aramaic writings. רִפְסוֹדוֹת, "floats," too, occurs only here instead of דִּבְרוֹת, 1 Kings v. 23, and its etymology is unknown. If we compare vers. 12–15 with the parallel account in 1 Kings v. 22–25, we find that, besides Hiram's somewhat verbose promise to fell the desired quantity of cedars and cypresses on Lebanon, and to send them in floats by sea to the place appointed by Solomon, the latter contains a request from Hiram that Solomon would give him לֶחֶם, maintenance for his house, and a concluding remark that Hiram sent Solomon cedar wood, while Solomon gave Hiram, year by year, 20,000 kor of wheat as food for his house, *i.e.* the royal household, and twenty kor beaten oil, that is, of the finest oil. In the book of Kings, therefore, the promised wages of grain, wine, and oil, which were sent to the Tyrian woodcutters, is passed over, and only the quantity of wheat and finest oil which Solomon gave to the Tyrian king for his household, year by year, in return for the timber sent, is mentioned. In the Chronicle, on the contrary, only the wages or payment to the woodcutters is mentioned, and the return made for the building timber is not spoken of; but there is no reason for bringing these two passages, which treat of different things, into harmony by alterations of the text. For further discussion of this and of the measures, see on 1 Kings v. 22.

In vers. 16 and 17 the short statement in ver. 1 as to Solomon's statute labourers is again taken up and expanded. Solomon caused all the men to be numbered who dwelt in the land of Israel as strangers, viz. the descendants of the Canaanites who were not exterminated, "according to the numbering (סְפִרָה occurs only here) as his father David had numbered them." This remark refers to 1 Chron. xxii. 2, where, however, it is only said that David commanded the strangers to be assembled. But as he caused them to be assembled in order to secure labourers for the building of the temple, he doubtless caused them to be numbered; and to this reference is here made. The numbering gave a total of 153,000 men, of whom 70,000 were made bearers of burdens, 80,000 חֹצֵב, *i.e.* probably hewers of stone and wood בָּהָר, *i.e.* on Lebanon, and 3600 foremen or overseers over the workmen, לְהַעֲבִיד אֶת־הָעָם, to cause the people to work, that is, to hold them to their task. With this cf. 1 Kings v. 29 f., where the number of the overseers is stated at 3300. This difference

is explained by the fact that in the Chronicle the total number of overseers, of higher and lower rank, is given, while in the book of Kings only the number of overseers of the lower rank is given without the higher overseers. Solomon had in all 550 higher overseers of the builders (Israelite and Canaanite),—cf. 1 Kings ix. 23; and of these, 250 were Israelites, who alone are mentioned in 2 Chron. viii. 10, while the remaining 300 were Canaanites. The total number of overseers is the same in both accounts—3850; who are divided in the Chronicle into 3600 Canaanitish and 250 Israelitish, in the book of Kings into 3300 lower and 550 higher overseers (see on 1 Kings v. 30). It is, moreover, stated in 1 Kings v. 27 f. that Solomon had levied a force of 30,000 statute labourers from among the people of Israel, with the design that a third part of them, that is, 10,000 men, should labour alternately for a month at a time in Lebanon, looking after their own affairs at home during the two following months. This levy of workmen from among the people of Israel is not mentioned in the Chronicle.

CHAP. III.–V. 1. THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE. (CF. 1 KINGS VI., VII. 13–51.)

The description of the building begins with a statement of the place where and of the time when the temple was built (iii. 1, 2). Then follows an account of the proportions of the building, a description of the individual parts, commencing on the outside and advancing inwards. First we have the porch (vers. 3, 4), then the house, *i.e.* the interior apartment or the holy place (vers. 5–7), then the holiest of all, and cherubim therein (vers. 8–13), and the veil of partition between the holy place and the most holy (ver. 14). After that we have the furniture of the court, the pillars of the porch (vers. 15–17), the brazen altar (iv. 1), the brazen sea (iv. 2–5), the ten lavers (ver. 6), the furniture of the holy place, candlesticks and tables (vers. 7, 8), and of the two courts (vers. 9, 10), and finally a summary enumeration of the brazen and golden utensils of the temple (vers. 11, 12). The description in 1 Kings vi. and vii. is differently arranged; the divine promise which Solomon received while the building was in progress, and a description of the building of the palace, being inserted: see on 1 Kings vi. and vii.

Chap. iii. *The building of the temple.*—Vers. 1–3. The statements as to the place where the temple was built (ver. 1) are found here only. Mount Moriah is manifestly the mountain in the land of Moriah where Abraham was to have sacrificed his son Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2), which had received the name הַמּוֹרִיָּה, *i.e.* "the appearance of Jahve," from that event. It is the mountain which lies to the north-east of Zion, now called Haram after the most sacred mosque of the Mohammedans, which is built there; cf. Rosen, *das Haram von Jerusalem*, Gotha 1866. אֲשֶׁר נִרְאָה לְ is usually translated: "which was pointed out to David his father." But רָאָה has not in Niphal the signification "to be pointed out," which is peculiar to the Hophal (cf. Ex. xxv. 40, xxvi. 30, Deut. iv. 35, etc.); it means only "to be seen," "to let oneself be seen," to appear, especially used of appearances of God. It cannot be shown to be anywhere used of a place which lets itself be seen, or appears to one. We must therefore translate: "on mount Moriah, where He had appeared to David his father." The unexpressed subject יהוה is easily supplied from the context; and with בְּהָר אֲשֶׁר, "on the mountain where," cf. בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, Gen. xxxv. 13 f., and Ew. § 331, *c*, 3. אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין is separated from what precedes, and connected with what follows, by the Athnach under אָבִיהוּ, and is translated, after the LXX., Vulg., and Syr., as a hyperbaton thus: "in the place where David had prepared," *scil.* the building of the temple by the laying up of the materials there (1 Chron. xxii. 5, xxix. 2). But there are no proper analogies to such a hyperbaton, since Jer. xiv. 1 and xlvi. 1 are differently constituted. Berth. therefore is of opinion that our text can only signify, "which temple he prepared on the place of David," and that this reading cannot be the original, because הֵכִין occurs elsewhere only of David's activity in preparing for the building of the temple, and "place of David" cannot, without further ceremony, mean the place which David had chosen. He would therefore transpose the words thus: בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין דָּוִיד. But this conjecture is by no means certain. In the first place, the mere transposition of the words is not sufficient; we must also alter בְּמָקוֹם into בַּמָּקוֹם, to get the required sense; and, further, Bertheau's reasons are not conclusive. הֵכִין means not merely to make ready for (zurüsten), to prepare, but also to make ready, make (bereiten), found *e.g.* 1 Kings vi. 19, Ezra iii. 3; and the frequent use of this word in reference to David's action in preparing for the building of the temple

does not prove that it has this signification here also. The clause may be quite well translated, with J. J. Rambach: "*quam domum præparavit* (*Salomo*) *in loco Davidis*." The expression "David's place," for "place which David had fixed upon," cannot in this connection be misunderstood, but yet it cannot be denied that the clause is stiff and constrained if we refer it to אֶת־בֵּית יהוה. We would therefore prefer to give up the Masoretic punctuation, and construe the words otherwise, connecting אֲשֶׁר הֵכִין with the preceding thus: where Jahve had appeared to his father David, who had prepared (the house, *i.e.* the building of it), and make בִּמְקוֹם ד׳, with the following designation of the place, to depend upon לִבְנוֹת as a further explanation of the בְּהַר הַמ׳, viz. in the place of David, *i.e.* on the place fixed by David on the threshing-floor of the Jebusite Ornan; cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 18.—In ver. 2 וַיָּחֶל לִבְנוֹת is repeated in order to fix the time of the building. In 1 Kings vi. 1 the time is fixed by its relation to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. בַּשֵּׁנִי, which the older commentators always understood of the second day of the month, is strange. Elsewhere the day of the month is always designated by the cardinal number with the addition of לַחֹדֶשׁ or יוֹם, the month having been previously given. Berth. therefore considers בַּשֵּׁנִי to be a gloss which has come into the text by a repetition of הַשֵּׁנִי, since the LXX. and Vulg. have not expressed it.—Ver. 3. "And this is Solomon's founding, to build the house of God;" *i.e.* this is the foundation which Solomon laid for the building of the house of God. The infin. Hoph. הוּסַד is used here and in Ezra iii. 11 substantively. The measurements only of the length and breadth of the building are given; the height, which is stated in 1 Kings vi. 2, is omitted here. The former, *i.e.* the ancient measurement, is the Mosaic or sacred cubit, which, according to Ezek. xl. 5 and xliii. 13, was a handbreadth longer than the civil cubit of the earlier time; see on 1 Kings vi. 2.

Vers. 4–7. *The porch and the interior of the holy place.*—Ver. 4. The porch which was before (*i.e.* in front of) the length (of the house), was twenty cubits before the breadth of the house, *i.e.* was as broad as the house. So understood, the words give an intelligible sense. הָאֹרֶךְ with the article refers back to הָאֹרֶךְ in ver. 3 (the length of the house), and עַל־פְּנֵי in the two defining clauses means "in front;" but in the first clause it is "lying in front of the house," *i.e.* built in front; in the second it is "mea-

sured across the front of the breadth of the house."[1] There is certainly either a corruption of the text, or a wrong number in the statement of the height of the porch, 120 cubits; for a front 120 cubits high to a house only thirty cubits high could not be called אוּלָם; it would have been a מִגְדָּל, a tower. It cannot with certainty be determined whether we should read twenty or thirty cubits; see in 1 Kings vi. 3. He overlaid it (the porch) with pure gold; cf. 1 Kings vi. 21.—Vers. 5–7. The interior of the holy place. Ver. 5. The "great house," *i.e.* the large apartment of the house, the holy place, he wainscotted with cypresses, and overlaid it with good gold, and carved thereon palms and garlands. חִפָּה from חָפָה, to cover, cover over, alternates with the synonymous צִפָּה in the signification to coat or overlay with wood and gold. תְּמֻרִים as in Ezek. xli. 18, for תִּמֹּרוֹת, 1 Kings vi. 29, 35, are artificial palms as wall ornaments. שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת are in Ex. xxviii. 14 small scroll-formed chains of gold wire, here spiral chain-like decorations on the walls, garlands of flowers carved on the wainscot, as we learn from 1 Kings vi. 18.—Ver. 6. And he garnished the house with precious stones for ornament (of the inner sides of the walls); cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 2, on which Bähr on 1 Kings vi. 7 appositely remarks, that the ornamenting of the walls with precious stones is very easily credible, since among the things which Solomon brought in quantity from Ophir they are expressly mentioned (1 Kings x. 11), and it was a common custom in the East so to employ them in buildings and in vessels; cf. *Symbolik des mos. Cult.* i. S. 280, 294, 297. The gold was from פַּרְוַיִם. This, the name of a place rich in gold, does not

[1] There is consequently no need to alter the text according to 1 Kings vi. 3, from which passage Berth. would interpolate the words הַבַּיִת עֶשֶׂר בָּאַמָּה רָחְבּוֹ עַל פָּנָיו between עַל־פְּנֵי and הָאֹרֶךְ, and thereby get the signification: "and the porch which is before the house, ten cubits is its breadth before the same, and the length which is before the breadth twenty cubits." But this conjecture is neither necessary nor probable. It is not necessary, for (1) the present text gives an intelligible sense; (2) the assertion that the length and breadth of the porch must be stated cannot be justified, if for no other reason, for this, that even of the main buildings all three dimensions are not given, only two being stated, and that it was not the purpose of the author of the Chronicle to give an architecturally complete statement, his main anxiety being to supply a general idea of the splendour of the temple. It is not probable; because the chronicler, if he had followed 1 Kings vi. 3, would not have written עַל־פָּנָיו, but עַל־פְּנֵי הַבַּיִת, and instead of הָאֹרֶךְ would have written וְאָרְכּוֹ, to correspond with רָחְבּוֹ.

elsewhere occur, and has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Gesen. with Wilson compares the Sanscrit *parvam*, the first, foremost, and takes it to be the name of the foremost, *i.e.* eastern regions; others hold the word to be the name of some city in southern or eastern Arabia, whence Indian gold was brought to Palestine.—In ver. 7 the garnishing of the house with gold is more exactly and completely described. He garnished the house, the beams (of the roof), the thresholds (of the doors), and its walls and its doors with gold, and carved cherubs on the walls. For details as to the internal garnishing, decoration, and gilding of the house, see 1 Kings vi. 18, 29, and 30, and for the doors, vers. 32–35.

Vers. 8–14. *The most holy place, with the figures of the cherubim and the veil;* cf. 1 Kings vi. 19–28.—The length of the most holy place in front of the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, consequently measured in the same way as the porch (ver. 4); the breadth, *i.e.* the depth of it, also twenty cubits. The height, which was the same (1 Kings vi. 20), is not stated; but instead of that we have the weight of the gold which was used for the gilding, which is omitted in 1 Kings vi., viz. 600 talents for the overlaying of the walls, and 50 shekels for the nails to fasten the sheet gold on the wainscotting. He covered the upper chambers of the most holy place also with gold; see 1 Chron. xxviii. 11. This is not noticed in 1 Kings vi.—Vers. 10 ff. The figures of the cherubim are called מַעֲשֵׂה צַעֲצָעִים, sculpture work. The ἅπ. λεγ. צעצעים comes from צוּעַ, Arab. صَاغَ, *formavit, finxit*, and signifies sculptures. The plur. יְצַפּוּ, "they overlaid them," is indefinite. The length of the wings was five cubits, and the four outspread wings extended across the whole width of the most holy place from one wall to the other. The repetition of the clauses כְּנַף הָאֶחָד . . . הַכְּרוּב הָאַחֵר (vers. 11, 12) has a distributive force: the top of one wing of each cherub reached the wall of the house, that of the other wing reached the wing of the other cherub standing by. In the repetition the masc. מַגִּיעַ alternates with the fem. מַגַּעַת, being construed in a freer way as the principal gender with the fem. כָּנָף, and also with דְּבֵקָה, *adhærebat*, in the last clause.—In ver. 12 Bertheau would strike out the word כַּנְפֵי because it does not suit פֹּרְשִׂים, which occurs in 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, 2 Chron. v. 8, 1 Kings viii. 7, in the transitive signification, "to stretch out the wings." But nothing is

gained by that, for we must then supply the erased word after פְּרָשִׂים again. And, moreover, the succeeding clause is introduced by וְהֵם, just because in the first clause the wings, and not the cherubim, were the subject. We hold the text to be correct, and translate: "the wings of these cherubim were, for they stretched them out, twenty cubits." וְהֵם refers to הַכְּרוּבִים. They stood upon their feet, consequently upright, and were, according to 1 Kings vi. 26, ten cubits high. "And their faces towards the house," *i.e.* turned towards the holy place, not having their faces turned towards each other, as was the case with the cherubim upon the Capporeth (Ex. xxv. 20).—Ver. 14. The veil between the holy place and the most holy, not mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 21, was made of the same materials and colours as the veil on the tabernacle, and was inwoven with similar cherub figures; cf. Ex. xxvi. 31. כְּרֻמִּים וּבוּץ as in ii. 13. עָלָה עַל, to bring upon; an indefinite expression for: to weave into the material.

Vers. 15–17. *The two brazen pillars* before the house, *i.e.* before the porch, whose form is more accurately described in 1 Kings vii. 15–22. The height of it is here given at thirty-five cubits, while, according to 1 Kings vii. 15, 2 Kings xxv. 17, Jer. lii. 21, it was only eighteen cubits. The number thirty-five has arisen by confounding יח = 18 with לה = 35; see on 1 Kings vii. 16. הַצְּפֶת (*ἅπ. λεγ.*) from צָפָה, overlay, cover, is the hood of the pillar, *i.e.* the capital, called in 1 Kings vii. 16 ff. כֹּתֶרֶת, crown, capital, five cubits high, as in 1 Kings vii. 16.—Ver. 16. "And he made little chains on the collar (Halsreife), and put it on the top of the pillars, and made 100 pomegranates, and put them on the chains." In the first clause of this verse, בְּדְבִיר, "in (on) the most holy place," has no meaning, for the most holy place is not here being discussed, but the pillars before the porch, or rather an ornament on the capital of these pillars. We must not therefore think of chains in the most holy place, which extended thence out to the pillars, as the Syriac and Arabic seem to have done, paraphrasing as they do: chains of fifty cubits (*i.e.* the length of the holy place and the porch). According to 1 Kings vii. 17–20 and ver. 41 f., compared with 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13, each capital consisted of two parts. The lower part was a circumvolution (Wulst) covered with chain-like net-work, one cubit high, with a setting of carved pomegranates one row above and one row below. The upper part, or that which formed the crown of the capital, was four cubits high, and carved in the form of an open lily-calyx.

In our verse it is the lower part of the capital, the circumvolution, with the chain net-work and the pomegranates, which is spoken of. From this, Bertheau concludes that דְּבִיר must signify the same as the more usual שְׂבָכָה, viz. "the lattice-work which was set about the top of the pillars, and served to fasten the pomegranates," and that ברביר has arisen out of בְּרִבְיד by a transposition of the letters. בְּרִבְיד (chains) should be read here. This conjecture so decidedly commends itself, that we regard it as certainly correct, since רְבִיד denotes in Gen. xli. 42, Ezek. xvi. 11, a necklace, and so may easily denote also a ring or hoop; but we cannot adopt the translation "chains on a ring," nor the idea that the שְׂבָכָה, since it surrounded the head of the pillars as a girdle or broad ring, is called the ring of the pillars. For this idea does not agree with the translation "chains in a ring," even when they are conceived of as "chain-like ornaments, which could scarcely otherwise be made visible on the ring than by open work." Then the chain-like decorations were not, as Bertheau thinks, on the upper and under border of the ring, but formed a net-work which surrounded the lower part of the capital of the pillar like a ring, as though a necklace had been drawn round it. רְבִיד consequently is not the same as שְׂבָכָה, but rather corresponds to that part of the capital which is called גֻּלָּה (גֻּלּוֹת) in 1 Kings vii. 14; for the שְׂבָכוֹת served to cover the גֻּלּוֹת, and were consequently placed on or over the גֻּלּוֹת, as the pomegranates were on the chains or woven work. הַגֻּלָּה denotes the curve, the circumvolution, which is in 1 Kings vii. 20 called הַבֶּטֶן, a broad-arched band, bulging towards the middle, which formed the lower part of the capital. This arched part of the capital the author of the Chronicle calls רְבִיד, ring or collar, because it may be regarded as the neck ornament of the head of the pillar, in contrast to the upper part of the capital, that consisted in lily-work, *i.e.* the ball wrought into the form of an open lily-calyx (כֹּתֶרֶת).—Ver. 17. As to the position of the pillars, and their names, see on 1 Kings vii. 21.

Chap. iv. 1–11*a*. *The sacred furniture and the courts of the temple.*—Vers. 1–6. The copper furniture of the court. Ver. 1. *The altar of burnt-offering.* Its preparation is passed over in 1 Kings vi. and vii., so that there it is only mentioned incidentally in connection with the consecration of the temple, viii. 22, 54, and ix. 25. It was twenty cubits square (long and broad) and ten cubits high, and constructed on the model of the Mosaic altar of

burnt-offering, and probably of brass plates, which enclosed the inner core, consisting of earth and unhewn stones; and if we may judge from Ezekiel's description, chap. xliii. 13–17, it rose in steps, as it were, so that at each step its extent was smaller; and the measurement of twenty cubits refers only to the lowest scale, while the space at the top, with the hearth, was only twelve cubits square; cf. my *Bibl. Archæol.* i. S. 127, with the figure, plate iii. fig. 2.—Vers. 2–5. *The brazen sea* described as in 1 Kings vii. 23–26. See the commentary on that passage, and the sketch in my *Archæol.* i. plate iii. fig. 1. The differences in substance, such as the occurrence of בְּקָרִים and הַבָּקָר, ver. 3, instead of פְּקָעִים and הַפְּקָעִים, and 3000 baths instead of 2000, are probably the result of orthographical errors in the Chronicle. יָכִיל in ver. 5 appears superfluous after the preceding מַחֲזִיק, and Berth. considers it a gloss which has come from 1 Kings into our text by mistake. But the expression is only pleonastic: "receiving baths, 3000 it held;" and there is no sufficient reason to strike out the words.—Ver. 6. *The ten lavers* which, according to 1 Kings vii. 38, stood upon ten brazen stands, *i.e.* chests provided with carriage wheels. These stands, the artistic work on which is circumstantially described in 1 Kings vii. 27–37, are omitted in the Chronicle, because they are merely subordinate parts of the lavers. The size or capacity of the lavers is not stated, only their position on both sides of the temple porch, and the purpose for which they were designed, "to wash therein, viz. the work of the burnt-offering (the flesh of the burnt-offering which was to be burnt upon the altar) they rinsed therein," being mentioned. For details, see in 1 Kings vii. 38 f. and the figure in my *Archæol.* i. plate iii. fig. 4. Occasion is here taken to mention in a supplementary way the use of the brazen sea.—Vers. 7–9. *The golden furniture of the holy place and the courts.* These three verses are not found in the parallel narrative 1 Kings vii., where in ver. 39*b* the statement as to the position of the brazen sea (ver. 10 of Chron.) follows immediately the statement of the position of the stands with the lavers. The candlesticks and the table of the shew-bread are indeed mentioned in the summary enumeration of the temple furniture, 1 Kings vii. 48 and 49, as in the corresponding passage of the Chronicle (vers. 19 and 20) they again occur; and in 1 Kings vi. 36 and vii. 12, in the description of the temple building, the inner court is spoken of, but the outer court is not expressly mentioned. No reason can be given for the

omission of these verses in 1 Kings vii.; but that they have been omitted or have dropped out, may be concluded from the fact that not only do the whole contents of our fourth chapter correspond to the section 1 Kings vii. 23–50, but both passages are rounded off by the same concluding verse (Chron. v. 1 and 1 Kings li.).—Ver. 7. He made ten golden candlesticks כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם, according to their right, *i.e.* as they should be according to the prescript, or corresponding to the prescript as to the golden candlesticks in the Mosaic sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 31 ff.). מִשְׁפָּט is the law established by the Mosaic legislation.—Ver. 8. Ten golden tables, corresponding to the ten candlesticks, and, like these, placed five on the right and five on the left side of the holy place. The tables were not intended to bear the candlesticks (Berth.), but for the shew-bread; cf. on ver. 19 and 1 Chron. xxviii. 16. And a hundred golden basins, not for the catching and sprinkling of the blood (Berth.), but, as their connection with the tables for the shew-bread shows, wine flagons, or sacrificial vessels for wine libations, probably corresponding to the מְנַקִּיּוֹת on the table of shew-bread in the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 29). The signification, wine flagons, for מִזְרָקִים, is placed beyond a doubt by Amos vi. 6.—Ver. 9. The two courts are not further described. For the court of the priests, see on 1 Kings vi. 36 and vii. 12. As to the great or outer court, the only remark made is that it had doors, and its doors, *i.e.* the folds or leaves of the doors, were overlaid with copper. In ver. 10 we have a supplementary statement as to the position of the brazen sea, which coincides with 1 Kings vii. 39; see on the passage. In ver. 11*a* the heavier brazen (copper) utensils, belonging to the altar of burnt-offering, are mentioned: סִירוֹת, pots for the removal of the ashes; יָעִים, shovels, to take the ashes out from the altar; and מִזְרָקוֹת, basins to catch and sprinkle the sacrificial blood. This half verse belongs to the preceding, notwithstanding that Huram is mentioned as the maker. This is clear beyond doubt, from the fact that the same utensils are again introduced in the summary catalogue which follows (ver. 16).

Vers. 11*b*–22. *Summary catalogue of the temple utensils and furniture.*—Vers. 11*b*–18. The brass work wrought by Huram.—Ver. 19–22. The golden furniture of the holy place and the gilded doors of the temple. This section is found also in 1 Kings vii. 40*b*–50. The enumeration of the things wrought in brass coincides to a word, with the exception of trifling linguistic differences and some defects in the text, with 1 Kings vii. 40*b*–

47. In ver. 12 הַגְּלֻוֹת וְהַכֹּתָרוֹת is the true reading, and we should so read in 1 Kings vii. 41 also, since the גְּלוֹת, circumvolutions, are to be distinguished from the כֹּתָרוֹת, crowns; see on iii. 16. In ver. 14 the first עָשָׂה is a mistake for עָשָׂר, the second for עֲשָׂרָה, Kings ver. 43; for the verb עָשָׂה is not required nor expected, as the accusative depends upon לַעֲשׂוֹת, ver. 11, while the number cannot be omitted, since it is always given with the other things. In ver. 16 מִזְלָגוֹת is an orthographic error for מִזְרָקוֹת; cf. ver. 11 and 1 Kings vii. 44. וְאֶת־כָּל־כֵּלֵיהֶם is surprising, for there is no meaning in speaking of the utensils of the utensils enumerated in ver. 12–16c. According to 1 Kings vii. 45, we should read אֵת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה. As to אָבִיו, see on ii. 12. נְחֹשֶׁת מָרוּק is accusative of the material, of polished brass; and so also נח' מְמֹרָט, 1 Kings vii. 45, with a similar signification. In reference to the rest, see the commentary on 1 Kings vii. 40 ff.—Vers. 19–22. In the enumeration of the golden furniture of the holy place, our text diverges somewhat more from 1 Kings vii. 48–50. On the difference in respect to the tables of the shew-bread, see on 1 Kings vii. 48. In ver. 20 the number and position of the candlesticks in the holy place are not stated as they are in 1 Kings vii. 49, both having been already given in ver. 7. Instead of that, their use is emphasized: to light them, according to the right, before the most holy place (כַּמִּשְׁפָּט as in ver. 7). As to the decorations and subordinate utensils of the candlesticks, see on 1 Kings vii. 49. To זָהָב, ver. 21 (accus. of the material), is added הוּא מִכְלוֹת זָהָב, "that is perfect gold." מִכְלָה, which occurs only here, is synonymous with מִכְלָל, perfection. This addition seems superfluous, because before and afterwards it is remarked of these vessels that they were of precious gold (זָהָב סָגוּר), and it is consequently omitted by the LXX., perhaps also because מִכְלוֹת was not intelligible to them. The words, probably, are meant to indicate that even the decorations and the subordinate utensils of the candlesticks (lamps, snuffers, etc.) were of solid gold, and not merely gilded.—Ver. 22. מְזַמְּרוֹת, knives, probably used along with the snuffers for the cleansing and trimming of the candlesticks and lamps, are not met with among the utensils of the tabernacle, but are here mentioned (Chron. and Kings), and in 2 Kings xii. 14 and Jer. lii. 18, among the temple utensils. Along with the מִזְרָקוֹת, sacrificial vessels (see on ver. 8), in 1 Chron. xxviii. 17 מִזְלָגוֹת, forks of gold, are also mentioned, which are not elsewhere spoken of. Among the utensils of the tabernacle we

find only מזלגות of brass, flesh-forks, as an appurtenance of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3, Num. iv. 14; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13 f.), which, however, cannot be intended here, because all the utensils here enumerated belonged to the holy place. What purpose the golden forks served cannot be determined, but the mention of golden knives might lead us to presuppose that there would be golden forks as well. That the forks are not mentioned in our verse does not render their existence doubtful, for the enumeration is not complete: *e.g.* the כַּפּוֹת, 1 Kings vii. 50, are also omitted. בַּפּוֹת, vessels for the incense, and מַחְתּוֹת, extinguishers, as in 1 Kings vii. 50. Instead of וּפִתַּח הַבַּיִת דַּלְתוֹתָיו, "and as regards the opening (door) of the house, its door-leaves," in 1 Kings vii. 50 we have וְהַפֹּתוֹת לְדַלְתוֹת הַבַּיִת, "and the hinges of the door-leaves of the house." This suggests that פתח is only an orthographical error for פֹּתוֹת; but then if we take it to be so, we must alter דַּלְתוֹתָיו into לְדַלְתוֹתָיו. And, moreover, the expression פִּתַּח הַבַּיִת, door-hinges of the house, is strange, as פּוֹת properly denotes a recess or space between, and which renders the above-mentioned conjecture improbable. The author of the Chronicle seems rather himself to have generalized the expression, and emphasizes merely the fact that even the leaves of the doors in the most holy place and on the holy place were of gold;—of course not of solid gold; but they were, as we learn from iii. 7, overlaid with gold. This interpretation is favoured by the simple זָהָב being used without the predicate סָגוּר. To the sing. פֶּתַח no objection can be made, for the word in its fundamental signification, "opening," may easily be taken collectively.—Chap. v. 1 contains the conclusion of the account of the preparation of the sacred utensils as in 1 Kings vii. 51, and with it also the whole account of the building of the temple is brought to an end. The ו before אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף and אֶת־הַזָּהָב corresponds to the Lat. *et—et*, both—and also. As to David's offerings, cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 10 and 11; and on the whole matter, compare also the remarks on 1 Kings vii. 51.

CHAP. V. 2–VII. 22.—THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE. (CF. 1 KINGS VIII. AND IX. 1–9.)

This solemnity, to which Solomon had invited the elders and heads of all Israel to Jerusalem, consisted in four acts: (*a*) the transfer of the ark into the temple (v. 2–vi. 11); (*b*) Solomon's

dedicatory prayer (vi. 12–42); (*c*) the solemn sacrifice (vii. 1–10); and (*d*) the Lord's answer to Solomon's prayer (vii. 11–22). By the first two acts the temple was dedicated by the king and the congregation of Israel to its holy purpose; by the two last it was consecrated by Jahve to be the dwelling-place of His name. If we compare our account of this solemnity with the account given in the book of Kings, we find that they agree in their main substance, and for the most part even verbally coincide. Only, in the Chronicle the part performed by the priests and Levites is described more in detail; and in treating of the third act, instead of the blessing spoken by Solomon (1 Kings viii. 54–61), we have in Chron. vii. 1–3 a narrative of the devouring of the sacrifices by fire from heaven.

Chap. v. 2–vi. 11. The first part of the celebration was the transfer of the ark from Mount Zion to the temple (v. 2–14), and in connection with this we have the words in which Solomon celebrates the entry of the Lord into the new temple (vi. 1–11). This section has been already commented on in the remarks on 1 Kings viii. 1–21, and we have here, consequently, only to set down briefly those discrepancies between our account and that other, which have any influence upon the meaning.—In ver. 3 the name of the month, בְּיֶרַח הָאֵתָנִים (Kings ver. 2), with which the supplementary clause, "that is the seventh month," is there connected, is omitted, so that we must either change הַחֹדֶשׁ into בַּחֹדֶשׁ, or supply the name of the month; for the festival is not the seventh month, but was held in that month.—Ver. 4. Instead of הַלְוִיִּם, we have in 2 Kings הַכֹּהֲנִים, the priests bare the ark; and since even according to the Chronicle (ver. 7) the priests bare the ark into the holy place, we must understand by הַלְוִיִּם such Levites were also priests.—In ver. 5, too, the words הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם are inexact, and are to be corrected by Kings ver. 4, הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם. For even if the Levitic priests bare the ark and the sacred utensils of the tabernacle into the temple, yet the tabernacle itself (the planks, hangings, and coverings of it) was borne into the temple, to be preserved as a holy relic, not by priests, but only by Levites. The conj. ו before הלוים has probably been omitted only by a copyist, who was thinking of הכהנים הלוים (Josh. iii. 3, Deut. xvii. 9, 18, etc.).—In ver. 8 וַיְכַסּוּ is an orthographical error for וַיְסֻכּוּ, 1 Kings viii. 7; cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, Ex. xxv. 20.—In ver. 9, too, מִן־הָאָרוֹן has probably come into our text only by a copyist's mistake instead of מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Kings ver. 8).—Ver. 10. אֲשֶׁר נָתַן, who

had given, *i.e.* laid in, is not so exact as אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחַ שָׁם (Kings ver. 9), but may be justified by a reference to Ex. xl. 20.—Vers. 11*b*–13*a* describe the part which the priests and Levitical singers and musicians took in the solemn act of transferring the ark to the temple,—a matter entirely passed over in the narrative in Kings viii. 11, which confines itself to the main transaction. The mention of the priests gives occasion for the remark, ver. 11*b*, "for all the priests present had sanctified themselves, but the courses were not to be observed," *i.e.* the courses of the priests (1 Chron. xxiv.) could not be observed. The festival was so great, that not merely the course appointed to perform the service of that week, but also all the courses had sanctified themselves and co-operated in the celebration. In reference to the construction אֵין לִשְׁמוֹר, cf. Ew. § 321, *b*.—Ver. 12. All the Levitic singers and musicians were also engaged in it, to make the festival glorious by song and instrumental music: "and the Levites, the singers, all of them, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, and their sons and brethren, clad in byssus, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, stood eastward from the altar, and with them priests to 120, blowing trumpets." The לְ before בְּלָם and the following noun is the introductory לְ: "as regards." On the form מחצרים, see on 1 Chron. xv. 24; on these singers and musicians, their clothing, and their instruments, see on 1 Chron. xv. 17–28 and chap. xxv. 1–8.—Ver. 13*a* runs thus literally: "And it came to pass, as one, regarding the trumpeters and the singers, that they sang with one voice to praise and thank Jahve." The meaning is: and the trumpeters and singers, together as one man, sang with one voice to praise. בְּאֶחָד is placed first for emphasis; stress is laid upon the subject, the trumpeters and singers, by the introductory לְ; and הָיָה is construed with the following infinitive (לְהַשְׁמִיעַ): it was to sound, to cause to hear, for they were causing to hear, where לְ *c. infin.* is connected with הָיָה, as the participle is elsewhere, to describe the circumstances; cf. Ew. § 237. But in order to express very strongly the idea of the *unisono* of the trumpet-sound, and the singing accompanied by the harp-playing, which lies in בְּאֶחָד, קוֹל אֶחָד is added to לְהַשְׁמִיעַ. By וּכְהֲרִים קוֹל וגו׳ all that was to be said of the song and music is drawn together in the form of a protasis, to which is joined וְהַבַּיִת מָלֵא, the apodosis both of this latter and also of the protasis which was interrupted by the parenthesis in ver. 11: "When the priests went forth from the holy place, for . . . (ver. 11), and

when they lifted up the voice with trumpets and with cymbals, and the (other) instruments of song, and with the praise of Jahve, that He is good, that His mercy endureth for ever (cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 34), then was the house filled with the cloud of the house of Jahve." The absence of the article before עָנָן requires us thus to connect the בֵּית יהוה at the close of the verse with עָנָן (*stat. constr.*), since the indefinite עָנָן (without the article) is not at all suitable here; for it is not any cloud which is here spoken of, but that which overshadowed the glory of the Lord in the most holy place.—Ver. 14, again, agrees with 1 Kings viii. 6, and has been there commented upon, chap. vi. 1–11. The words with which Solomon celebrates this wondrous evidence of divine favour, entirely coincide with the narrative in 1 Kings viii. 12–21, except that in ver. 5 f. the actual words of Solomon's speech are more completely given than in 1 Kings viii. 16, where the words, "and I have not chosen a man to be prince over my people Israel, and I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be there," are omitted. For the commentary on this address, see on 1 Kings viii. 12–21.

Chap. vi. 12–42. *Solomon's dedicatory prayer* likewise corresponds exactly with the account of it given in 1 Kings viii. 22–53 till near the end (vers. 40–42), where it takes quite a different turn. Besides this, in the introduction (ver. 13) Solomon's position during the prayer is more accurately described, it being there stated that Solomon had caused a high stage (כִּיּוֹר, a basin-like elevation) to be erected, which he ascended, and kneeling, spoke the prayer which follows. This fact is not stated in 1 Kings viii. 22, and Then. and Berth. conjecture that it has been dropped out of our text only by mistake. Perhaps so, but it may have been passed over by the author of the books of Kings as a point of subordinate importance. On the contents of the prayer, which begins with the joyful confession that the Lord had fulfilled His promise to David in reference to the building of the temple, and proceeds with a request for a further bestowment of the blessing promised to His people, and a supplication that all prayers made to the Lord in the temple may be heard, see the Com. on 1 Kings viii. 22 ff. The conclusion of the prayer in the Chronicle is different from that in 1 Kings viii. There the last supplication, that the prayers might be heard, is followed by the thought: for they (the Israelites) are Thy people and inheritance; and in the further amplification of this thought the prayer

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returns to the idea with which it commenced. In the narrative of the Chronicle, on the other hand, the supplications conclude with the general thought (ver. 40): "Now, my God, let, I beseech Thee, Thine eyes be open, and Thine ears attend unto the prayer of this place" (*i.e.* unto the prayer spoken in this place). There follows, then, the conclusion of the whole prayer,—a summons to the Lord (ver. 41 f.): "And now, Lord God, arise into Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy strength; let Thy priests, Lord God, clothe themselves in salvation, and Thy saints rejoice in good! Lord God, turn not away the face of Thine anointed: remember the pious deeds of Thy servant David." חֲסָדִים as in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 32, xxxv. 26, and Neh. xiii. 14. On this Thenius remarks, to 1 Kings viii. 53: "This conclusion is probably authentic, for there is in the text of the prayer, 1 Kings viii., no special expression of dedication, and this the summons to enter into possession of the temple very fittingly supplies. The whole contents of the conclusion are in perfect correspondence with the situation, and, as to form, nothing better could be desired. It can scarcely be thought an arbitrary addition made by the chronicler for no other reason than that the summons spoken of, if taken literally, is irreconcilable with the entrance of the cloud into the temple, of which he has already given us an account." Berth. indeed thinks that it does not thence follow that our conclusion is authentic, and considers it more probable that it was introduced because it appeared more suitable, in place of the somewhat obscure words in 1 Kings viii. 51–53, though not by the author of the Chronicle, and scarcely at an earlier time. The decision on this question can only be arrived at in connection with the question as to the origin of the statements peculiar to the Chronicle contained in chap. vii. 1–3. If we consider, in the first place, our verses in themselves, they contain no thought which Solomon might not have spoken, and consequently nothing which would tend to show that they are not authentic. It is true that the phrase אָזְנֶיךָ קַשֻּׁבוֹת occurs only here and in vii. 15, and again in Ps. cxxx. 2, and the noun נוֹחַ instead of מְנוּחָה is found only in Esth. ix. 16–18 in the form נוֹחַ; but even if these two expressions be peculiar to the later time, no further conclusion can be drawn from that, than that the author of the Chronicle has here, as often elsewhere, given the thoughts of his authority in the language of his own time. Nor is the relation in which vers. 41 and 42 stand to Ps. cxxxii. 8–10 a valid proof of the

later composition of the conclusion of our prayer. For (*a*) it is still a question whether our verses have been borrowed from Ps. cxxxii., or the verses of the psalm from our passage; and (*b*) the period when Ps. cxxxviii. was written is so doubtful, that some regard it as a Solomonic psalm, while others place it in the post-exilic period. Neither the one nor the other of these questions can be determined on convincing grounds. The appeal to the fact that the chronicler has compounded the hymn in 1 Chron. xv. also out of post-exilic psalms proves nothing, for even in that case it is at least doubtful if that be a correct account of the matter. But the further assertion, that the conclusion (ver. 42) resembles Isa. lv. 3, and that recollections of this passage may have had some effect also on the conclusion (ver. 41), is undoubtedly erroneous, for חַסְדֵי דָוִיד in ver. 42 has quite a different meaning from that which it has in Isa. lv. 3. There חַסְדֵי דָוִד are the favours granted to David by the Lord, in ver. 42, on the contrary, they are the pious deeds of David,—all that he had done for the raising and advancement of the public worship (see above). The phrase קוּמָה וגו׳, "Arise, O Lord God, into Thy rest," is modelled on the formula which was spoken when the ark was lifted and when it was set down on the journey through the wilderness, which explains both קוּמָה and the use of לְנוּחֶךָ, which is formed after בְּנוּחָהּ, Num. x. 36. The call to arise into rest is not inconsistent with the fact that the ark had already been brought into the most holy place, for קוּמָה has merely the general signification, "to set oneself to anything." The idea is, that God would now take the rest to which the throne of His glory had attained, show Himself to His people from this His throne to be the God of salvation, endue His priests, the guardians of His sanctuary, with salvation, and cause the pious to rejoice in His goodness. יִשְׂמְחוּ בַטּוֹב is generalized in Ps. cxxxii. 9 into יְרַנְּנוּ. הָשֵׁב פְּנֵי מְ׳, to turn away the face of any one, *i.e.* to deny the request, cf. 1 Kings ii. 16.

Chap. vii. 1–22. *The divine confirmation of the dedication of the temple.*—Vers. 1–10. The consecration of the sacrificial service by fire from heaven (vers. 1–3), and the sacrifices and festival of the people (vers. 4–10).—Vers. 1–3. At the conclusion of Solomon's prayer there fell fire from heaven, which devoured the burnt-offering and the thank-offering, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, so that the priests could not enter the house of Jahve. The assembled congregation, when they saw

the fire and the glory of the Lord descend, bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped God to praise. Now since this narrative is not found in 1 Kings viii. 54 ff., and there a speech of Solomon to the whole congregation, in which he thanks God for the fulfilment of His promise, and expresses the desire that the Lord would hear his prayers at all times, and bestow the promised salvation on the people, is communicated, modern criticism has rejected this narrative of the Chronicle as a later unhistorical embellishment of the temple dedication. "If we turn our attention," says Berth. in agreement with Then., "to chap. v. 11–14, and compare chap. v. 14 with our second verse, we must maintain that our historian found that there existed two different narratives of the proceedings at the dedication of the temple, and received both into his work. According to the one narrative, the clouds filled the house (1 Kings viii. 10, cf. 2 Chron. v. 11–14); and after this was done Solomon uttered the prayer, with the conclusion which we find in 1 Kings viii.; according to the other narrative, Solomon uttered the prayer, with the conclusion which we find in Chron., and God thereafter gave the confirmatory signs. Now we can hardly imagine that the course of events was, that the glory of Jahve filled the house (chap. v. 14); that then Solomon spoke the words and the prayer in chap. vi.; that while he uttered the prayer the glory of Jahve again left the house, and then came down in a way manifest to all the people (chap. vii. 3), in order to fill the house for a second time." Certainly it was not so; but the narrative itself gives no ground for any such representation. Not a word is said in the text of the glory of Jahve having left the temple during Solomon's prayer. The supposed contradiction between chap. v. 14 and the account in chap. vii. 1-3 is founded entirely on a misinterpretation of our verse. The course of events described here was, as the words run, this: Fire came down from heaven upon the sacrifices and devoured them, and the glory of the Lord filled the house; and this is in ver. 3 more exactly and precisely repeated by the statement that the people saw the fire and the glory of Jahve descend upon the house. According to these plain words, the glory of Jahve descended upon the temple in the fire which came down from heaven. In the heavenly fire which devoured the sacrifices, the assembled congregation saw the glory of the Lord descend upon the temple and fill it. But the filling of the

temple by the cloud when the ark was brought in and set in its place (v. 14) can be without difficulty reconciled with this manifestation of the divine glory in the fire. Just as the manifestation of the gracious divine presence in the temple by a cloud, as its visible vehicle, does not exclude the omnipresence of God or His sitting enthroned in heaven, God's essence not being so confined to the visible vehicle of His gracious presence among His people that He ceases thereby to be enthroned in heaven, and to manifest Himself therefrom; so the revelation of the same God from heaven by a descending fire is not excluded or set aside by the presence of the cloud in the holy place of the temple, and in the most holy. We may consequently quite well represent to ourselves the course of events, by supposing, that while the gracious presence of God enthroned above the cherubim on the ark made itself known in the cloud which filled the temple, or while the cloud filled the interior of the temple, God revealed His glory from heaven, before the eyes of the assembled congregation, in the fire which descended upon the sacrifices, so that the temple was covered or overshadowed by His glory. The parts of this double manifestation of the divine glory are clearly distinguished even in our narrative; for in chap. v. 13, 14 the cloud which filled the house, as vehicle of the manifestation of the divine glory, and which hindered the priests from standing and serving (in the house, *i.e.* in the holy place and the most holy), is spoken of; while in our verses, again, it is the glory of God which descended upon the temple in the fire coming down from heaven on the sacrifices, and so filled it that the priests could not enter it, which is noticed.

Since, therefore, the two passages involve no contradiction, the hypothesis of a compounding together of discrepant narratives loses all standing ground; and it only remains to determine the mutual relations of the two narratives, and to answer the question, why the author of the book of Kings has omitted the account of the fire which came down from heaven upon the sacrifices, and the author of the Chronicle the blessing of the congregation (1 Kings viii. 54–61). From the whole plan and character of the two histories, there can be no doubt that in these accounts we have not a perfect enumeration of all the different occurrences, but only a record of the chief things which were done. The authority made use of by both, however, doubtless contained both the blessing of the congregation (1 Kings viii.

55–61) and the account of the fire which devoured the sacrifices (2 Chron. vii. 2, 3); and probably the latter preceded the blessing spoken by Solomon to the congregation (Kings). In all probability, the fire came down from heaven immediately after the conclusion of the dedicatory prayer, and devoured the sacrifices lying upon the altar of burnt-offering; and after this had happened, Solomon turned towards the assembled congregation and praised the Lord, because He had given rest to His people, of which the completion of the temple, and the filling of it with the cloud of the divine glory, was a pledge. To record this speech of Solomon to the congregation, falls wholly in with the plan of the book of Kings, in which the prophetic interest, the realization of the divine purpose of grace by the acts and omissions of the kings, is the prominent one; while it did not lie within the scope of his purpose to enter upon a detailed history of the public worship. We should be justified in expecting the fire which devoured the sacrifices to be mentioned in the book of Kings, only if the temple had been first consecrated by this divine act to be the dwelling-place of the gracious presence of God, or a sanctuary of the Lord; but such significance the devouring of the sacrifices by fire coming forth from God did not possess. Jahve consecrated the temple to be the dwelling-place of His name, and the abode of His gracious presence, in proclaiming His presence by the cloud which filled the sanctuary, when the ark was brought into the most holy place. The devouring of the sacrifices upon the altar by fire from heaven was merely the confirmatory sign that the Lord, enthroned above the ark in the temple, accepted, well pleased, the sacrificial service carried on on the altar of this temple; and since the people could draw near to the Lord only with sacrifices before the altar, it was a confirmatory sign that He from His throne would bestow His covenant grace upon those who appeared before Him with sacrifices; cf. Lev. ix. 23 f. Implicitly, this grace was already secured to the people by God's consecrating the sanctuary to be the throne of His grace by the cloud which filled the temple; and the author of the book of Kings thought it sufficient to mention this sign, and passed over the second, which only served as a confirmation of the first. With the chronicler the case was different; for his plan to portray in detail the glory of the worship of the former time, the divine confirmation of the sacrificial worship, which was to be carried on continually in the temple as the only

legitimate place of worship, by fire from heaven, was so important that he could not leave it unmentioned; while the words of blessing spoken by Solomon to the congregation, as being already implicitly contained in the dedicatory prayer, did not appear important enough to be received into his book. For the rest, the sacrifices which the fire from heaven devoured are the sacrifices mentioned in chap. v. 6, which the king and the congregation had offered when the ark was borne into the temple. As there was an immense number of these sacrifices, they cannot all have been offered on the altar of burnt-offering, but, like the thank-offerings afterwards brought by Solomon and the congregation, must have been offered on the whole space which had been consecrated in the court for this purpose (ver. 7). This is expressly attested by ver. 7, for the הָעֹלוֹת can only be the sacrifices in v. 6, since the sacrifices in ver. 5 of our chapter were only שְׁלָמִים; cf. 1 Kings viii. 62.

Vers. 4–10. The sacrifices and the festival. After fire from heaven had devoured the sacrifices, and Solomon had praised the Lord for the fulfilment of His word, and sought for the congregation the further bestowal of the divine blessing (1 Kings viii. 54–61), the dedication of the temple was concluded by a great thank-offering, of which we have in vers. 5, 6 an account which completely agrees with 1 Kings viii. 62, 63.—In ver. 6 the author of the Chron. again makes express mention of the singing and playing of the Levites when these offerings were presented. In the performance of this sacrificial act the priests stood עַל־מִשְׁמְרוֹתָם, in their stations; but that does not signify separated according to their divisions (Berth.), but *in officiis suis* (Vulg.), *i.e. ordines suos et functiones suas a Davide* 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 7 sqq. *institutas servarunt* (Ramb.); see on Num. viii. 26. The Levites with the instruments of song of Jahve, which David had made, *i.e.* with the instruments invented and appointed by David for song to the praise of the Lord. בְּהַלֵּל דָּוִיד בְּיָדָם, not *hymnos David canentes per manus suas* (Vulg.), taking הַלֵּל דָּוִיד for the praising appointed by David, which by the hands of the Levites, *i.e.* was performed by the hands of the Levites (Berth.), but literally: when David sang praise by their hand (*i.e.* their service). This clause seems to be added to the relative clause, "which king David had made," for nearer definition, and to signify that the Levites used the same instruments which David had introduced when he praised God by the playing of the Levites. The form מחצרים as in 1 Chron. xv. 24.—

Ver. 7 contains a supplementary remark, and the ו relat. expresses only the connection of the thought, and the verb is to be translated in English by the pluperfect. For the rest, compare on vers. 4–10 the commentary on 1 Kings viii. 62–66.

Vers. 11–22. The Lord's answer to Solomon's dedicatory prayer. Cf. 1 Kings ix. 1–9. The general contents, and the order of the thoughts in the divine answer in the two texts, agree, but in the Chronicle individual thoughts are further expounded than in the book of Kings, and expressions are here and there made clear. The second clause of ver. 11 is an instance of this, where "and all the desire of Solomon, which he was pleased to do," is represented by "and all that came into Solomon's heart, to make in the house of the Lord and in his own house, he prosperously effected." Everything else is explained in the Com. on 1 Kings ix.

CHAP. VIII. — SOLOMON'S CITY-BUILDING, STATUTE LABOUR, ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND NAUTICAL UNDERTAKINGS. (CF. 1 KINGS IX. 10–28.)

The building of the temple was the most important work of Solomon's reign, as compared with which all the other undertakings of the king fall into the background; and these are consequently only summarily enumerated both in the book of Kings and in the Chronicle. In our chapter, in the first place, we have, (*a*) the building or completion of various cities, which were of importance partly as strongholds, partly as magazines, for the maintenance of the army necessary for the defence of the kingdom against hostile attacks (vers. 1–6); (*b*) the arrangement of the statute labour for the execution of all his building works (vers. 7–11); (*c*) the regulation of the sacrificial service and the public worship (vers. 12–16); and (*d*) the voyage to Ophir (vers. 17, 18). All these undertakings are recounted in the same order and in the same aphoristic way in 1 Kings ix. 10–28, but with the addition of various notes, which are not found in our narrative; while the Chronicle, again, mentions several not unimportant though subordinate circumstances, which are not found in the book of Kings; whence it is clear that in the two narratives we have merely short and mutually supplementary extracts from a more elaborate description of these matters.

Vers. 1–6. *The city-building.*—Ver. 1. The date, "at the end of twenty years, when Solomon . . . had built," agrees with that in 1 Kings ix. 10. The twenty years are to be reckoned from the commencement of the building of the temple, for he had spent seven years in the building of the temple, and thirteen years in that of his palace (1 Kings vi. 38, vii. 1).—Ver. 2 must be regarded as the apodosis of ver. 1, notwithstanding that the object, the cities which . . . precedes. The unusual position of the words is the result of the aphoristic character of the notice. As to its relation to the statement 1 Kings ix. 10–13, see the discussion on that passage. בָּנָה, ver. 2, is not to be understood of the fortification of these cities, but of their completion, for, according to 1 Kings ix. 10, 13, they were in very bad condition. וַיּוֹשֵׁב, he caused to dwell there, *i.e.* transplanted Israelites thither, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6. The account of the cities which Solomon built, *i.e.* fortified, is introduced (ver. 3) by the important statement, omitted in 1 Kings ix.: "Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed against it." חָזַק עַל, to be strong upon, that is, prevail against, conquer; cf. xxvii. 5. Hamath-zobah is not the city Hamath in Zobah, but, as we learn from ver. 4, the land or kingdom of Hamath. This did not lie, any more than the city Hamath, in Zobah, but bordered on the kingdom of Zobah: cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 3; and as to the position of Zobah, see the Commentary on 2 Sam. viii. 3. In David's time Hamath and Zobah had their own kings; and David conquered them, and made their kingdoms tributary (1 Chron. xviii. 49). Because they bordered on each other, Hamath and Zobah are here bound together as a *nomen compos.* יְחֻזַּק עָלֶיהָ signifies at least this, that these tributary kingdoms had either rebelled against Solomon, or at least had made attempts to do so; which Solomon suppressed, and in order to establish his dominion over them fortified Tadmor, *i.e.* Palmyra, and all the store cities in the land of Hamath (see on 1 Kings ix. 18 f.); for, according to 1 Kings xi. 23 ff., he had Rezon of Zobah as an enemy during his whole reign; see on that passage.—Vers. 5 ff. Besides these, he made Upper and Nether Beth-horon (see on 1 Chron. vii. 24) into fortified cities, with walls, gates, and bars. עָרֵי מָצוֹר is the second object of וַיִּבֶן, and חוֹמוֹת וגו׳ is in apposition to that. Further, he fortified Baalah, in the tribe of Dan, to defend the kingdom against the Philistines, and, according to 1 Kings ix. 15–17, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer also,—which are omitted here, while in 1 Kings ix. 17 Upper

Beth-horon is omitted,—and store cities, chariot cities, and cavalry cities; see on 1 Kings ix. 15–19.

Vers. 7–10. *On the arrangement of the statute labour*, see on 1 Kings ix. 20–23.—This note is in Chron. abruptly introduced immediately after the preceding. Ver. 7 is an absolute clause: "as regards the whole people, those." מִן־בְּנֵיהֶם (ver. 8) is not partitive: some of their sons; but is only placed before the אֲשֶׁר: those of their sons (*i.e.* of the descendants of the whole Canaanite people) who had remained in the land, whom the Israelites had not exterminated; Solomon made a levy of these for statute labourers. The מִן is wanting in 1 Kings, but is not to be struck out here on that account. Much more surprising is the אֲשֶׁר after מִן־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, ver. 9, which is likewise not found in 1 Kings, since the following verb לֹא נָתַן is not to be taken relatively, but contains the predicate of the subject contained in the words מִן־בְּנֵי יש׳. This אֲשֶׁר cannot be otherwise justified than by supposing that it is placed after מן בני יש׳, as in Ps. lxix. 27 it is placed after the subject of the relative clause, and so stands for אשר מן בני יש׳: those who were of the sons of Israel (*i.e.* Israelites) Solomon did not make . . . The preplacing of מִן בְּנֵיהֶם in ver. 8 would naturally suggest that מן בני יש׳ should also precede, in order to bring out sharply the contrast between the sons of the Canaanites and the sons of Israel.—Ver. 9. וְשָׁרֵי שְׁלִישָׁיו should be altered into שָׂרָיו וְשָׁלִישָׁיו as in 1 Kings ix. 22, for שָׁלִישִׁים are not chariot combatants, but royal adjutants; see on Ex. xiv. 7 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. Over the statute labourers 250 upper overseers were placed. שָׂרֵי נְצִיבִים, chief of the superiors, *i.e.* chief overseer. The Keth. נְצִיבִים, *præfecti*, is the true reading; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 13, 2 Chron. xvii. 2. The Keri has arisen out of 1 Kings ix. 23. These overseers were Israelites, while in the number 550 (1 Kings ix. 23) the Israelite and Canaanite upper overseers are both included; see on ii. 17. בָּעָם refers to כָּל־הָעָם, ver. 7, and denotes the Canaanite people who remained.

Ver. 11. The remark that Solomon caused Pharaoh's daughter, whom he had married (1 Kings iii. 1), to remove from the city of David into the house which he had built her, *i.e.* into that part of his newly-built palace which was appointed for the queen, is introduced here, as in 1 Kings ix. 24, because it belongs to the history of Solomon's buildings, although in the Chronicle it comes in very abruptly, the author not having mentioned Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh (1 Kings

iii. 1). The reason given for this change of residence on the part of the Egyptian princess is, that Solomon could not allow her, an Egyptian, to dwell in the palace of King David, which had been sanctified by the reception of the ark, and consequently assigned to her a dwelling in the city of David until he should have finished the building of his palace, in which she might dwell along with him. הֵמָּה is, as neuter, used instead of the singular; cf. Ew. § 318, *b*. See also on 1 Kings iii. 1 and ix. 24.

Vers. 12–16. *The sacrificial service in the new temple.* Cf. 1 Kings ix. 25, where it is merely briefly recorded that Solomon offered sacrifices three times a year on the altar built by him to the Lord. In our verses we have a detailed account of it. אָז, at that time, *scil.* when the temple building had been finished and the temple dedicated (cf. ver. 1), Solomon offered burnt-offerings upon the altar which he had built before the porch of the temple. He no longer now sacrifices upon the altar of the tabernacle at Gibeon, as in the beginning of his reign (i. 3 ff.).—Ver. 13. "Even sacrificing at the daily rate, according to the direction of Moses." These words give a supplementary and closer definition of the sacrificing in the form of an explanatory subordinate clause, which is interpolated in the principal sentence. For the following words לַשַּׁבָּתוֹת וגו׳ belong to the principal sentence (ver. 12): he offered sacrifices . . . on the sabbaths, the new moons, etc. The ו before בִּדְבַר is explicative, and that = viz.; and the infin. לְהַעֲלוֹת, according to the later usage, instead of infin. absol.; cf. Ew. § 280, *d*. The preposition בְּ (before דִּבַּר) is the so-called ב *essentiæ:* consisting in the daily (rate) to sacrifice (this); cf. Ew. § 299, *b*. The daily rate, *i.e.* that which was prescribed in the law of Moses for each day, cf. Lev. xxiii. 37. לַמּוֹעֲדוֹת is further explained by the succeeding clause: on the three chief festivals of the year.—Ver. 14 ff. He ordered the temple service, also, entirely according to the arrangement introduced by David as to the service of the priests and Levites. He appointed, according to the ordinance of David his father, *i.e.* according to the ordinance established by David, the classes of the priests (see on 1 Chron. xxiv.) to that service, and the Levites to their stations (מִשְׁמָרוֹת as in vii. 6), to praise (cf. 1 Chron. xxv.), and to serve before the priests (1 Chron. xxiii. 28 ff.), according to that which was appointed for every day, and the doorkeepers according to their courses, etc. (see 1 Chron. xxvi. 1–19). With the last words cf. Neh. xii. 24.—Ver. 15. This arrangement was

faithfully observed by the priests and Levites. The verb סוּר is here construed *c. accus.* in the signification to transgress a command (cf. Ew. § 282, *a*), and it is therefore not necessary to alter מִצְוַת into מִמִּצְוַת. עַל־הַכֹּהֲנִים depends upon מִצְוַת: the king's command concerning the priests and the Levites, *i.e.* that which David commanded them. לְכָל־דָּבָר וגו׳, in regard to all things, and especially also in regard to the treasures; cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 20–28.—With ver. 16 the account of what Solomon did for the public worship is concluded: "Now all the work of Solomon was prepared until the (this) day, the foundation of the house of Jahve until its completion; the house of Jahve was finished." מְלֹאכֶת is explained by מוּסַד. הַיּוֹם is the day on which, after the consecration of the completed temple, the regular public worship was commenced in it, which doubtless was done immediately after the dedication of the temple. Only when the regular worship according to the law of Moses, and with the arrangements as to the service of the priests and Levites established by David, had been commenced, was Solomon's work in connection with the temple completed, and the house of God שָׁלֵם, *integer*, perfect in all its parts, as it should be. The last clause, שָׁלֵם בית ׳י, is connected rhetorically with what precedes without the conjunction, and is not to be regarded as a subscription, "with which the historian concludes the whole narrative commencing with chap. i. 18" (Berth.); for שָׁלֵם does not signify "ended," or to be at an end, but to be set thoroughly (perfectly) in order.

Vers. 17 and 18. *Voyage to Ophir.* Cf. 1 Kings ix. 26–28, and the commentary on that passage, where we have discussed the divergences of our narrative, and have also come to the conclusion that Ophir is not to be sought in India, but in Southern Arabia. By אָז the date of this voyage is made to fall in the period after the building of the temple and the palace, *i.e.* in the second half of Solomon's reign.

CHAP. IX.—VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA. SOLOMON'S RICHES, AND ROYAL POWER AND GLORY; HIS DEATH. CF. 1 KINGS X. AND XI. 41–43.

Vers. 1–12. *The visit of the queen of Sheba.* Cf. 1 Kings x. 1–13.—This event is narrated as a practical proof of Solomon's extraordinary wisdom. The narrative agrees so exactly in both texts, with the exception of some few quite unimportant differ-

ences, that we must regard them as literal extracts from an original document which they have used in common. For the commentary on this section, see on 1 Kings x. 1–13.

Vers. 13–21. Solomon's revenue in gold, and the use he made of it. Cf. 1 Kings x. 14–22, and the commentary there on this section, which is identical in both narratives, with the exception of some trifling differences. Before וְהַסֹּחֲרִים מְבִיאִים the relative pronoun is to be supplied: "and what the merchants brought." As to the derivation of the word פַּחוֹת, which comes from the Aramaic form פֶּחָה, governor (ver. 14), see on Hagg. i. 1. —אֳנִיּוֹת הֹלְכוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, in ver. 21, ships going to Tarshish, is an erroneous paraphrase of אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, Tarshish-ships, *i.e.* ships built for long sea voyages; for the fleet did not go to Tartessus in Spain, but to Ophir in Southern Arabia (see on 1 Kings ix. 26 ff.). All the rest has been explained in the commentary on 1 Kings x.

In vers. 22–28, all that remained to be said of Solomon's royal glory, his riches, his wisdom, and his revenues, is in conclusion briefly summed up, as in 1 Kings x. 23–29. From ver. 25 onwards, the account given in the Chronicle diverges from that in 1 Kings x. 26 ff., in so far that what is narrated in 1 Kings x. 26–28 concerning Solomon's chariots and horses, and his trade with Egypt in horses, is here partly replaced by statements similar in import to those in 1 Kings v., because the former matters had been already treated of in Chron. i. 14–17. —Ver. 25 does not correspond to the passage 1 Kings x. 26, but in contents and language agrees with 1 Kings v. 6, and ver. 26 with 1 Kings v. 1. Only the general estimate of Solomon's riches in gold and silver, in ver. 27, repeated from chap. i. 15, corresponds to 1 Kings x. 27. Finally, in ver. 28 the whole description is rounded off; all that has already been said in chap. i. 16 and 17 as to the trade in horses with Egypt (1 Kings x. 28, 29) being drawn together into one general statement.

Vers. 29–31. Conclusion of Solomon's history.—Ver. 29. Sources; see the introduction, p. 28 f.—Ver. 30 f. The length of his reign, his death and burial, and his successor, as in 1 Kings xi. 42 f.

IV.—THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH UNTIL ITS FALL.—CHAP. X.-XXXVI.

After giving an account of the revolt of the ten tribes of Israel from the divinely chosen royal house of David (chap. x.), the author of the Chronicle narrates the history of the kingdom of Judah—to which he confines himself, to the exclusion of the history of the kingdom of the ten tribes—at much greater length than the author of the books of Kings has done. This latter portrays the development of both kingdoms, but treats only very briefly of the history of the kingdom of Judah, especially under its first rulers, and characterizes the attitude of the kings and people of Judah to the kingdom of Israel and to the Lord only in the most general way. The author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, depicts the development of Judah under Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat much more thoroughly, by communicating a considerable number of events which are omitted in the book of Kings. As we have already proved (p. 19), the purpose of the chronicler was to show, according to the varying attitude of the kings of the house of David to the Lord and to His law, how, on the one hand, God rewarded the fidelity of the kings and of the people to His covenant with prosperity and blessing, and furnished to the kingdom of Judah, in war with its enemies, power which secured the victory; and how, on the other, He took vengeance for every revolt of the kings and people, and for every fall into idolatry and superstition, by humiliations and awful judgments. And more especially from the times of the godless kings Ahaz and Manasseh does our author do this, pointing out how God suffered the people to fall ever deeper into feebleness, and dependence upon the heathen world powers, until finally, when the efforts of the pious kings Hezekiah and Josiah to bring back the people, sunk as they were in idolatry and moral corruption, to the God of their fathers and to His service failed to bring about any permanent repentance and reformation, He cast forth Judah also from His presence, and gave over Jerusalem and the temple to destruction by the Chaldeans, and caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah to be led away into exile to Babylon.

CHAP. X.—REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES FROM REHOBOAM AND THE HOUSE OF DAVID. CF. 1 KINGS XII. 1–19.

This event is narrated in our chapter, except in so far as a few unessential differences in form are concerned, exactly as we have it in 1 Kings xii. 1–19; so that we may refer for the exposition of it to the commentary on 1 Kings xii., where we have both treated the contents of this chapter, and have also discussed the deeper and more latent causes of this event, so important in its consequences.

CHAP. XI. AND XII.—REHOBOAM'S REIGN.

When the ten tribes had renounced their allegiance to Rehoboam the son of Solomon, and had made Jeroboam their king (1 Kings xii. 20), Rehoboam wished to compel them by force of arms again to submit to him, and made for this purpose a levy of all the men capable of bearing arms in Judah and Benjamin. But the prophet Shemaiah commanded him, in the name of the Lord, to desist from making war upon the Israelites, they being brethren, and Rehoboam abandoned his purpose (vers. 1–4, cf. 1 Kings xii. 21–24), and began to establish his dominion over Judah and Benjamin. His kingdom, moreover, was increased in power by the immigration of the priests and Levites, whom Jeroboam had expelled from the priesthood, and also of many God-fearing Israelites out of the ten tribes, to Judah (vers. 13–17). Rehoboam also set his family affairs in order, by nominating from among his many sons, whom his wives had borne to him, Abijah to be his successor on the throne, and making provision for the others in different parts of the country (vers. 18–23). But when he had established his royal authority, he forsook the law of Jahve, and was punished for it by the inroad of the Egyptian king Shishak, who marched through his land with a numerous host, took Jerusalem, and plundered the palace and the temple (chap. xii. 1–11), but without wholly ruining Judah; and Rehoboam was king until his death, and his son succeeded him on the throne (vers. 12–16).

The order in which these events are narrated is not chronological; they are rather grouped together according to their similarities. As Rehoboam began even in the third year of his reign to forsake the law of God, and King Shishak made war

upon Judah as early as in his fifth year, the building of the fortresses may have been begun in the first three or four years, but cannot have been ended then; still less can the sons of Rehoboam have been provided for in the time before Shishak's inroad.

Chap. xi. 1–4.—*Rehoboam's attitude to the ten rebel tribes.* Cf. 1 Kings xii. 21–24.—Rehoboam's purpose, to subdue these tribes by force of arms, and bring them again under his dominion, and the abandonment of this purpose in consequence of the command of the prophet Shemaiah, belong in a certain measure to the history of the revolt of the ten tribes from the house of David; for the revolt only became an accomplished fact when the prophet Shemaiah proclaimed in the name of the Lord that the matter was from the Lord. Ver. 3 f. Of Jahve was the thing done; He had ordained the revolt as a chastisement of the seed of David for walking no more in His ways. Solomon had, by allowing himself to be seduced by his many foreign wives into departing from the Lord, exposed himself to the divine displeasure, and his successor Rehoboam increased the guilt by his impolitic treatment of the tribes dissatisfied with Solomon's rule, and had, if not brought about the revolt, yet hastened it; but yet the conduct of these tribes was not thereby justified. Their demand that the burdens laid upon them by Solomon should be lightened, flowed from impure and godless motives, and at bottom had its root in discontent with the theocratic rule of the house of David (see on 1 Kings xii. 21 ff.). The expression, "to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin," is deeper than "the whole house of Judah and Benjamin and the remnant of the people," *i.e.* those belonging to the other tribes who were dwelling in the tribal domains of Judah and Benjamin (1 Kings xii. 23); for it characterizes all who had remained true to the house of David as Israel, *i.e.* those who walked in the footsteps of their progenitor Israel (Jacob).

Vers. 5–12.—*Rehoboam's measures for the fortifying of his kingdom.*—To defend his kingdom against hostile attacks, Rehoboam built cities for defence in Judah. The sing. לְמָצוֹר is used, because the building of cities served for the defence of the kingdom. Judah is the name of the kingdom, for the fifteen fenced cities enumerated in the following verses were situated in the tribal domains of both Benjamin and Judah.—Ver. 6. In Judah lay Bethlehem, a small city mentioned as early as in Jacob's time

(Gen. xxxv. 19), two hours south of Jerusalem, the birthplace of David and of Christ (Mic. v. 1; Matt. ii. 5, 11), now Beit-Lahm; see on Josh. xv. 59. Etam is not the place bearing the same name which is spoken of in 1 Chron. iv. 32 and Judg. xv. 8, and mentioned in the Talmud as the place where, near Solomon's Pools, the aqueduct which supplied Jerusalem with water commenced (cf. Robins. *Pal. sub voce;* Tobler, *Topogr. v. Jerus.* ii. S. 84 ff., 855 ff.);[1] nor is it to be looked for, as Robins. *loc. cit.*, and *New Bibl. Researches*, maintains, in the present village Urtâs (Artâs), for it has been identified by Tobl., *dritte Wand.* S. 89, with Ain Attân, a valley south-west from Artâs. Not only does the name Attân correspond more than Artâs with Etam, but from it the water is conducted to Jerusalem, while according to Tobler's thorough conviction it could not have been brought from Artâs. Tekoa, now Tekua, on the summit of a hill covered with ancient ruins, two hours south of Bethlehem; see on Josh. xv. 59.—Ver. 7. Beth-zur was situated where the ruin Beth-Sur now stands, midway between Urtâs and Hebron; see on Josh. xv. 58. Shoko, the present Shuweike in Wady Sumt, 3½ hours south-west from Jerusalem; see on Josh. xv. 35. Adullam, in Josh. xv. 35 included among the cities of the hill country, reckoned part of the lowland (Shephelah), *i.e.* the slope of the hills, has not yet been discovered. Tobler, *dritte Wand.* S. 151, conjectures that it is identical with the present Dula, about eight miles to the east of Beit-Jibrin; but this can hardly be correct (see against it, Arnold in Herzog's *Realenc.* xiv. S. 723). It is much more probable that its site was that of the present Deir Dubban, two hours to the north of Beit-Jibrin; see on Josh. xii. 15.—Ver. 8. Gath, a royal city of the Philistines, which was first made subject to the Israelites by David (1 Chron. xviii. 1), and was under Solomon the seat of its own king, who was subject to the Israelite king (1 Kings ii. 39), has not yet been certainly discovered; see on Josh. xiii. 3.[2] Mareshah, the city Marissa, on the road from Hebron to the

[1] For further information as to the commencement of this aqueduct, see the masterly dissertation of Dr. Herm. Zschokke, "Die versiegelte Quelle Salomo's," in the Tübinger *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1867, H. 3, S. 426 ff.

[2] C. Schick, *Reise in das Philisterland* (in "Ausland" 1867, Nr. 7, S. 162), identifies Gath with the present Tel Safieh, "an isolated conical hill in the plain, like a sentinel of a watchtower or fortress, and on that account there was so much struggling for its possession." On the other hand, Konr. Furrer,

land of the Philistines, was at a later time very important, and is not represented by the ruin Marash, twenty-four minutes to the south of Beit-Jibrin (Eleutheropolis); see on Josh. xv. 44, and Tobl. *dritte Wand.* S. 129, 142 f. Ziph is probably the Ziph mentioned in Josh. xv. 55, in the hill country of Judah, of which ruins yet remain on the hill Ziph, about an hour and a quarter south-east of Hebron; see on Josh. xv. 55. C. v. Raumer thinks, on the contrary, *Pal.* S. 222, Anm. 249, that our Ziph, as it is mentioned along with Mareshah and other cities of the lowland, cannot be identified with either of the Ziphs mentioned in Josh. xv. 24 and 55, but is probably Achzib in the lowland mentioned along with Mareshah, Josh. xv. 44; but this is very improbable.—Ver. 9. Adoraim (Ἀδωραΐμ in Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 10. 1), met with in 1 Macc. xiii. 20 as an Idumean city, Ἄδωρα, and so also frequently in Josephus, was taken by Hyrcanus, and rebuilt by Gabinius (Jos. *Antt.* xiii. 15. 4, and xiv. 5. 3) under the name Δῶρα, and often spoken of along with Marissa (s. Reland, *Palæst.* p. 547). Robinson (*Pal. sub voce*) has identified it with the present Dûra, a village about 7½ miles to the westward of Hebron. Lachish, situated in the lowland of Judah, as we learn from Josh. xv. 39, is probably the present Um Lakis, on the road from Gaza to Beit-Jibrin and Hebron, to the left hand, seven hours to the west of Beit-Jibrin, on a circular height covered with ancient walls and marble fragments, and overgrown with thistles and bushes; see on Josh. x. 3, and Pressel in Herz.'s *Realenc.* viii. S. 157 f. Azekah, situated in the neighbourhood of Shoco (ver. 7), and, according to 1 Sam. xvii. 1, in an oblique direction near Ephes-Dammim, *i.e.* Damûm, one hour east to the south of Beit-Nettif,[1] has not been re-discovered; see on Josh. x. 10.—Ver. 10. Zorah, Samson's birthplace, is represented by the ruin Sura, at the south-west end of the ridge, which encloses the Wady es Surar on the north; see on Josh. xv. 33. To the north of that again lay Ajalon, now the village Jâlo, on the verge of the plain *Merj ibn Omeir*, four leagues to the west of Gibeon; see on

Wanderungen durch Palästina, Zürich 1865, thinks, S. 133, that he has found the true situation of Gath in the Wady el Gat, northward of the ruins of Askalon.

[1] Compare the interesting note of Breytenbach (*Reybb. des heil. Landes*, i. 134) in Tobler, *dritte Wand.* S. 463: "Thence (from Azekah) three miles is the city Zochot-Jude, not far from Nobah, where David slew Goliath."

Josh. x. 12 and xix. 42. Finally, Hebron, the ancient city of the patriarchs, now called el Khalil (The friend of God, *i.e.* Abraham); see on Gen. xxiii. 2. All these fenced cities lay in the tribal domain of Judah, with the exception of Zorah and Ajalon, which were assigned to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 41 f.). These two were probably afterwards, in the time of the judges, when a part of the Danites emigrated from Zorah and Eshtaol to the north of Palestine (Judg. xviii. 1), taken possession of by Benjamites, and were afterwards reckoned to the land of Benjamin, and are here named as cities which Rehoboam fortified in Benjamin. If we glance for a moment at the geographical position of the whole fifteen cities, we see that they lay partly to the south of Jerusalem, on the road which went by Hebron to Beersheba and Egypt, partly on the western slopes of the hill country of Judah, on the road by Beit-Jibrin to Gaza, while only a few lay to the north of this road towards the Philistine plain, and there were none to the north to defend the kingdom against invasions from that side. "Rehoboam seems, therefore, to have had much more apprehension of an attack from the south and west, *i.e.* from the Egyptians, than of a war with the northern kingdom" (Berth.). Hence we may conclude that Rehoboam fortified these cities only after the inroad of the Egyptian king Shishak.—Ver. 11 f. "And he made strong the fortresses, and put captains in them," etc.; *i.e.* he increased their strength by placing them in a thoroughly efficient condition to defend themselves against attacks, appointing commandants (נְגִידִים), provisioning them, and (ver. 12) laying up stores of all kinds of arms. In this way he made them exceedingly strong. The last clause, ver. 12, "And there were to him Judah and Benjamin," corresponds to the statement, x. 19, that Israel revolted from the house of David, and forms the conclusion of the account (vers. 1–17*a*) of that which Rehoboam did to establish his power and consolidate his kingdom. There follows hereupon, in

Vers. 13–17, the account of the internal spiritual strengthening of the kingdom of Judah by the *migration of the priests and Levites, and many pious worshippers of Jahve out of all the tribes, to the kingdom of Judah.*—Ver. 13. The priests and Levites in all Israel went over to him out of their whole domain. הִתְיַצֵּב עַל, to present oneself before any one, to await his commands, cf. Zech. vi. 5, Job i. 6, ii. 1; here in the signification to place oneself at another's disposal, *i.e.* to go over to one. The suffix in גְּבוּלָם refers

to "all Israel." For—this was the motive of their migration, ver. 14—the Levites (in the wider signification of the word, including the priests) forsook their territory and their possessions, *i.e.* the cities assigned to them, with the pasture lands for their cattle (Num. xxxv. 1–8), *scil.* in the domain of the ten tribes; "for Jeroboam and his sons had driven them out from the priesthood of Jahve." To prevent his subjects from visiting the temple at Jerusalem, which he feared might ultimately cause the people to return to the house of David, Jeroboam had erected his own places of worship for his kingdom in Bethel and Dan, where Jahve was worshipped in the ox images (the golden calves), and had appointed, not the Levites, but men from the body of the people, to be priests in these so-called sanctuaries (1 Kings xii. 26–31), consecrated by himself. By these innovations not only the priests and Levites, who would not recognise this unlawful image-worship, were compelled to migrate to Judah and Jerusalem, but also the pious worshippers of the Lord, who would not renounce the temple worship which had been consecrated by God Himself. All Jeroboam's successors held firmly by this calf-worship introduced by him, and consequently the driving out of the priests and Levites is here said to have been the act of Jeroboam and his sons. By his sons are meant Jeroboam's successors on the throne, without respect to the fact that of Jeroboam's own sons only Nadab reached the throne, and that his dynasty terminated with him; for in this matter all the kings of Israel walked in the footsteps of Jeroboam.—Ver. 15. And had ordained him priests for the high places. וַיַּעֲמֶד־לוֹ is a continuation of כִּי הִזְנִיחָם, ver. 14. בָּמוֹת are the places of worship which were erected by Jeroboam for the image-worship, called in 1 Kings xii. 31 בֵּית בָּמוֹת; see on that passage. The gods worshipped in these houses in high places the author of the Chronicle calls שְׂעִירִים from their nature, and עֲגָלִים from their form. The word שְׂעִירִים is taken from Lev. xvii. 7, and signifies demons, so named from the Egyptian idolatry, in which the worship of goats, of Pan (Mendes), who was always represented in the form of a goat, occupied a prominent place; see on Lev. xvii. 7. For further details as to the עֲגָלִים, see on 1 Kings xii. 28.—Ver. 16. אַחֲרֵיהֶם, after them, *i.e.* following after the priests and Levites. With הַנֹּתְנִים אֶת־לְבָבָם, who turned their hearts thereto, cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 19. They went to Jerusalem to sacrifice there; *i.e.*, as we learn from the context, not merely to offer sacrifices, but also to

remain in the kingdom of Judah.—Ver. 17. These immigrants —priests, Levites, and pious worshippers of Jahve—made the kingdom of Judah strong, by strengthening the religious foundation on which the kingdom was founded, and made Rehoboam strong three years, so that they (king and people) walked in the way of David and Solomon. The strengthening lasted only three years—only while the opposition to Jeroboam's action in the matter of religion was kept alive by the emigration of the pious people from the ten tribes. What occurred after these three years is narrated only in chap. xii.—Here there follows, in

Vers. 18–23, information as to *Rehoboam's family relationships.*—Ver. 18. Instead of בֶּן we must read, with the Keri, many MSS., LXX., and Vulg., בַּת: Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth, the son of David. Among the sons of David (1 Chron. iii. 1–8) no Jerimoth is found. If this name be not another form of יִתְרְעָם, 1 Chron. iii. 3, Jerimoth must have been a son of one of David's concubines. Before the name אֲבִיחַיִל, וְ must have been dropped out, and is to be supplied; so that Mahalath's father and mother are both named: the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David, and Abihail the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse, *i.e.* David's eldest brother (1 Chron. ii. 13; 1 Sam. xvii. 13). For Abihail cannot be held to be a second wife of Rehoboam, because ver. 19, "and she bore," and ver. 20, "and after her," show that in ver. 18 only one wife is named. She bare him three sons, whose names occur only here (ver. 19).—Ver. 20. Maachah the daughter, *i.e.* the granddaughter, of Absalom; for she cannot have been Absalom's daughter, because Absalom, according to 2 Sam. xiv. 27, had only one daughter, Tamar by name, who must have been fifty years old at Solomon's death. According to 2 Sam. xviii. 18, Absalom left no son; Maachah therefore can only be a daughter of Tamar, who, according to 2 Chron. xiii. 2, was married to Uriel of Gibeah: see on 1 Kings xv. 2. Abijah, the oldest son of Maachah, whom his father nominated his successor (ver. 22 and xii. 16), is called in the book of Kings constantly Abijam, the original form of the name, which was afterwards weakened into Abijah.—Ver. 21 f. Only these wives with their children are mentioned by name, though besides these Rehoboam had a number of wives, 18 wives and 60 (according to Josephus, 30) concubines, who bore him twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. Rehoboam trod in his father's footsteps in this not quite praiseworthy point. The eldest son of Maachah he made head (לְרֹאשׁ),

i.e. prince, among his brethren; כִּי לְהַמְלִיכוֹ, for to make him king, *scil.* was his intention. The infin. with לְ is here used in the swiftness of speech in loose connection to state with what further purpose he had appointed him נָגִיד; cf. Ew. § 351, *c*, at the end.—Ver. 23. And he did wisely, and dispersed of all his sons in all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, *i.e.* dispersed all his sons so, that they were placed in all parts of Judah and Benjamin in the fenced cities, and he gave them victual in abundance, and he sought (for them) a multitude of wives. שָׁאַל, to ask for, for the father brought about the marriage of his sons. He therefore took care that his sons, by being thus scattered in the fenced cities of the country as their governors, were separated from each other, but also that they received the necessary means for living in a way befitting their princely rank, in the shape of an abundant maintenance and a considerable number of wives. They were thus kept in a state of contentment, so that they might not make any attempt to gain the crown, which he had reserved for Abijah; and in this lay the wisdom of his conduct.

Chap. xii. *Rehoboam's defection from the Lord, and his humiliation by the Egyptian king Shishak.*—Ver. 1. The infinitive כְּהָכִין, "at the time of the establishing," with an indefinite subject, may be expressed in English by the passive: when Rehoboam's royal power was established. The words refer back to xi. 17. כְּחָזְקָתוֹ, "when he had become strong" (חִזְקָה is a *nomen verbale:* the becoming strong; cf. xxvi. 16, Dan. xi. 2), he forsook the Lord, and all Israel with him. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah are here called Israel, to hint at the contrast between the actual conduct of the people in their defection from the Lord, and the destiny of Israel, the people of God. The forsaking of the law of Jahve is in substance the fall into idolatry, as we find it stated more definitely in 1 Kings xiv. 22 ff. —Ver. 2. In punishment of this defection (כִּי מָעֲלוּ בִי, because they had acted faithlessly to Jahve), Shishak, the king of Egypt, marched with a great host against Jerusalem. This hostile invasion is also briefly narrated in 1 Kings xiv. 25–28. Shishak (Sisak) is, as we have remarked on 1 Kings xiv., Sesonchis or Sechonchosis, the first king of the 22d dynasty, who has celebrated his victory in a relief at Karnak. In this sculpture the names of the cities captured are recorded on shields, and a considerable number have been deciphered with some certainty, and by them our account is completely confirmed. According to

ver. 3, Shishak's host consisted of 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen —numbers which, of course, are founded only upon a rough estimate—and an innumerable multitude of footmen, among whom were לוּבִים, Libyans, probably the Libyægyptii of the ancients (see on Gen. x. 13); סֻכִּיִּים, according to the LXX. and Vulg. Troglodytes, probably the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who dwelt in the mountains on the west coast of the Arabian Gulf; and Cushites, *i.e.* Ethiopians. The Libyans and Cushites are mentioned in Nahum iii. 9 also as auxiliaries of the Egyptians.— Ver. 4. After the capture of the fenced cities of Judah, he marched against Jerusalem.—Ver. 5. Then the prophet Shemaiah announced to the king and the princes, who had retired to Jerusalem before Shishak, that the Lord had given them into the power of Shishak because they had forsaken Him. עֲזַב בְּיַד, forsaken and given over into the hand of Shishak. When the king and the priests immediately humbled themselves before God, acknowledging the righteousness of the Lord, the prophet announced to them further that the Lord would not destroy them since they had humbled themselves, but would give them deliverance in a little space. כִּמְעָט, according to a little, *i.e.* in a short time. פְּלֵיטָה is accusative after וְנָתַתִּי. My anger shall not pour itself out upon Jerusalem. The pouring out of anger is the designation of an exterminating judgment; cf. xxxiv. 25.— Ver. 8. But (כִּי after a negative clause) they shall be his servants, *sc.* for a short time (see ver. 7), "that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries" (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 30); *i.e.* that they may learn to know by experience the difference between the rule of God and that of the heathen kings, and that God's rule was not so oppressive as that of the rulers of the world.

With ver. 9 the account of the war is taken up again and continued by the repetition of the words, "Then marched Shishak . . . against Jerusalem" (ver. 4). Shishak plundered the treasures of the temple and the palace; he had consequently captured Jerusalem. The golden shields also which had been placed in the house of the forest of Lebanon, *i.e.* the palace built by Solomon in Jerusalem, which Solomon had caused to be made (cf. ix. 16), Shishak took away, and in their place Rehoboam caused brazen shields to be prepared; see on 1 Kings xiv. 26–28.—In ver. 12 the author of the Chronicle concludes the account of this event with the didactic remark, "Because he

(Rehoboam) humbled himself, the anger of Jahve was turned away from him." וְלֹא לְהַשְׁחִית, and it was not to extermination utterly (לְכָלָה, properly to destruction, *i.e.* completely; cf. Ezek. xiii. 13). And also in Judah were good things. This is the other motive which caused the Lord to turn away His wrath. Good things are proofs of piety and fear of God, cf. xix. 3.—Ver. 13 f. The length of Rehoboam's reign, his mother, and the judgment about him. Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 21 and 22*a*. וַיִּתְחַזֵּק here, as in xiii. 21, can, in its connection with what precedes, be only understood to mean that Rehoboam, after his humiliation at the hands of Shishak, by which his kingdom was utterly weakened and almost destroyed, again gained strength and power. Cf. also i. 1, where יִתְחַזֵּק is used of Solomon in the beginning of his reign, after he overcame Adonijah, the pretender to the crown, and his party.—As to the age of Rehoboam, etc., see on 1 Kings xiv. 21. וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע, ver. 14, is defined by the addition, "for he prepared not his heart to seek the Lord." For the expression cf. xix. 3, xxx. 19, Ezra vii. 10.—Vers. 15 and 16. Close of his reign. On the authorities, see the Introduction, p. 34; and in reference to the other statements, the commentary on 1 Kings xiv. 29–31. מִלְחָמוֹת, wars, *i.e.* a state of hostility, was between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all days, can only be understood of the hostile attitude of the two rulers to each other, like מִלְחָמָה in Kings; for we have no narrative of wars between them after Rehoboam had abandoned, at the instance of the prophet, his proposed war with the Israelites at the commencement of his reign.

CHAP. XIII.—THE REIGN OF ABIJAH. CF. 1 KINGS XV. 1–8.

In the book of Kings it is merely remarked in general, that the hostile relationship between Jeroboam and Rehoboam continued during his whole life, and that between Abijah and Jeroboam there was war (vers. 6 and 7); but not one of his enterprises is recounted, and only his attitude towards the Lord is exactly characterized. In our chapter, on the contrary, we have a vivid and circumstantial narrative of the commencement, course, and results of a great war against Jeroboam, in which Abijah, with the help of the Lord, inflicted a crushing defeat on the great army of the Israelites, and conquered several cities.

Vers. 1 and 2. The commencement and duration of the reign, as in 1 Kings xv. 1, 2. Abijah's mother is here (ver. 2)

called Michaiah instead of Maachah, as in xi. 20 and 1 Kings xv. 2, but it can hardly be a second name which Maachah had received for some unknown reason; probably מיכיהו *is* a mere orthographical error for מעכה. She is here called, not the daughter = granddaughter of Abishalom, but after her father, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah; see on xi. 20.[1]

Vers. 2*b*–21. *The War between Abijah and Jeroboam.*—מִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה, war arose, broke out.—Ver. 3. Abijah began the war with an army of 400,000 valiant warriors. אִישׁ בָּחוּר, chosen men. אָסַר אֵת מ', to bind on war, *i.e.* to open the war. Jeroboam

[1] Against this Bertheau remarks, after the example of Thenius: "When we consider that the wife of Abijah and mother of Asa was also called Maachah, 1 Kings xv. 13, 2 Chron. xv. 16, and that in 1 Kings xv. 2 this Maachah is again called the daughter of Abishalom, and that this latter statement is not met with in the Chronicle, we are led to conjecture that Maachah, the mother of Abijah, the daughter of Abishalom, has been confounded with Maachah the mother of Asa, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, and that in our passage Asa's mother is erroneously named instead of the mother of Abijah." This conjecture is a strange fabric of perverted facts and inconsequential reasoning. In 1 Kings xv. 2 Abijam's mother is called Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, exactly as in 2 Chron. xi. 20 and 21; and in 1 Kings xv. 13, in perfect agreement with 2 Chron. xv. 16, it is stated that Asa removed Maachah from the dignity of Gebira because she had made herself a statue of Asherah. This Maachah, deposed by Asa, is called in 1 Kings xv. 10 the daughter of Abishalom, and only this latter remark is omitted from the Chronicle. How from these statements we must conclude that the mother of Abijah, Maachah the daughter of Abishalom, has been confounded with Maachah the mother of Asa, the daughter of Uriel, we cannot see. The author of the book of Kings knows only one Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom, whom in xv. 2 he calls mother, *i.e.* גְּבִירָה, *i.e.* Sultana Walide of Abijah, and in xv. 10 makes to stand in the same relationship of mother to Asa. From this, however, the only natural and logically sound conclusion which can be drawn is that Abijam's mother, Rehoboam's wife, occupied the position of queen-mother, not merely during the three years' reign of Abijam, but also during the first years of the reign of his son Asa, as his grandmother, until Asa had deprived her of this dignity because of her idolatry. It is nowhere said in Scripture that this woman was Abijam's wife, but that is a conclusion drawn by Thenius and Bertheau only from her being called אִמּוֹ, his (Asa's) mother, as if אֵם could denote merely the actual mother, and not the grandmother. Finally, the omission in the Chronicle of the statement in 1 Kings xv. 10, "The name of his mother was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom," does not favour in the very least the conjecture that Asa's mother has been confounded with the mother of Abijah; for it is easily explained by the fact that at the accession of Asa no change was made in reference to the dignity of queen-mother, Abijah's mother still holding that position even under Asa.

prepared for the war with 800,000 warriors. The number of Jeroboam's warriors is exactly that which Joab returned as the result, as to Israel, of the numbering of the people commanded by David, while that of Abijah's army is less by 100,000 men than Joab numbered in Judah (2 Sam. xxiv. 9).—Ver. 4 ff. When the two armies lay over against each other, ready for the combat, Abijah addressed the enemy, King Jeroboam and all Israel, in a speech from Mount Zemaraim. The mountain צְמָרַיִם is met with only here; but a city of this name is mentioned in Josh. xviii. 22, whence we would incline to the conclusion that the mountain near or upon which this city lay was intended. But if this city was situated to the east, not only of Bethel, but also of Jerusalem, on the road to Jericho (see on Josh. xviii. 22), as we may conclude from its enumeration between Beth-Arabah and Bethel in Josh. *loc. cit.*, it will not suit our passage, at least if Zemaraim be really represented by the ruin el Sumra to the east of Khan Hadur on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho. Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* S. 38) conjectures Mount Zemaraim to the east of Bethel, near the border of the two kingdoms, to which Mount Ephraim also extends. Abijah represented first of all (vers. 5–7) to Jeroboam and the Israelites that their kingdom was the result of a revolt against Jahve, who had given the kingship over Israel to David and his sons for ever.—Ver. 5. "Is it not to you to know?" *i.e.* can it be unknown to you? בְּרִית מֶלַח, accus. of nearer definition: after the fashion of a covenant of salt, *i.e.* of an irrevocable covenant; cf. on Lev. ii. 13 and Num. xviii. 19. "And Jeroboam, the servant of Solomon the son of David (cf. 1 Kings xi. 11), rebelled against his lord," with the help of frivolous, worthless men (רֵקִים as in Judg. ix. 4, xi. 3; בְּנֵי בְלִיַּעַל as in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13,—not recurring elsewhere in the Chronicle), who gathered around him, and rose against Rehoboam with power. הִתְאַמֵּץ עַל, to show oneself powerful, to show power against any one. Against this rising Rehoboam showed himself not strong enough, because he was an inexperienced man and soft of heart. נַעַר denotes not "a boy," for Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he entered upon his reign, but "an inexperienced young man," as in 1 Chron. xxix. 1. רַךְ לֵבָב, soft of heart, *i.e.* faint-hearted, inclined to give way, without energy to make a stand against those rising insolently against him. וְלֹא הִתְחַזַּק לִפְנֵי, and showed himself not strong before them, proved to be too weak in opposition to them. This representation does not

conform to the state of the case as narrated in chap. x. Rehoboam did not appear soft-hearted and compliant in the negotiation with the rebellious tribes at Sichem; on the contrary, he was hard and defiant, and showed himself youthfully inconsiderate only in throwing to the winds the wise advice of the older men, and in pursuance of the rash counsel of the young men who had grown up with him, brought about the rupture by his domineering manner. But Abijah wishes to justify his father as much as possible in his speech, and shifts all the guilt of the rebellion of the ten tribes from the house of David on to Jeroboam and his worthless following.—Vers. 8 and 9. Abijah then points out to his opponents the vanity of their trust in the great multitude of their warriors and their gods, while yet they had driven out the priests of Jahve. "And now ye say," *scil.* in your heart, *i.e.* you think to show yourself strong before the kingdom of Jahve in the hands of the sons of David, *i.e.* against the kingdom of Jahve ruled over by the sons of David, by raising a great army in order to make war upon and to destroy this kingdom. וְאַתֶּם הָמוֹן רָב, and truly ye are a great multitude, and with you are the golden calves, which Jeroboam hath made to you for gods; but trust not unto them, for Jahve, the true God, have ye not for you as a helper.—Ver. 9. "Yea, ye have cast out the priests of Jahve, the sons of Aaron, and made you priests after the manner of the nations of the lands. Every one who has come, to fill his hand with a young bullock and . . . . . he has become a priest to the no-god." מִלֵּא יָדוֹ, to fill his hand, denotes, in the language of the law, to invest one with the priesthood, and connected with ליהוה it signifies to provide oneself with that which is to be offered to Jahve. To fill his hand with a young bullock, etc., therefore denotes to come with sacrificial beasts, to cause oneself to be consecrated priest. The animals mentioned also, a young bullock and seven rams, point to the consecration to the priesthood. In Ex. xxix. a young bullock as a sin-offering, a ram as a burnt-offering, and a ram as a consecratory-offering, are prescribed for this purpose. These sacrifices were to be repeated during seven days, so that in all seven rams were required for consecratory-sacrifices. Abijah mentions only one young bullock along with these, because it was not of any importance for him to enumerate perfectly the sacrifices which were necessary. But by offering these sacrifices no one becomes a priest of Jahve, and consequently the priests of Jeroboam also are only priests for

Not-Elohim, *i.e.* only for the golden calves made Elohim by Jeroboam, to whom the attributes of the Godhead did not belong. —Vers. 10 and 11. While, therefore, the Israelites have no-gods in their golden calves, Judah has Jahve for its God, whom it worships in His temple in the manner prescribed by Moses. "But in Jahve is our God, and we have not forsaken Him in so far, viz., as they observed the legal Jahve-worship. So Abijah himself explains his words, "as priests serve Him the sons of Aaron (who were chosen by Jahve), and the Levites are בַּמְלָאכֶת, in service," *i.e.* performing the service prescribed to them. As essential parts of that service of God, the offering of the daily burnt-offering and the daily incense-offering (Ex. xxix. 38 ff., xxx. 7), the laying out of the shew-bread (Ex. xxv. 30; Lev. xxiv. 5 ff.), the lighting of the lamps of the golden candlesticks (Ex. xxv. 37, xxvii. 20 f.), are mentioned. In this respect they keep the מִשְׁמֶרֶת יהוה (cf. Lev. viii. 35).—Ver. 12. Abijah draws from all this the conclusion: "Behold, with us at our head are (not the two calves of gold, but) God (האלהים with the article, the true God) and His priests, and the alarm-trumpets to sound against you." He mentions the trumpets as being the divinely appointed pledges that God would remember them in war, and would deliver them from their enemies, Num. x. 9. Then he closes with a warning to the Israelites not to strive with Jahve, the God of their fathers.

Vers. 13–17. The war; Judah's victory, and the defeat of Jeroboam and the Israelites.—Ver. 13. Jeroboam caused the ambush (the troops appointed to be an ambush) to go round about, so as to come upon their rear (*i.e.* of the men of Judah); and so they (the main division of Jeroboam's troops) were before Judah, and the ambush in their rear (*i.e.* of the men of Judah); and the men of Judah, when they turned themselves (*scil.* to attack), saw war before and behind them, *i.e.* perceived that they were attacked in front and rear. In this dangerous position the men of Judah cried to the Lord, and the priests blew the trumpets (ver. 15); and as they raised this war-cry, God smote their enemies so that they took to flight. In וַיָּרִיעוּ and בְּהָרִיעַ the loud shout of the warriors and the clangour of the trumpets in the hands of the priests are comprehended; and הָרִיעַ is neither to be taken to refer only to the war-cry raised by the warriors in making the attack, nor, with Bertheau, to be referred only to the blowing of the trumpets.—Ver. 16 f. So Abijah and his people

inflicted a great blow (defeat) on the Israelites, so that 500,000 of them, *i.e.* more than the half of Jeroboam's whole army, fell.

Ver. 18 f. The results of this victory. The Israelites were bowed down, their power weakened; the men of Judah became strong, mighty, because they relied upon Jahve their God. Following this victory, Abijah took from Jeroboam several cities with their surrounding domains: Bethel, the present Beitin, see on Josh. vii. 2; Jeshanah, occurring only here, and the position of which has not yet been ascertained; and Ephron (עֶפְרוֹן, Keth.; the Keri, on the contrary, עֶפְרַיִן). This city cannot well be identified with Mount Ephron, Josh. xv. 9; for that mountain was situated on the southern frontier of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem, while the city Ephron is to be sought much farther north, in the neighbourhood of Bethel. C. v. Raumer and others identify Ephron or Ephrain both with Ophrah of Benjamin, which, it is conjectured, was situated near or in Tayibeh, to the east of Bethel, and with the *Ἐφραὶμ*, John xi. 54, whither Jesus withdrew into the wilderness, which, according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 9, lay in the neighbourhood of Bethel. See on Josh. xviii. 23.[1]—Ver. 20. Jeroboam could not afterwards gain power

[1] The account of this war, which is peculiar to the Chronicle, and which de Wette declared, on utterly insufficient grounds, to be an invention of the chronicler (cf. against him my *apol. Vers. über die Chron.* S. 444 ff.), is thus regarded by Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. S. 466, der 2 Aufl.): "The chronicler must certainly have found among his ancient authorities an account of this conclusion of the war, and we cannot but believe that we have here, in so far, authentic tradition;" and only the details of the description are the results of free expansion by the chronicler, but in the speech vers. 4–13 every word and every thought is marked by the peculiar colouring of the Chronicle. But this last assertion is contradicted by Ewald's own remark, i. S. 203, that "in 2 Chron. xiii. 4–7, 19–21, an antiquated manner of speech and representation appears, while in the other verses, on the contrary, those usual with the chronicler are found,"—in support of which he adduces the words בְּנֵי בְלִיַּעַל, ver. 7, and בְּרִית מֶלַח, ver. 5. According to this view, Abijah's speech cannot have been freely draughted by the chronicler, but must have been derived, at least so far as the fundamental thoughts are concerned, from an ancient authority, doubtless the Midrash of the prophet Iddo, cited in ver. 22. But Ewald's further remark (iii. S. 466), that the author of the Chronicle, because he regarded the heathenized Samaria of his time as the true representative of the old kingdom of the ten tribes, seized this opportunity to put into King Abijah's mouth a long denunciatory and didactic speech, addressed at the commencement of the battle to the enemy as rebels not merely against the house of David, but also against the true religion, is founded upon the unscriptural idea that the calf-worship of the Israelites was merely a some-

(עָצַר נֹגַף, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 14): "And Jahve smote him, and he died." The meaning of this remark is not clear, since we know nothing further of the end of Jeroboam's life than that he died two years after Abijah. וַיִּגְּפֵהוּ can hardly refer to the unfortunate result of the war (ver. 15 ff.), for Jeroboam outlived the war by several years. We would be more inclined to understand it of the blow mentioned in 1 Kings xiv. 1–8, when God announced to him by Ahijah the extermination of his house, and took away his son Abijah, who was mourned by all Israel.

Vers. 21–23. *Wives and children of Abijah. His death.*—Ver. 21. While Jeroboam was not able to recover from the defeat he had suffered, Abijah established himself in his kingdom (יִתְחַזֵּק, cf. xii. 13), and took to himself fourteen wives. The taking of these wives is not to be regarded as later in time than his establishment of his rule after the victory over Jeroboam. Since Abijah reigned only three years, he must have already had the greater number of his wives and children when he ascended the throne, as we may gather also from chap. xi. 21–23. The ו consec. with וַיִּשָּׂא serves only to connect logically the information as to his

what sensuous form of the true Jahve-worship, and was fundamentally distinct from the heathen idolatry, and also from the idolatry of the later Samaritans. In the judgment of all the prophets, not only of Hosea and Amos, but also of the prophetic author of the book of Kings, the calf-worship was a defection from Jahve, the God of the fathers,—a forsaking of the commands of Jahve, and a serving of the Baals; cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings xiii., 2 Kings xvii. 7–23. What Abijah says of the calf-worship of the Israelites, and of Judah's attitude to Jahve and His worship in the temple, is founded on the truth, and is also reconcilable with the statement in 1 Kings xv. 3, that Abijah's heart was not wholly devoted to the Lord, like David's heart. Abijah had promoted the legal temple-worship even by consecratory gifts (1 Kings xv. 15), and could consequently quite well bring forward the worship of God in Judah as the true worship, in contrast to the Israelitic calf-worship, for the discouragement of his enemies, and for the encouragement of his own army; and we may consequently regard the kernel, or the essential contents of the speech, as being historically well-founded. The account of the war, moreover, is also shown to be historical by the exact statement as to the conquered cities in ver. 19, which evidently has been derived from ancient authorities. Only in the statements about the number of warriors, and of the slain Israelites, the numbers are not to be estimated according to the literal value of the figures; for they are, as has been already hinted in the commentary, only an expression in figures of the opinion of contemporaries of the war, that both kings had made a levy of all the men in their respective kingdoms capable of bearing arms, and that Jeroboam was defeated with such slaughter that he lost more than the half of his warriors.

wives and children with the preceding, as the great increase of his family was a sign of Abijah's increase in strength, while Jeroboam's dynasty was soon extirpated.—Ver. 22. As to the מִדְרָשׁ of the prophet Iddo, see the Introduction, p. 34.—Ver. 23. Under his son and successor Asa the land had a ten-years' rest. This is remarked here, because this rest was also a result of Abijah's great victory over Jeroboam.

CHAP. XIV.–XVI.—ASA'S REIGN.

In 1 Kings xv. 9–24 it is merely recorded of Asa, that he reigned forty-one years, did that which was right as David did, removed from the land all the idols which his fathers had made, and, although the high places were not removed, was devoted to the Lord during his whole life, and laid up in the temple treasury all that had been consecrated by his father and himself. Then it is related that when Baasha marched against him, and began to fortify Ramah, he induced the Syrian king Benhadad, by sending to him the treasures of the temple and of his palace, to break faith with Baasha, and to make an inroad upon and smite the northern portion of the land; that Baasha was thereby compelled to abandon the building of Ramah, and to fall back to Tirzah, and that thereupon Asa caused the fortifications of Ramah to be pulled down, and the cities Geba in Benjamin and Mizpah to be fortified with the materials; and, finally, it is recorded that Asa in his old age became diseased in his feet, and died. The Chronicle also characterizes Asa as a pious king, who did that which was right, and removed the high places and sun-pillars in the land; but gives, as to other matters, a much more detailed account of his reign of forty-one years. It states that in the first years, as the land had rest, he built fortified cities in Judah, and had an army fit for war (xiv. 1–7); that thereupon he marched against the Cushite Zerah, who was then advancing upon Judah with an innumerable host, prayed for help to the Lord, who then smote the Cushites, so that they fled; and that Asa pursued them to Gerar, and returned with great booty (vers. 8–14). Then we learn that the prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, came to meet him, who, pointing to the victory which the Lord had granted them, called upon the king and the people to remain stedfast in their fidelity to the Lord; that Asa thereupon took courage, extirpated all the still remaining idola-

trous abominations from the land, and in the fifteenth year of his reign held with the people a great sacrificial feast in Jerusalem, renewed the covenant with the Lord, crushed out all the remains of former idolatry, although the high places were not destroyed, and also deposited in the temple treasury all that had been consecrated by his father and himself (chap. xv.). Thereafter Baasha's inroad upon Judah and the alliance with Benhadad of Syria are narrated (xvi. 1–6), as in the book of Kings; but it is also added that the prophet Hanani censured his seeking help from the king of Syria, and was thereupon put into the prison-house by Asa (vers. 7–10); and then we have an account of the end of his reign, in which several additions to the account in 1 Kings are communicated (vers. 11–14).

Chap. xiv. 1–7.—*Asa's efforts for the abolition of idolatry and the establishment of the kingdom.*—Vers. 1–4. The good and right in God's eyes which Asa did is further defined in vers. 2–4. He abolished all the objects of the idolatrous worship. The "altars of the strangers" are altars consecrated to foreign gods; from them the בָּמוֹת, high places, are distinguished,—these latter being illegal places of sacrifice connected with the worship of Jahve (see on 1 Kings xv. 14). The מַצֵּבוֹת are the statues or monumental columns consecrated to Baal, and אֲשֵׁרִים the wooden idols, tree-trunks, or trees, which were consecrated to Astarte (see on 1 Kings xiv. 23 and Deut. xvi. 21). Asa at the same time commanded the people to worship Jahve, the God of the fathers, and to follow the law.—Ver. 4. He removed from all the cities of Judah the altars of the high places, and the חַמָּנִים, sun-pillars, pillars or statues consecrated to Baal as sun-god, which were erected near or upon the altars of Baal (2 Chron. xxxiv. 4; see on Lev. xxvi. 30). In consequence of this the kingdom had rest לְפָנָיו, before him, *i.e.* under his oversight (cf. Num. viii. 22). This ten-years' quiet (xiii. 23) which God granted him, Asa employed in building fortresses in Judah (ver. 5). "We will build these cities, and surround them with walls and towers, gates and bolts." It is not said what the cities were, but they were at any rate others than Geba and Mizpah, which he caused to be built after the war with Baasha (xvi. 6). "The land is still before us," *i.e.* open, free from enemies, so that we may freely move about, and build therein according to our pleasure. For the phraseology, cf. Gen. xiii. 9. The repetition of דָּרַשְׁנוּ, ver. 6, is impassioned speech. "They built and had

success;" they built with effect, without meeting with any hindrances.—Ver. 7. Asa had also a well-equipped, well-armed army. The men of Judah were armed with a large shield and lance (cf. 1 Chron. xii. 24), the Benjamites with a small shield and bow (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 40). The numbers are great; of Judah 300,000, of Benjamin 280,000 men. Since in these numbers the whole population capable of bearing arms is included, 300,000 men does not appear too large for Judah, but 280,000 is a very large number for Benjamin, and is founded probably on an overestimate.

Vers. 8–14. *The victory over the Cushite Zerah.*—Ver. 8. "And there went forth against them Zerah." אֲלֵיהֶם for עֲלֵיהֶם refers to Asa's warriors mentioned in ver. 7. The number of the men in Judah capable of bearing arms is mentioned only to show that Asa set his hope of victory over the innumerable host of the Cushites not on the strength of his army, but on the all-powerful help of the Lord (ver. 10). The Cushite זֶרַח is usually identified with the second king of the 22d (Bubastitic) dynasty, Osorchon I.; while Brugsch, *hist. de l'Eg.* i. p. 298, on the contrary, has raised objections, and holds Zerah to be an Ethiopian and not an Egyptian prince, who in the reign of Takeloth I., about 944 B.C., probably marched through Egypt as a conqueror (cf. G. Rösch in Herz.'s *Realenc.* xviii. S. 460). The statement as to Zerah's army, that it numbered 1,000,000 warriors and 300 war-chariots, rests upon a rough estimate, in which 1000 times 1000 expresses the idea of the greatest possible number. The Cushites pressed forward to Mareshah, *i.e.* Marissa, between Hebron and Ashdod (see on xi. 8).—Ver. 9. Thither Asa marched to meet them, and drew up his army in battle array in the valley Zephathah, near Mareshah. The valley Zephathah is not, as Robins., *Pal. sub voce*, thinks, to be identified with Tel es Safieh, but must lie nearer Mareshah, to the west or north-west of Marâsch.—Ver. 10. Then he called upon the Lord his God for help. אֵין עִמְּךָ וגו׳ we translate, with Berth., "None is with Thee (on עִמְּךָ, cf. xx. 6, Ps. lxxiii. 25) to help between a mighty one and a weak," *i.e.* no other than Thou can help in an unequal battle, *i.e.* help the weaker side; while the Vulg., on the contrary, after the analogy of 1 Sam. xiv. 6, translates, "*non est apud te ulla distantia, utrum in paucis auxilieris an in pluribus;*" and the older commentators (Schmidt, Ramb.) give the meaning thus: "*perinde est tibi potentiori vel imbecilliori*

opem ferre." But in 1 Sam. xiv. 16 the wording is different, so that that passage cannot be a standard for us here. "In Thy name (*i.e.* trusting in Thy help) are we come against this multitude" (not "have we fallen upon this multitude"). אַל יֵעָצֵר וגו׳, "Let not a mortal retain strength with Thee" (עָצַר כֹּחַ = עָצַר, xiii. 20, 1 Chron. xxix. 14), *i.e.* let not weak men accomplish anything with Thee, show Thy power or omnipotence over weak men. —Ver. 11. God heard this prayer. Jahve drove the Cushites into flight before Asa, *scil.* by His mighty help.—Ver. 12. Asa, with his people, pursued to Gerar, the old ancient Philistine city, whose ruins Rowlands has discovered in the Khirbet el Gerar, in the Wady Jorf el Gerar (the torrent of Gerar), three leagues south-south-east of Gaza (see on Gen. xx. 1). "And there fell of the Cushites, so that to them was not revival," *i.e.* so many that they could not make a stand and again collect themselves, *ut eis vivificatio i. e. copias restaurandi ratio non esset,* as older commentators, in *Annott. uberior. ad h. l.*, have already rightly interpreted it. The words are expressions for complete defeat. Berth. translates incorrectly: "until to them was nothing living;" for לְאֵין does not stand for עַד לְאֵין, but לְ serves to subordinate the clause, "so that no one," where in the older language אֵין alone would have been sufficient, as in xx. 25, 1 Chron. xxii. 4, cf. Ew. § 315, *c*; and מְחִיָּה denotes, not "a living thing," but only "preservation of life, vivification, revival, maintenance." For they were broken before Jahve and before His host. מַחֲנֵהוּ, *i.e.* Asa's army is called Jahve's, because Jahve fought in and with it against the enemy. There is no reason to suppose, with some older commentators, that there is any reference to an angelic host or heavenly camp (Gen. xxxii. 2 f.). And they (Asa and his people) brought back very much booty.—Ver. 13. "They smote all the cities round about Gerar," which, as we must conclude from this, had made common cause with the Cushites, being inhabited by Philistines; for the fear of Jahve had fallen upon them. פַּחַד יהוה here, and in xvii. 10, xx. 29, as in 1 Sam. xi. 7, the fear of the omnipotence displayed by Jahve in the annihilation of the innumerable hostile army. In these cities Judah found much booty.—Ver. 14. They also smote the tents of the herds of the wandering tribes of that district, and carried away many sheep and camels as booty.

Chap. xv. *The prophet Azariah's exhortation to faithful cleaving to the Lord, and the solemn renewal of the covenant.*—

Vers. 1–7. The prophet's speech. The prophet Azariah, the son of Oded, is mentioned only here. The conjecture of some of the older theologians, that עֹדֵד was the same person as עֵדוֹ (xii. 15, ix. 29), has no tenable foundation. Azariah went to meet the king and people returning from the war (יֵצֵא לִפְנֵי, he went forth in the presence of Asa, *i.e.* coming before him; cf. xxviii. 9, 1 Chron. xii. 17, xiv. 8). "Jahve was with you (has given you the victory), because ye were with Him (held to Him)." Hence the general lesson is drawn: If ye seek Him, He will be found of you (cf. Jer. xxix. 13); and if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you (cf. xxiv. 20, xii. 5). To impress the people deeply with this truth, Azariah draws a powerful picture of the times when a people is forsaken by God, when peace and security in social intercourse disappear, and the terrors of civil war prevail. Opinions as to the reference intended in this portrayal of the dreadful results of defection from God have been from antiquity very much divided. Tremell. and Grot., following the Targ., take the words to refer to the condition of the kingdom of the ten tribes at that time; others think they refer to the past, either to the immediately preceding period of the kingdom of Judah, to the times of the defection under Rehoboam and Abijah, before Asa had suppressed idolatry (Syr., Arab., Raschi), or to the more distant past, the anarchic period of the judges, from Joshua's death, and that of the high priest Phinehas, until Eli and Samuel's reformation (so especially Vitringa, *de synag. vet.* p. 335 sqq.). Finally, still others (Luther, Clericus, Budd., etc.) interpret the words as prophetic, as descriptive of the future, and make them refer either to the unquiet times under the later idolatrous kings, to the times of the Assyrian or Chaldean exile (Kimchi), or to the condition of the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans up till the present day. Of these three views, the first, that which takes the reference to be to the present, *i.e.* the state of the kingdom of the ten tribes at that time, is decidedly erroneous; for during the first thirty years of the existence of that kingdom no such anarchic state of things existed as is portrayed in vers. 5 and 6, and still less could a return of the ten tribes to the Lord at that time be spoken of (ver. 4). It is more difficult to decide between the two other main views. The grounds which Vitr., Ramb., Berth. adduce in support of the reference to the times of the judges are not convincing; for the contents and form (ver. 4) do not prove

that here something is asserted which has been confirmed by history, and still less is it manifest (ver. 5) that past times are pointed to. Whether the statement about the return to Jahve in the times of trouble (ver. 4) refers to the past or to the future, depends upon whether the past or future is spoken of in ver. 3. But the unquiet condition of things portrayed in ver. 5 corresponds partly to various times in the period of the judges; and if, with Vitr., we compare the general characteristics of the religious condition of the times of the judges (Judg. ii. 10 ff.), we might certainly say that Israel in those times was without אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת, as it again and again forsook Jahve and served the Baals. And moreover, several examples of the oppression of Israel portrayed in vers. 5 and 6 may be adduced from the time of the judges. Yet the words in ver. 6, even when their rhetorical character is taken into account, are too strong for the anarchic state of things during the period of the judges, and the internal struggles of that time (Judg. xii. 1–6 and chap. xx. f.). And consequently, although Vitr. and Ramb. think that a reference to experiences already past, and oppressions already lived through, would have made a much deeper impression than pointing forward to future periods of oppression, yet Ramb. himself remarks, *nihilominus tamen in sæculis Asæ imperium antegressis vix ullum tempus post ingressum in terram Canaan et constitutam rempubl. Israel. posse ostendi, cui omnia criteria hujus orationis propheticæ omni ex parte et secundum omnia pondera verbis insita conveniant.* But, without doubt, the omission of any definite statement of the time in ver. 3 is decisive against the exclusive reference of this speech to the past, and to the period of the judges. The verse contains no verb, so that the words may just as well refer to the past as to the future. The prophet has not stated the time definitely, because he was giving utterance to truths which have force at all times,[1] and which Israel had had experience of already in the time of the judges, but would have much deeper experience of in the future.

We must take the words in this general sense, and supply neither a preterite nor a future in ver. 3, neither *fuerant* nor *erunt*, but must express the first clause by the present in English:

[1] As Ramb. therefore rightly remarks, "*Vatem videri consulto abstinuisse a determinatione temporis, ut vela sensui quam amplissime panderentur, verbaque omnibus temporum periodis adplicari possent, in quibus criteria hic recensita adpareant.*"

"Many days are for Israel (*i.e.* Israel lives many days) without the true God, and without teaching priests, and without law." יָמִים רַבִּים is not accus. of time (Berth.), but the subject of the sentence; and לְלֹא אֱלֹהִי is not subject—"during many days there was to the people Israel no true God" (Berth.)—but predicate, while לְ expresses the condition into which anything comes, and לֹא forms part of the following noun: Days for Israel for having not a true God. לְלֹא differs from בְּלֹא, "without," just as לְ differs from בְּ; the latter expressing the being in a condition, the former the coming into it. On אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת, cf. Jer. x. 10. כֹּהֵן מוֹרֶה is not to be limited to the high priest, for it refers to the priests *in* general, whose office it was to teach the people law and justice (Lev. x. 10; Deut. xxxiii. 10). The accent is upon the predicates אֱמֶת and מוֹרֶה. Israel had indeed Elohim, but not the true God, and also priests, but not priests who attended to their office, who watched over the fulfilment of the law; and so they had no תּוֹרָה, notwithstanding the book of the law composed by Moses.—Ver. 5. "And in these times is no peace to those going out or to those coming in." Free peaceful intercommunication is interfered with (cf. Judg. v. 6, vi. 2), but great terrors upon all inhabitants of the lands (הָאֲרָצוֹת are, according to the usage of the chronicler, the various districts of the land of Israel).—Ver. 6. "And one people is dashed in pieces by the other, and one city by the other; for God confounds them by all manner of adversity." הָמַם denotes confusion, which God brings about in order to destroy His enemies (Ex. xiv. 24; Josh. x. 10; Judg. iv. 15). Days when they were without the true God, without teaching prophets, and without law, Israel had already experienced in the times of defection after Joshua (cf. Judg. ii. 11 ff.), but will experience them in the future still oftener and more enduringly under the idolatrous kings in the Assyrian and Babylonian exile, and still even now in its dispersion among all nations. That this saying refers to the future is also suggested by the fact that Hosea (chap. iii. and iv.) utters, with a manifest reference to ver. 3 of our speech, a threat that the ten tribes will be brought into a similar condition (cf. Hos. ix. 3, 4); and even Moses proclaimed to the people that the punishment of defection from the Lord would be dispersion among the heathen, where Israel would be compelled to serve idols of wood and stone (Deut. iv. 27 ff., xxviii. 36, 64), *i.e.* would be without the true God. That Israel would, in such oppression, turn to its God, would seek Him, and

that the Lord would be found of them, is a thought also expressed by Moses, the truth of which Israel had not only had repeated experience of during the time of the judges, but also would again often experience in the future (cf. Hos. iii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 1; Ezek. xxxvi. 24 ff.; Rom. xi. 25 ff.). בַּצַּר־לוֹ refers back to Deut. iv. 30; the expression in ver. 4*b* is founded upon Deut. iv. 29 (cf. Isa. lv. 6).—Of the oppression in the times of defection portrayed in ver. 5 f., Israel had also had in the time of the judges repeated experience (cf. Judg. v. 6), most of all under the Midianite yoke (Judg. vi. 2); but such times often returned, as the employment of the very words of the first hemistich of ver. 5 in Zech. viii. 10, in reference to the events of the post-exilic time, shows; and not only the prophet Amos (iii. 9) sees מְהוּמוֹת רַבּוֹת, great confusions, where all is in an indistinguishable whirl in the Samaria of his time, but they repeated themselves at all times when the defection prevailed, and godlessness degenerated into revolution and civil war. Azariah portrays the terrors of such times in strong colours (ver. 6): "Dashed to pieces is people by people, and city by city." The war of the tribes of Israel against Benjamin (Judg. xx. f.), and the struggle of the Gileadites under Jephthah with Ephraim (Judg. xii. 4 ff.), were civil wars; but they were only mild preludes of the *bellum omnium contra omnes* depicted by Azariah, which only commenced with the dissolution of both kingdoms, and was announced by the later prophets as the beginning of the judgment upon rebellious Israel (*e.g.* Isa. ix. 17–20), and upon all peoples and kingdoms hostile to God (Zech. xiv. 13; Matt. xxiv. 7). With כִּי אֱלֹהִים cf. הֻמָּם, מְהוּמַת יי׳ רַבָּה, Zech. xiv. 13. To this portrayal of the dread results of defection from the Lord, Azariah adds (ver. 7) the exhortation, "Be ye strong (vigorous), and show yourselves not slack, languid" (cf. Zeph. iii. 16; Neh. vi. 9); *i.e.*, in this connection, proceed courageously and vigorously to keep yourselves true to the Lord, to exterminate all idolatry; then you shall obtain a great reward: cf. on these words, Jer. xxxi. 16.

Vers. 8–18. *Completion of the reform in worship, and the renewal of the covenant.*—Ver. 8. The speech and prophecy of the prophet strengthened the king to carry out the work he had begun, viz. the extirpation of idolatry from the whole land. In ver. 8 the words עֹדֵד הַנָּבִיא are surprising, not only because the prophet is called in ver. 1, not Oded, but Azariah the son of Oded, but also on account of the preceding הַנְּבוּאָה in the absolute state, which

cannot stand, without more ado, for the *stat. constr.* נְבוּאַת (cf. ix. 29). The view of Cler. and Ew., that by an orthographical error עֲזַרְיָהוּ בֶּן has been dropped out, does not remove the difficulty, for it leaves the *stat. absol.* הַנְּבוּאָה unexplained. This is also the case with the attempt to explain the name Oded in ver. 8 by transposing the words Azariah ben Oded, ver. 1, so as to obtain Oded ben Azariah (Movers); and there seems to be no other solution of the difficulty than to strike out the words Oded the prophet from the text as a gloss which has crept into it (Berth.), or to suppose that there is a considerable hiatus in the text caused by the dropping out of the words אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר עֲזַרְיָהוּ בֶּן.[1] הִתְחַזַּק corresponds to חִזְּקוּ. Asa complied with the exhortation, and removed (וַיַּעֲבֵר, as in 1 Kings xv. 12) all abominations (idols) from the whole land, and from the cities which he had taken from Mount Ephraim: these are the cities which Asa's father Abijah had conquered, xiii. 19. "And he renewed the altar before the porch," *i.e.* the altar of burnt-offering, which might stand in need of repairs sixty years after the building of the temple. The Vulg. is incorrect in translating *dedicavit*, and Berth. in supposing that the renovation refers only to a purification of it from defilement by idolatry. חָדַשׁ is everywhere to renew, repair, *restaurare;* cf. xxiv. 4.—But in order to give internal stability to the reform he had begun, Asa prepared a great sacrificial festival, to which he invited the people out of all the kingdom, and induced them to renew the covenant with the Lord. Ver. 9. He gathered together the whole of Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers out of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, who dwelt among them. Strangers, *i.e.* Israelites from the ten tribes, had come over as early as Rehoboam's reign to the kingdom of Judah (xi. 16); these immigrations increased under Asa when it was seen that Jahve was with him, and had given him a great victory over the Cushites. It is surprising that Simeon should be mentioned among the tribes from which Israelites went over to the kingdom of Judah, since Simeon had received his heritage in the southern district of the tribal domain of Judah, so that at the division of the kingdom it could not well separate itself from

[1] C. P. Caspari, *der Syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg*, Christian. 1849, S. 51, explains the *absol.* הַנְּבוּאָה by an ellipse, as in Isa. iii. 14, viii. 11, "the prophecy (that) of Oded," but answers the question why Oded is used in ver. 8 instead of Azarjahu ben Oded by various conjectures, none of which can be looked upon as probable.

Judah, and join with the tribes who had revolted from the house of David. The grouping together of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, both in our verse and in xxxiv. 6, can consequently scarcely be otherwise explained than by the supposition, either that a part of the Simeonites had in course of time emigrated from the cities assigned to them under Joshua into districts in the northern kingdom (Berth.), or that the Simeonites, though politically united with Judah, yet in religious matters were not so, but abstained from taking part in the Jahve-worship in Jerusalem, and had set up in Beersheba a worship of their own similar to that in Bethel and Dan. In such a case, the more earnest and thoughtful people from Simeon, as well as from Ephraim and Manasseh, may have gone to Jerusalem to the sacrificial festival prepared by Asa. In favour of this last supposition we may adduce the fact that the prophet Amos, chap. v. 5, iv. 4, viii. 14, mentions Beersheba, along with Bethel and Gilgal, as a place to which pilgrimages were made by the idolatrous Israelites.—Ver. 10 f. At this festival, which was held on the third month of the fifteenth year of Asa's reign, they offered of the booty, *i.e.* of the cattle captured in the war against the Cushites (xiv. 14), 700 oxen and 7000 sheep. מִן־הַשָּׁלָל הֵבִיאוּ defines the וַיִּזְבְּחוּ more closely: they sacrificed, viz. from the booty they offered. From this it seems to follow that the sacrificial festival was held soon after the return from the war against the Cushites. The attack of the Cushite Zerah upon Judah can only have occurred in the eleventh year of Asa, according to xiii. 23; but it is not stated how long the war lasted, nor when Asa returned to Jerusalem (xiv. 14) after conquering the enemy and plundering the towns of the south land. But Asa may quite well have remained longer in the south after the Cushites had been driven back, in order again firmly to establish his rule there; and on his return to Jerusalem, in consequence of the exhortation of the prophet Azariah, may have straightway determined to hold a sacrificial festival at which the whole people should renew the covenant with the Lord, and have set apart and reserved a portion of the captured cattle for this purpose.—Ver. 12. And they entered into the covenant, *i.e.* they renewed the covenant, bound themselves by a promise on oath (שְׁבוּעָה, ver. 14) to hold the covenant, viz. to worship Jahve the God of the fathers with their whole heart and soul; cf. Deut. iv. 29. With בּוֹא בִבְרִית, cf. Jer. xxxiv. 10.—Ver. 13 f. To attest the sincerity of their return to the Lord, they determined at the

same time to punish defection from Jahve on the part of any one, without respect to age or sex, with death, according to the command in Deut. xvii. 2–6. לֹא דָרַשׁ ליהוה, not to worship Jahve, is substantially the same as to serve other gods, Deut. xvii. 3. This they swore aloud and solemnly, בְּתְרוּעָה, with joyful shouting and the sound of trumpets and horns.—Ver. 15. This return to the Lord brought joy to all Judah, *i.e.* to the whole kingdom, because they had sworn with all their heart, and sought the Lord בְּכָל־רְצוֹנָם, with perfect willingness and alacrity. Therefore Jahve was found of them, and gave them rest round about.—In vers. 16–18, in conclusion, everything which still remained to be said of Asa's efforts to promote the Jahve-worship is gathered up. Even the queen-mother Maachah was deposed by him from the dignity of ruler because she had made herself an image of Asherah; yet he did not succeed in wholly removing the altars on the high places from the land, etc. These statements are also to be found in 1 Kings xv. 13–16, and are commented upon at that place. Only in the Chronicle we have אֵם אָסָא instead of אִמּוֹ (Kings), because there Maachah had just been named (ver. 10); and to the statement as to the abolition of idolatry, יָדַק, crushed, is added, and in ver. 17 מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל; while, on the other hand, after שָׁלֵם, עִם יהוה is omitted, as not being necessary to the expression of the meaning.

Ver. 19 is different from 1 Kings xv. 16. In the latter passage it is said: war was between Asa and Baasha the king of Israel כָּל־יְמֵיהֶם, *i.e.* so long as both reigned contemporaneously; while in the Chronicle it is said: war was not until the thirty-fifth year of Asa's reign. This discrepancy is partly got rid of by taking מִלְחָמָה in the book of Kings to denote the latent hostility or inimical attitude of the two kingdoms towards each other, and in the Chronicle to denote a war openly declared. The date, until the thirty-fifth year, causes a greater difficulty; but this has been explained in chap. xvi. 1 by the supposition that in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign war broke out between Asa and Baasha, when the meaning of our 16th verse would be: It did not come to war with Baasha until the thirty-sixth year of Asa's rule. For further remarks on this, see on xvi. 1.

Chap. xvi. *War with Baasha, and the weakness of Asa's faith. The end of his reign.*—Vers. 1–6. Baasha's invasion of Judah, and Asa's prayer for help to the king of Syria. The statement, "In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha the king of Israel came up against Judah," is inaccurate, or rather cannot possibly

be correct; for, according to 1 Kings xvi. 8, 10, Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa's reign, and his successor Elah was murdered by Zimri in the second year of his reign, *i.e.* in the twenty-seventh year of Asa. The older commentators, for the most part, accepted the conjecture that the thirty-fifth year (in xv. 19) is to be reckoned from the commencement of the kingdom of Judah; and consequently, since Asa became king in the twentieth year of the kingdom of Judah, that Baasha's invasion occurred in the sixteenth year of his reign, and that the land had enjoyed peace till his fifteenth year; cf. Ramb. *ad h. l.*; des Vignoles, *Chronol.* i. p. 299. This is in substance correct; but the statement, "in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's kingship," cannot be reconciled with it. For even if we suppose that the author of the Chronicle derived his information from an authority which reckoned from the rise of the kingdom of Judah, yet it could not have been said on that authority, לְמַלְכוּת אָסָא. This only the author of the Chronicle can have written; but then he cannot also have taken over the statement, "in the thirty-sixth year," unaltered from his authority into his book. There remains therefore no alternative but to regard the text as erroneous, —the letters ל (30) and ו (10), which are somewhat similar in the ancient Hebrew characters, having been interchanged by a copyist; and hence the numbers 35 and 36 have arisen out of the original 15 and 16. By this alteration all difficulties are removed, and all the statements of the Chronicle as to Asa's reign are harmonized. During the first ten years there was peace (xiii. 23); thereafter, in the eleventh year, the inroad of the Cushites; and after the victory over them there was the continuation of the Cultus reform, and rest until the fifteenth year, in which the renewal of the covenant took place (xv. 19, cf. with ver. 10); and in the sixteenth year the war with Baasha arose.[1] The account of this war in vers. 1–6 agrees with that in 1 Kings xv. 17–22 almost literally, and has been commented upon in the remarks on 1 Kings xv. In ver. 2 the author of the Chronicle has mentioned only the main things. Abel-Maim, *i.e.* Abel in the Water (ver. 4), is only another name for Abel-Beth-Maachah (Kings); see on 2 Sam. xx. 14. In the same verse

[1] Movers, S. 255 ff., and Then. on 1 Kings xv., launch out into arbitrary hypotheses, founded in both cases upon the erroneous presumption that the author of the Chronicle copied our canonical books of Kings—they being his authority—partly misunderstanding and partly altering them.

וְאֵת כָּל־מִסְכְּנוֹת עָרֵי נַפְתָּלִי is surprising, "and all magazines (or stores) of the cities of Naphtali," instead of אֵת כָּל־כִּנְרוֹת עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ נַפְתָּלִי, "all Kinneroth, together with all the land of Naphtali" (Kings). Then. and Berth. think מסכנות ערי has arisen out of ארץ and כנרות by a misconception of the reading; while Gesen., Dietr. in *Lex. sub voce* כִּנְרוֹת, conjecture that in 1 Kings xv. 20 מִסְכְּנוֹת should be read instead of כִּנְרוֹת.* Should the difference actually be the result only of a misconception, then the latter conjecture would have much more in its favour than the first. But it is a more probable solution of the difficulty that the text of the Chronicle is a translation of the unusual and, especially on account of the עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ נ', scarcely intelligible כָּל־כִּנְרוֹת. כִּנְרוֹת is the designation of the very fertile district on the west side of the Sea of Kinnereth, *i.e.* Gennesaret, after which a city also was called כִּנֶּרֶת (see on Josh. xix. 35), and which, on account of its fertility, might be called the granary of the tribal domain of Naphtali. But the smiting of a district can only be a devastation of it,—a plundering and destruction of its produce, both in stores and elsewhere. With this idea the author of the Chronicle, instead of the district Kinnereth, the name of which had perhaps become obsolete in his time, speaks of the מִסְכְּנוֹת, the magazines or stores, of the cities of Naphtali. In ver. 5, too, we cannot hold the addition וַיִּשְׁבֹּת אֶת־מְלַאכְתּוֹ, "he caused his work to rest," as Berth. does, for an interpretation of the original reading, וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּתִרְצָה (Kings), it having become illegible: it is rather a free rendering of the thought that Baasha abandoned his attempt upon Judah.—Ver. 6. In regard to the building of Mizpah, it is casually remarked in Jer. xli. 9 that Asa had there built a cistern.

Vers. 7–10. *The rebuke of the prophet Hanani, and Asa's crime.* —Ver. 7. The prophet Hanani is met with only here. Jehu, the son of Hanani, who announced to Baasha the ruin of his house (1 Kings xvi. 1), and who reappears under Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xix. 2), was without doubt his son. Hanani said to King Asa, "Because thou hast relied on the king of Aram, and not upon Jahve thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Aram escaped out of thy hand." Berth. has correctly given the meaning thus: "that Asa, if he had relied upon God, would have conquered not only the host of Baasha, but also the host of the king of Damascus, if he had, as was to be feared, in accordance with his league with Baasha (ver. 3), in common with Israel,

made an attack upon the kingdom of Judah." To confirm this statement, the prophet points to the victory over the great army of the Cushites, which Asa had won by his trust in God the Lord. With the Cushites Hanani names also לוּבִים, Libyans (cf. xii. 3), and besides רֶכֶב, the war-chariots, also פָּרָשִׁים, horsemen, in order to portray the enemy rhetorically, while in the historical narrative only the immense number of warriors and the multitude of the chariots is spoken of.—Ver. 9. "For Jahve, His eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show Himself strong with those whose heart is devoted to Him;" *i.e.*, for Jahve, who looks forth over all the earth, uses every opportunity wonderfully to succour those who are piously devoted to Him. הִתְחַזֵּק עִם, to help mightily, as in 1 Chron. xi. 10. עִם־לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלָיו is a relative sentence without the relative אֲשֶׁר with עִם; cf. 1 Chron. xv. 12. "Thou hast done foolishly, therefore," *scil.* because thou hast set thy trust upon men instead of upon Jahve, "for from henceforth there shall be wars to thee" (thou shalt have war). In these words the prophet does not announce to Asa definite wars, but only expresses the general idea that Asa by his godless policy would bring only wars (מִלְחָמוֹת in indefinite universality), not peace, to the kingdom. History confirms the truth of this announcement, although we have no record of any other wars which broke out under Asa.—Ver. 10. This sharp speech so angered the king, that he caused the seer to be set in the stock-house. בֵּית הַמַּהֲפֶכֶת, properly, house of stocks. מַהֲפֶכֶת, twisting, is an instrument of torture, a stock, by which the body was forced into an unnatural twisted position, the victim perhaps being bent double, with the hands and feet fastened together: cf. Jer. xx. 2, xxix. 26; and Acts xvi. 24, ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἠσφαλίσατο αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ξύλον. "For in wrath against him (*scil.* he did it) because of this thing, and Asa crushed some of the people at this time." Clearly Hanani's speech, and still more Asa's harsh treatment of the seer, caused great discontent among the people, at least in the upper classes, so that the king felt himself compelled to use force against them. רָצַץ, to break or crush, is frequently used along with עָשַׁק (Deut. xxviii. 33; 1 Sam. xii. 3, etc.), and signifies to suppress with violence. Asa had indeed well deserved the censure, Thou hast dealt foolishly. His folly consisted in this, that in order to get help against Baasha's attack, he had had recourse to a means which must become dangerous to him and to his kingdom; for

it was not difficult to foresee that the Syrian king Benhadad would turn the superiority to Israel which he had gained against Judah itself. But in order to estimate rightly Asa's conduct, we must consider that it was perhaps an easier thing, in human estimation, to conquer the innumerable multitudes of the Ethiopian hordes than the united forces of the kings of Israel and Syria; and that, notwithstanding the victory over the Ethiopians, yet Asa's army may have been very considerably weakened by that war. But these circumstances are not sufficient to justify Asa. Since he had so manifestly had the help of the Lord in the war against the Cushites, it was at bottom mainly weakness of faith, or want of full trust in the omnipotence of the Lord, which caused him to seek the help of the enemy of God's people, the king of Syria, instead of that of the Almighty God, and to make flesh his arm; and for this he was justly censured by the prophet.

Vers. 11–14. *The end of Asa's reign;* cf. 1 Kings xv. 23, 24. —On ver. 11, cf. the Introduction.—Ver. 12. In the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa became diseased in his feet, and that in a high degree. The words עַד־לִמְאֹד חָלְיוֹ are a circumstantial clause: to a high degree was his sickness. "And also in his sickness (as in the war against Baasha) he sought not Jahve, but turned to the physicians." דָּרַשׁ is primarily construed with the accus., as usually in connection with יהוה or אלהים, to seek God, to come before Him with prayer and supplication; then with בְּ, as usually of an oracle, or seeking help of idols (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; 2 Kings i. 2 ff.; 1 Chron. x. 14), and so here of superstitious trust in the physicians. Consequently it is not the mere inquiring of the physicians which is here censured, but only the godless manner in which Asa trusted in the physicians.—Ver. 14. The Chronicle gives a more exact account of Asa's burial than 1 Kings xv. 24. He was buried in the city of David; not in the general tomb of the kings, however, but in a tomb which he had caused to be prepared for himself in that place. And they laid him upon the bed, which had been filled with spices (בְּשָׂמִים, see Ex. xxx. 23), and those of various kinds, mixed for an anointing mixture, prepared. זָנִים from זַן, kind, species; חֲנִים, *et varia quidem.* מְרֻקָּח in Piel only here, properly spiced, from רָקַח, to spice, usually to compound an unguent of various spices. מִרְקַחַת, the compounding of ointment; so also 1 Chron. ix. 30, where it is usually translated by unguent. מַעֲשֵׂה, work, manufacture, is a

shortened *terminus technicus* for מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקֵחַ, manufacture of the ointment-compounder (cf. Ex. xxx. 25, 35), and the conjecture that רוֹקֵחַ has been dropped out of the text by mistake is unnecessary. "And they kindled for him a great, very great burning," cf. xxi. 19 and Jer. xxxiv. 5, whence we gather that the kindling of a burning, *i.e.* the burning of odorous spices, was customary at the burials of kings. Here it is only remarked that at Asa's funeral an extraordinary quantity of spices was burnt. A burning of the corpse, or of the bed or clothes of the dead, is not to be thought of here: the Israelites were in the habit of burying their dead, not of burning them. That occurred only in extraordinary circumstances,—as, for example, in the case of the bodies of Saul and his sons; see on 1 Sam. xxxi. 12. The kindling and burning of spices at the solemn funerals of persons of princely rank, on the other hand, occurred also among other nations, *e.g.* among the Romans; cf. Plinii *hist. nat.* xii. 18, and M. Geier, *de luctu Hebr.* c. 6.

CHAP. XVII.–XX.—JEHOSHAPHAT'S REIGN.

Jehoshaphat laboured to strengthen the kingdom both within and without. Not only did he place soldiers in the fenced cities, and removed the high places and the Astartes, but sought also to diffuse the knowledge of the law among the people, and by building castles and the possession of a well-equipped army, firmly to establish his power (chap. xvii.). In the course of years he married into the family of Ahab king of Israel, and, while on a visit in Samaria, allowed himself to be persuaded by Ahab to enter upon a joint war against the Syrians at Ramoth in Gilead, in which he all but lost his life, while King Ahab was mortally wounded in the battle (chap. xviii.). Censured on his return to Jerusalem by the prophet Jehu for this alliance with the godless Ahab, he sought still more earnestly to lead back his people to Jahve, the God of their fathers, bestirring himself to bring the administration of justice into a form in accordance with the law of God, and establishing a supreme tribunal in Jerusalem (chap. xix.). Thereafter, when the Moabites and Ammonites, with the Edomites and other desert tribes, made an inroad into Judah, the Lord gave him a wonderful victory over these enemies. At a later time he yet again allied himself with the Israelitish king Ahaziah for the restoration of the commerce

with Ophir; but the ships built for this purpose were broken in the harbour, so that the voyage was abandoned (chap. xx.). Of all these enterprises of Jehoshaphat, none are mentioned in the book of Kings except the campaign entered upon with Ahab against Ramoth in Gilead, which is found in the history of Ahab, 1 Kings xxii. 2–35. Jehoshaphat's reign itself is only characterized generally, but in such a way as to agree with the account in the Chronicle; and, in conclusion, the alliance with Ahaz for the purpose of making the voyage to Ophir is shortly narrated in 1 Kings xxii. 41–57, but in a form which differs considerably from that in which it is communicated in the Chronicle.

Chap. xvii. *Jehoshaphat's efforts to strengthen the kingdom, internally and externally.*—Ver. 1, or rather the first half of this verse, belongs properly to the preceding chapter, since, when the son immediately follows the father on the throne, the successor is mentioned immediately: cf. ix. 31, xii. 16, xxiv. 27, xxvii. 9, etc. Here, however, the account of the accession to the throne is combined with a general remark on the reign of the successor, and therefore it is placed at the commencement of the account of the reign; while in the case of Asa (chap. xiii. 23) both come in immediately at the conclusion of the reign of his predecessor. Asa had shown himself weak against Israel, as he had sought help against Baasha's attack from the Syrians (xvi. 1 ff.), but it was otherwise with Jehoshaphat. He indeed put the fenced cities of his kingdom in a thoroughly good condition for defence, to protect his kingdom against hostile attacks from without (ver. 2); but he walked at the same time in the ways of the Lord, so that the Lord made his kingdom strong and mighty (vers. 3–5). This general characterization of his reign is in ver. 6 illustrated by facts: first by the communication of what Jehoshaphat did for the inner spiritual strengthening of the kingdom, by raising the standard of religion and morals among the people (vers. 6–11), and then by what he did for the external increase of his power (vers. 12–19).

Vers. 2–5. He placed forces (חַיִל) in all the fenced cities of Judah, and garrisons (נְצִיבִים, military posts; cf. 1 Chron. xi. 16) in the land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which his father Asa had taken; cf. xv. 8. God blessed these undertakings. Jahve was with him, because he walked in the ways of David his ancestor, the former ways, and sought not the Baals. The *former* ways of David are his ways in the earlier years of his reign, in contrast to the later years, in which his adultery with

Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. ff.) and the sin of numbering the people (1 Chron. xxi.) fall. הַבְּעָלִים are all false gods, in contrast to Jahve, the one God of Israel; and here the word designates not only the Baal-worship properly so called, but also the worship of Jahve by means of images, by which Jahve is brought down to the level of the Baals; cf. Judg. ii. 11. The ל before בְּעָלִים stands, according to the later usage, as a sign of the accusative. In the last clause of ver. 4, "and not after the doings of Israel" (of the ten tribes), הָלַךְ, "he walked," is to be repeated. The doing of Israel is the worship of Jahve through the images of the golden calves, which the author of the Chronicle includes in the דָּרַשׁ לַבְּעָלִים.—Ver. 5. Therefore Jahve established the kingdom in his hand, *i.e.* under his rule; cf. 2 Kings xiv. 5. All Judah brought him presents. מִנְחָה, often used of tribute of subject peoples, *e.g.* in ver. 11 of the Philistines, cannot here have that signification; nor can it denote the regular imposts of subjects, for these are not called מִנְחָה; but must denote voluntary gifts which his subjects brought him as a token of their reverence and love. The last clause, "and there was to him (he attained) riches and honour in abundance," which is repeated xviii. 1, recalls 1 Chron. xxix. 28, 2 Chron. i. 12, and signifies that Jehoshaphat, like his ancestors David and Solomon, was blessed for walking in the pious ways of these his forefathers.

Vers. 6–9. This blessing encouraged Jehoshaphat to extirpate from the land all idolatrous worship, and to teach the people the law of the Lord. גָּבַהּ לֵב, usually *sensu malo*, to be haughty, proud, cf. *e.g.* xxvi. 16, xxxii. 25; here *sensu bono*, of rising courage to advance in ways pleasing to God: and he removed the high places also, etc. עוֹד points back to ver. 3: not only did he himself keep far from the Baals, but he removed, besides, all memorials of the Baal-worship from Judah. On בָּמוֹת and אֲשֵׁרִים, see on xiv. 2.—Ver. 7 ff. In the third year of his reign he sent five princes, *i.e.* laymen of high position, with nine Levites and two priests, into the cities of Judah, with the book of the law, to teach the law everywhere to the people. בֶּן־חַיִל is *nom. prop.*, like בֶּן־חֶסֶד, 1 Kings iv. 10, בֶּן־דֶּקֶר, 1 Kings iv. 9, and is not to be translated as an adjective, as in LXX. and Syr., partly on account of the ל *præf.*, and still more on account of the singular, for the plural בְּנֵי חַיִל must be used when it is in apposition to לְשָׂרִי. Nothing further is known of the men named; the designation of them as שָׂרִים suggests the idea that they were heads of

families or fathers'-houses. טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה, too (ver. 8), is one name. The "book of the law of Jahve" is the Pentateuch, not merely a collection of Mosaic laws, since in Jehoshaphat's time the Mosaic book of the law (the Pentateuch) had been long in existence. סָבַב בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה signifies to go through the cities of Judah in different directions; לִמֵּד בָּעָם, to teach among the people (not the people). The mission of these men is called by the older theologians a solemn *ecclesiarum visitatio, quam Josaphat laudabili exemplo per universum regnum suum instituit*, and they differ in opinion only as to the part played by the princes in it. Vitringa, *de synagoga vet.* p. 389, in agreement with Rashi, thinks that only the Levites and priests were deputed *ut docerent;* the princes, *ut auctoritate imperioque suo populum erudiendum in officio continerent eumque de seria regis voluntate certiorem facerent;* while others, *e.g.* Buddæus, refer to ver. 9, *ubi principes pariter ac Levitæ populum docuisse dicuntur*, or believe with Grotius, *docere et explicare legem non tantum sacerdotum erat et Levitarum, sed omnium eruditorum.* Both views contain elements of truth, and do not mutually exclude each other, but may be harmonized. We can hardly confine לִמֵּד to religious teaching. The Mosaic law contains a number of merely civil precepts, as to which laymen learned in the law might impart instruction; and consequently the teaching probably consisted not merely in making the people acquainted with the contents of the law, but at the same time of direction and guidance in keeping the law, and generally in restoring and confirming the authority of the law among the people. In connection with this there were many abuses and illegalities which had to be broken down and removed; so that in this respect the task of the commission sent round the country by Jehoshaphat may be compared to a church inspection, if only we understand thereby not an inspection of churches in the Christian sense of the words, but an inspection of the religious and moral life of the communities of Israel under the old covenant.

Vers. 10 and 11. This attempt of Jehoshaphat brought him this blessing, that the terror of Jahve fell upon all the surrounding kingdoms; and not only did none of the neighbouring peoples venture to make war upon him, but also various tribes did homage to him by presents. Ramb. has already so understood the connection of these verses (*erat hoc præmium pietatis Josaphati, quod vicini satisque potentes hostes non auderent adversus*

ipsum hiscere); while Berth. fails to apprehend it, saying that Jehoshaphat had time to care for the instruction of his people, because at that time the neighbouring peoples did not venture to undertake war against Judah. The words "terror of Jahve," cf. xiv. 13, xx. 29, and "all the kingdoms of the lands," cf. xii. 8, 1 Chron. xxix. 30, are expressions peculiar to the author of the Chronicle, which show that by these remarks he is preparing the way for a transition to a more detailed portrayal of Jehoshaphat's political power. מִן־פְּלִשְׁתִּים is subject, מִן partitive: some of the Philistines brought him presents (for מִנְחָה see on ver. 5), "and silver a burden," *i.e.* in great quantity. מַשָּׂא does not signify tribute, *vectigal argento* (Vulg.), for the word has not that signification, but denotes burden, that which can be carried, as in לְאֵין מַשָּׂא, xx. 25.—עַרְבִיאִים or עַרְבִיִּים, xxvi. 7, and more usually עַרְבִים, xxi. 16, xxii. 1, are Arabian nomadic tribes (Bedâwin), perhaps those whom Asa, after his victory over the Cushite Zerah, had brought under the kingdom of Judah, xiv. 14. These paid their tribute in small cattle, rams, and he-goats. (תְּיָשִׁים, Gen. xxx. 35, xxxii. 15, Prov. xxx. 31.)

Vers. 12–19. *Description of Jehoshaphat's power.*—Ver. 12. And Jehoshaphat became ever greater, *sc.* in power. The partic. הוֹלֵךְ expresses the continuous advance in greatness, cf. Ew. § 280, *b*, as the *infin. absol.* does elsewhere, *e.g.* Gen. viii. 3. עַד לְמַעְלָה as in xvi. 12.—He built castles in Judah. בִּירָנִיּוֹת, only here and in xxvii. 4, from בִּירָנִית, derivative formed from בִּירָה by the Syriac termination ־ָנִית, *fem.* of ־ָן: castle, fortress. On עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת cf. viii. 4.—Ver. 13. וּמְלָאכָה רַבָּה וגו׳ is rightly translated by Luther, "und hatte viel Vorraths" (and had much store). מְלָאכָה denotes here, as in Ex. xxii. 7–10, property, that which has been gained by work or business. The signification, much work, *opera magna* (Vulg., Cler., etc.), as also Bertheau's translation, "the works for equipping and provisioning the fortresses," correspond neither to the context nor to the parallel (synonymous) second member of the verse. The work and trouble necessary to equip the cities of Judah does not correspond to "the valiant warriors in Jerusalem;" the only parallel is the goods and property which were in these cities, the provision of victuals and war material there stored up. —Vers. 14–19. The men fit for war passed in review according to their fathers'-houses. The male population of Judah fell into three divisions, that of Benjamin into two. The prince Adnah held the first place among the generals, with 300,000 men of

Judah. עַל יָדוֹ, at his hand, *i.e.* with and under him, Jehohanan had the command of 280,000 men, and Amasiah over 200,000. הַשָּׂר is a contraction for שַׂר אֲלָפִים. For what special reason it is so honourably recorded of Amasiah that he had willingly offered himself to the Lord (cf. for הִתְנַדֵּב, Judg. v. 9) has not been communicated.—Ver. 17 f. The Benjamites fell into two detachments: archers with shields (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 40) 200,000 men, under the chief command of Eliada, and "equipped of the army," *i.e.* not heavy armed (Berth.), but provided with the usual weapons, sword, spear, and shield (cf. 1 Chron. xii. 24), 180,000 under the command of Jehozabad. According to this statement, Judah had 780,000 warriors capable of bearing arms. These numbers are clearly too large, and bear no proportion to the result of the numbering of the people capable of bearing arms under David, when there were in Judah only 500,000 or 470,000 men (cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 5 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 5); yet the sums of the single divisions appear duly proportioned,—a fact which renders it more difficult to believe that these exaggerated numbers are the result of orthographical errors.—Ver. 19. These were serving the king. אֵלֶּה refers not to the above-mentioned men capable of bearing arms, for שָׁרֵת is not used of service in war, but to the commanders whom he had placed in the fortified cities of all Judah, "in which probably bodies of the above-mentioned troops lay as garrisons" (Berth.).

Chap. xviii. *Jehoshaphat's marriage alliance with Ahab, and his campaign with Ahab against the Syrians at Ramoth in Gilead.* —Ver. 1. Jehoshaphat came into connection by marriage with Ahab through his son Joram taking Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab, to wife (xxi. 6); an event which did not take place on the visit made by Jehoshaphat to Ahab in his palace at Samaria, and recorded in ver. 2, but which had preceded that by about nine years. That visit falls in the beginning of the year in which Ahab was mortally wounded at Ramoth, and died, *i.e.* the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat's reign. But at that time Ahaziah, the son of Joram and Athaliah, was already from eight to nine years old, since thirteen years later he became king at the age of twenty-two; 2 Kings viii. 26, cf. with the chronol. table to 1 Kings xii. The marriage connection is mentioned in order to account for Jehoshaphat's visit to Samaria (ver. 2), and his alliance with Ahab in the war against the Syrians; but it is also introduced by a reference to Jehoshaphat's riches and his

royal splendour, repeated from chap. xvii. 5. In the opinion of many commentators, this is stated to account for Ahab's willingness to connect his family by marriage with that of Jehoshaphat. This opinion might be tenable were it Ahab's entering upon a marriage connection with Jehoshaphat which is spoken of; but for Jehoshaphat, of whom it is related that he entered into a marriage connection with Ahab, his own great wealth could not be a motive for his action in that matter. If we consider, first, that this marriage connection was very hurtful to the kingdom of Judah and the royal house of David, since Athaliah not only introduced the Phœnician idolatry into the kingdom, but also at the death of Ahaziah extirpated all the royal seed of the house of David, only the infant Joash of all the royal children being saved by the princess, a sister of Ahaziah, who was married to the high priest Jehoiada (xxii. 10–12); and, second, that Jehoshaphat was sharply censured by the prophet for his alliance with the criminal Ahab (xix. 2 ff.), and had, moreover, all but forfeited his life in the war (xviii. 34 f.),—we see that the author of the Chronicle can only have regarded the marriage connection between Jehoshaphat and Ahab as a mistake. By introducing this account of it by a second reference to Jehoshaphat's riches and power, he must therefore have intended to hint that Jehoshaphat had no need to enter into this relationship with the idolatrous house of Ahab, but had acted very inconsiderately in doing so. Schmidt has correctly stated the contents of the verse thus: *Josaphatus cetera dives et gloriosus infelicem adfinitatem cum Achabo, rege Israelis, contrahit.* With which side the proposals for thus connecting the two royal houses originated we are not anywhere informed. Even if the conjecture of Ramb., that Ahab proposed it to Jehoshaphat, be not well founded, yet so much is beyond doubt, namely, that Ahab not only desired the alliance, but also promoted it by every means in his power, since it must have been of great importance to him to gain in Jehoshaphat a strong ally against the hostile pressure of the Syrians. Jehoshaphat probably entered upon the alliance *bono animo et spe firmandæ inter duo regna pacis* (Ramb.), without much thought of the dangers which a connection of this sort with the idolatrous Ahab and with Jezebel might bring upon his kingdom.

Vers. 2–34. *The campaign undertaken along with Ahab against the Syrians* at Ramoth in Gilead, with its origin, course, and results for Ahab, is narrated in 1 Kings xxii. (in the history of

Ahab) in agreement with our narrative, only the introduction to the war being different here. In 1 Kings xxii. 1–3 it is remarked, in connection with the preceding wars of Ahab with the Syrians, that after there had been no war for three years between Aram and Israel, in the third year Jehoshaphat king of Judah came up to the king of Israel; and the latter, when he and his servants had determined to snatch away from the Syrians the city Ramoth in Gilead, which belonged to Israel, called upon Jehoshaphat to march with him to the war against Ramoth. In the Chronicle the more exact statement, "in the third year," which is intelligible only in connection with the earlier history of Ahab, is exchanged for the indefinite לְקֵץ שָׁנִים, "at the end of years;" and mention is made of the festal entertainment which Ahab bestowed upon his guest and his train (הָעָם אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ), to show the pains which Ahab took to induce King Jehoshaphat to take part in the proposed campaign. He killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, וַיְסִיתֵהוּ, and enticed, seduced him to go up with him to Ramoth. הֵסִית, to incite, entice to anything (Judg. i. 14), frequently to evil; cf. Deut. xiii. 7, etc. עָלָה, to advance upon a land or a city in a warlike sense. The account which follows of the preparations for the campaign by inquiring of prophets, and of the war itself, vers. 4–34, is in almost verbal agreement with 1 Kings xxii. 5–35. Referring to 1 Kings xxii. for the commentary on the substance of the narrative, we will here only group together briefly the divergences. Instead of 400 men who were prophets, ver. 5, in 1 Kings xxii. 6 we have about 400 men. It is a statement in round numbers, founded not upon exact enumeration, but upon an approximate estimate. Instead of אִם אֶחְדַּל . . . הֶחָדַל, ver. 5, in Kings, ver. 6, we have הַאֶחְדַּל . . . אִם אֶחְדַּל, both verbs being in the same number; and so too in ver. 14, where in Kings, ver. 15, both verbs stand in the plural, notwithstanding that the answer which follows, עֲלֵה וְהַצְלַח, is addressed to Ahab alone, not to both the kings, while in the Chronicle the answer is given in the plural to both the kings, עֲלוּ וְהַצְלִיחוּ. In ver. 7*a*, "he prophesies me nothing good, but all his days (*i.e.* so long as he has been a prophet) evil," the meaning is intensified by the כָּל־יָמָיו, which is not found in 1 Kings ver. 8. In ver. 9, the וְיוֹשְׁבִים, which is introduced before the בְּגֹרֶן, "and sitting upon the threshing-floor," is due to difference of style, for it is quite superfluous for the signification. In ver. 14, the ambiguous words of Micah, "and Jahve will give into the hand of

the king" (Kings, ver. 15), are given in a more definite form: "and they (the enemy) shall be given into your hand." In ver. 19, in the first זֶה אֹמֵר כָּכָה, the אֹמֵר after the preceding וַיֹּאמֶר is not only superfluous, but improper, and has probably come into the text by a copyist's error. We should therefore read only זֶה בְּכֹה, corresponding to the זֶה כָּכָה of Kings, ver. 20: "Then spake one after this manner, and the other spake after another manner." In ver. 23, the indefinite אֵיזֶה of Kings, ver. 24, is elucidated by אִי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ, "is that the manner" (cf. 1 Kings xiii. 12; 2 Kings iii. 8), and the *verb.* עָבַר follows without the relative pronoun, as in the passages cited. In ver. 30, only שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב of the king are mentioned, without any statement of the number, which is given in Kings, ver. 31, with a backward reference to the former war (1 Kings xx. 24). In ver. 31, after the words, "and Jehoshaphat cried out," the higher cause of Jehoshaphat's rescue is pointed out in the words, "and Jahve helped him, and God drove them from him," which are not found in Kings, ver. 32; but by this religious reflection the actual course of the event is in no way altered. Bertheau's remark, therefore, that "the words disturb the clear connection of the events," is quite unwarrantable. Finally, in ver. 34, הֶעֱמִיד, he was holding his position, *i.e.* he held himself standing upright, the Hiph. is more expressive than the Hoph. מָעֳמָד (Kings, ver. 35), since it expresses more definitely the fact that he held himself upright by his own strength. With Ahab's death, which took place in the evening at the time of the going down of the sun, the author of the Chronicle concludes his account of this war, and proceeds in chap. xix. to narrate the further course of Jehoshaphat's reign. In 1 Kings xxii. 36–39, the return of the defeated army, and the details as to Ahab's death and burial, are recorded; but these did not fit into the plan of the Chronicle.

Chap. xix. *The prophet Jehu's declaration as to Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab, and Jehoshaphat's further efforts to promote the fear of God and the administration of justice in Judah.*— Vers. 1–3. Jehu's declaration. Jehoshaphat returned from the war in which Ahab had lost his life, בְּשָׁלוֹם, *i.e.* safe, uninjured, to his house in Jerusalem; so that the promise of Micah in xviii. 16*b* was fulfilled also as regards him. But on his return, the seer Jehu, the son of Hanani, who had been thrown into the stocks by Asa (xvi. 7 ff.), met him with the reproving word, "Should one help the wicked, and lovest thou the haters

of Jahve!" (the inf. with לְ, as in 1 Chron. v. 1, ix. 25, etc.). Of these sins Jehoshaphat had been guilty. "And therefore is anger from Jahve upon thee" (קֶצֶף עָלֶיךָ as in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Jehoshaphat had already had experience of this wrath, when in the battle of Ramoth the enemy pressed upon him (xviii. 31), and was at a later time to have still further experience of it, partly during his own life, when the enemy invaded his land (chap. xx.), and when he attempted to re-establish the sea trade with Ophir (xx. 35 ff.), partly after his death in his family (chap. xxi. and xxii.). "But," continues Jehu, to console him, "yet there are good things found in thee (cf. xii. 12), for thou hast destroyed the Asheroth . . ." אֲשֵׁרוֹת = אֲשֵׁרִים, xvii. 6. On these last words, comp. xii. 14 and xvii. 4.

Vers. 4–11.—*Jehoshaphat's further arrangements for the revival of the Jahve-worship, and the establishment of a proper administration of justice.*—The first two clauses in ver. 4 are logically connected thus: When Jehoshaphat (after his return from the war) sat (dwelt) in Jerusalem, he again went forth (וַיָּשָׁב וַיֵּצֵא are to be taken together) among the people, from Beersheba, the southern frontier (see 1 Chron. xxi. 2), to Mount Ephraim, the northern frontier of the kingdom of Judah, and brought them back to Jahve, the God of the fathers. The "*again*" (וַיָּשָׁב) can refer only to the former provision for the instruction of the people, recorded in chap. xvii. 7 ff.; all that was effected by the commission which Jehoshaphat had sent throughout the land being regarded as his work. The instruction of the people in the law was intended to lead them back to the Lord. Jehoshaphat now again took up his work of reformation, in order to complete the work he had begun, by ordering and improving the administration of justice.—Ver. 5 ff. He set judges in the land, in all the fenced cities of Judah; they, as larger cities, being centres of communication for their respective neighbourhoods, and so best suited to be the seats of judges. לְעִיר וָעִיר, in reference to every city, as the law (Deut. xvi. 18) prescribed. He laid it upon the consciences of these judges to administer justice conscientiously. "Not for men are ye to judge, but for Jahve;" *i.e.* not on the appointment and according to the will of men, but in the name and according to the will of the Lord (cf. Prov. xvi. 11). In the last clause of ver. 6, Jahve is to be supplied from the preceding context: "and Jahve is with you in judgment," *i.e.* in giving your decisions (cf. the conclusion

of ver. 11); whence this clause, of course, only serves to strengthen the foregoing, only contains the thoughts already expressed in the law, that judgment belongs to God (cf. Deut. i. 17 with Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7 f.). Therefore the fear of the Lord should keep the judges from unrighteousness, so that they should neither allow themselves to be influenced by respect of persons, nor to be bribed by gifts, against which Deut. xvi. 19 and i. 17 also warns. שִׁמְרוּ וַעֲשׂוּ is rightly paraphrased by the Vulgate, *cum diligentia cuncta facite.* The clause, "With God there is no respect of persons," etc., recalls Deut. x. 17.—Vers. 8–11. Besides this, Jehoshaphat established at Jerusalem a supreme tribunal for the decision of difficult cases, which the judges of the individual cities could not decide. Ver. 8. "Moreover, in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set certain of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chiefs of the fathers'-houses of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies (לָרִיב)." From this clause Berth. correctly draws the conclusion, that as in Jerusalem, so also in the fenced cities (ver. 5), it was Levites, priests, and heads of the fathers'-houses who were made judges. This conclusion is not inconsistent with the fact that David appointed 6000 of the Levites to be shoterim and judges; for it does not follow from that that none but Levites were appointed judges, but only that the Levites were to perform an essential part in the administration of the law. The foundation of the judicial body in Israel was the appointment of judges chosen from the elders of the people (Ex. xviii. 21 ff.; Deut. i. 15 ff.) by Moses, at Jethro's instigation, and under the divine sanction. David had no intention, by his appointment of some thousands of Levites to be officials (writers) and judges, to set aside the Mosaic arrangement; on the contrary, he thereby gave it the expansion which the advanced development of the kingdom required. For the simple relationships of the Mosaic time, the appointment of elders to be judges might have been sufficient; but when in the course of time, especially after the introduction of the kingship, the social and political relations became more complicated, it is probable that the need of appointing men with special skill in law, to co-operate with the judges chosen from among the elders, in order that justice might be administered in a right way, and in a manner corresponding to the law, made itself increasingly felt; that consequently David had felt himself called upon to appoint a greater number of Levites to this office,

and that from that time forward the courts in the larger cities were composed of Levites and elders. The supreme court which Jehoshaphat set up in Jerusalem was established on a similar basis. For לְמִשְׁפַּט יהוה we have in ver. 11 לְכָל דְּבַר־יהוה, *i.e.* for all matters connected with religion and the worship; and instead of לְרִיב we have לְכָל דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, for every matter of the king, *i.e.* for all civil causes. The last clause, ver. 8, וַיָּשֻׁבוּ יְרוּשָׁלִַם, cannot signify that the men called to this supreme tribunal went to Jerusalem to dwell there thenceforth (Ramb., etc.), or that the suitors went thither; for שׁוּב does not denote to betake oneself to a place, but to return, which cannot be said of the persons above named, since it is not said that they had left Jerusalem. With Kimchi and others, we must refer the words to the previous statement in ver. 4, וַיֵּצֵא בָעָם וגו׳, and understand them as a supplementary statement, that Jehoshaphat and those who had gone forth with him among the people returned to Jerusalem, which would have come in more fittingly at the close of ver. 7, and is to be rendered: "when they had returned to Jerusalem." The bringing in of this remark at so late a stage of the narrative, only after the establishment of the supreme tribunal has been mentioned, is explained by supposing that the historian was induced by the essential connection between the institution of the supreme court and the arrangement of the judicatories in the provincial cities, to leave out of consideration the order of time in describing the arrangements made by Jehoshaphat.—Ver. 9 f. To the members of the superior tribunal also, Jehoshaphat gave orders to exercise their office in the fear of the Lord, with fidelity and with upright heart (בְּלֵבָב שָׁלֵם, *corde s. animo integro*, cf. xv. 17, xvi. 9). כֹּה תַעֲשׂוּן, thus shall ye do; what they are to do being stated only in ver. 10. The ו before כָּל־רִיב is explicative, namely, and is omitted by the LXX. and Vulg. as superfluous. "Every cause which comes to you from your brethren who dwell in their cities" (and bring causes before the superior court in the following cases): between blood and blood (בֵּין with לְ following, as in Gen. i. 6, etc.), *i.e.* in criminal cases of murder and manslaughter, and between law and between command, statutes, and judgments, *i.e.* in cases where the matter concerns the interpretation and application of the law, and its individual commands, statutes, and judgments, to particular crimes; wherever, in short, there is any doubt by what particular provision of the law the case in hand should be decided. With וְהִזְהַרְתֶּם the

apodosis commences, but it is an anacolouthon. Instead of "ye shall give them instruction therein," we have, "ye shall teach them (those who bring the cause before you), that they incur not guilt, and an anger (*i.e.* God's anger and punishment) come upon you and your brethren" (cf. ver. 2). הִזְהִיר, properly to illuminate, metaphorically to teach, with the additional idea of exhortation or warning. The word is taken from Ex. xviii. 20, and there is construed *c. accus. pers. et rei.* This construction is here also the underlying one, since the object which precedes in the absolute is to be taken as *accus.:* thus, and as regards every cause, ye shall teach them concerning it. After the enumeration of the matters falling within the jurisdiction of this court, כֹּה תַעֲשׂוּן is repeated, and this precept is then pressed home upon the judges by the words, "that ye incur not guilt." Thereafter (in ver. 11) Jehoshaphat nominates the spiritual and civil presidents of this tribunal: for spiritual causes the high priest Amariah, who is not the same as the Amariah mentioned after Zadok as the fifth high priest (1 Chron. v. 37) (see p. 116 and 120); in civil causes Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the prince of the house of Judah, *i.e.* tribal prince of Judah. These shall be עֲלֵיכֶם over you, *i.e.* presidents of the judges; and שֹׁטְרִים, writers, shall the Levites be לִפְנֵיכֶם, before you, *i.e.* as your assistants and servants. Jehoshaphat concludes the nomination of the judicial staff with the encouraging words, "Be strong (courageous) and do," *i.e.* go to work with good heart, "and the Lord be with the good," *i.e.* with him who discharges the duties of his office well.

The establishment of this superior court was in form, indeed, the commencement of a new institution; but in reality it was only the expansion or firmer organization of a court of final appeal already provided by Moses, the duties of which had been until then performed partly by the high priest, partly by the existing civil heads of the people (the judges and kings). When Moses, at Horeb, set judges over the people, he commanded them to bring to him the matters which were too difficult for them to decide, that he might settle them according to decisions obtained of God (Ex. xviii. 26 and 19). At a later time he ordained (Deut. xvii. 8 ff.) that for the future the judges in the various districts and cities should bring the more difficult cases to the Levitic priests and the judge at the place where the central sanctuary was, and let them be decided by them. In

thus arranging, he presupposes that Israel would have at all times not only a high priest who might ascertain the will of God by means of the Urim and Thummim, but also a supreme director of its civil affairs at the place of the central sanctuary, who, in common with the priests, *i.e.* the high priest, would give decisions in cases of final appeal (see the commentary on Deut. xvii. 8–13). On the basis of these Mosaic arrangements, Jehoshaphat set up a supreme court in Jerusalem, with the high priest and a lay president at its head, for the decision of causes which up till that time the king, either alone or with the co-operation of the high priest, had decided. For further information as to this supreme court, see in my *bibl. Archäol.* ii. S. 250 f.

Chap. xx. *Jehoshaphat's victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and other nations; and the remaining items of information as to his reign.*—Vers. 1–30. The victory over the hostile peoples who invaded Judah. In the succeeding time, the Moabites and Ammonites, in alliance with other tribes of Mount Seir, invaded Judah with the purpose of driving the people of God out of their country, and extirpating them (ver. 1). On being informed of this invasion, Jehoshaphat sought help of the Lord, while he proclaimed a fast in the land, and in the temple before the assembled people prayed God for His help (vers. 2–12); and received by the mouth of the prophet Jahaziel the promise that God would fight for Judah, and that king and people would next day behold the help the Lord would give (vers. 13–18). And so it happened. On the following day, when the Judæan army, with the Levitic singers and players at their head, came into the wilderness Jeruel, their enemies had by the dispensation of God mutually destroyed each other (vers. 19–24), so that Jehoshaphat and his people found the proposed battle-field full of corpses, and gathered spoil for three days, and then on the fourth day, in the Valley of Blessing, they praised the Lord for the wonderful deliverance; thereafter returning to Jerusalem with joy, again to thank the Lord in the house of God for His help (vers. 25–30).

Ver. 1 f. By אַחֲרֵיכֵן, *postea*, the war which follows is made to fall in the latter part of Jehoshaphat's reign, but certainly not in the last year in which he reigned alone, two years before his death, but only somewhat later than the events in chap. xviii. and xix., which occurred six or seven years before his death. Along with the Moabites and Ammonites there marched against Jehoshaphat

also מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים. This statement is obscure. Since מִן has unquestionably a partitive or local signification, we might take the word to signify, enemies who dwelt aside from the Ammonites (מִן as in 1 Sam. xx. 22, 37), which might possibly be the designation of tribes in the Syro-Arabic desert bordering upon the country of the Ammonites on the north and east; and מֵאֲרָם in ver. 2 would seem to favour this idea. But vers. 10 and 22 f. are scarcely reconcilable with this interpretation, since there, besides or along with the sons of Ammon and Moab, inhabitants of Mount Seir are named as enemies who had invaded Judah. Now the Edomites dwelt on Mount Seir; but had the Edomites only been allies of the Ammonites and Moabites, we should expect simply בְּנֵי אֱדֹם or אֱדוֹמִים, or בְּנֵי שֵׂעִיר (cf. xxv. 11, 14). Nor can it be denied that the interpretation which makes מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים to denote peoples dwelling beyond the Ammonites is somewhat artificial and far-fetched. Under these circumstances, the alteration proposed by Hiller in *Onomast.* p. 285 commends itself, viz. the change of מהעמונים into מֵהַמְעוֹנִים, Maunites or Maonites,—a tribe whose headquarters were the city Maan in the neighbourhood of Petra, to the east of the Wady Musa; see on 1 Chron. iv. 41. Maan lay upon Mount Seir, *i.e.* in the mountainous district to the west of the Arabah, which stretches upwards from the head of the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf, now called Jebâl (Gebalene) in its northern part, and es-Sherah in the south. The Maunites were consequently inhabitants of Mount Seir, and are here mentioned instead of the Edomites, as being a people dwelling on the southern side of the mountain, and probably of non-Edomitic origin, in order to express the idea that not merely the Edomites took part in the campaign of the Ammonites and Moabites, but also tribes from all parts of Mount Seir. In chap. xxvi. 7 the מְעוּנִים are mentioned along with Arabs and Philistines as enemies of Israel, who had been conquered by Uzziah. These circumstances favour the proposed alteration; while, on the contrary, the fact that the LXX. have here ἐκ τῶν *Μιναίων* for מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים proves little, since these translators have rendered הָעַמּוֹנִים in xxvi. 8 also by *οἱ Μιναῖοι*, there erroneously making the Ammonites Minaiites.—Ver. 2. Then they came and announced to Jehoshaphat, *sc.* messengers or fugitives; the subject is indefinite, and is to be supplied from the context. "Against thee there cometh a great multitude from beyond the (Dead) sea." מֵאֲרָם also has no suitable sense here, since in the whole narrative nothing is said of enemies coming

out of Syria; we should read מֵאֱדוֹם with Calmet and others. As the enemy made their attack from the south end of the Dead Sea, the messengers announce that they were come from Edom. "Behold, they are in Hazazon-Tamar," *i.e.* Engedi, the present Ain Jidy, midway along the west coast of the Dead Sea (see on Josh. xv. 62 and Gen. xiv. 7), about fifteen hours from Jerusalem.

Vers. 3–13. This report filled Jehoshaphat with fear, and he resolved to seek help of the Lord. נָתַן פָּנָיו = שׂוּם פ׳, cf. 2 Kings xii. 18, Jer. xlii. 15, to direct the face to anything, *i.e.* to purpose something, come to a determination. He proclaimed a fast in all Judah, that the people might bow themselves before God, and supplicate His help, as was wont to be done in great misfortunes; cf. Judg. xx. 26, 1 Sam. vii. 6, Isa. ii. 15. In consequence of the royal appeal, Judah came together to seek of the Lord, *i.e.* to pray for help, by fasting and prayer in the temple; and it was not only the inhabitants of Jerusalem who thus assembled, for they came out of all the cities of the kingdom. בִּקֵּשׁ מֵיהוה, to seek of the Lord, *sc.* help, is expressed in the last clause by בִּקֵּשׁ אֶת־יהוה, to seek the Lord.—Ver. 5. When the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem had assembled themselves in the house of God, Jehoshaphat came forth before the new court and made supplication in fervent prayer to the Lord. The new court is the outer or great court of the temple, which Solomon had built (iv. 9). It is here called the *new* court, probably because it had been restored or extended under Jehoshaphat or Asa. This court was the place where the congregation assembled before God in the sanctuary. Jehoshaphat placed himself before it, *i.e.* at the entrance into the court of the priests, so that the congregation stood opposite to him.—Ver. 6 ff. The prayer which Jehoshaphat directed to Jahve the God of the fathers, as the almighty Ruler over all kingdoms, consists of a short representation of the circumstances of the case. Jahve had given the land to His people Israel for an everlasting possession, and Israel had built a sanctuary to His name therein (vers. 7 and 8); but they had in no way provoked the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites to fall upon them, and to drive them out of their land (vers. 10 and 11). On these two facts Jehoshaphat founds his prayer for help, in a twofold manner: in respect to the first, calling to mind the divine promise to hear the prayers offered up to God in the temple (ver. 9); and in reference to the second, laying emphasis upon the inability

of Israel to fight against so numerous an enemy (ver. 12). In his manner of addressing Jahve, "God of our fathers," there is contained a reason why God should protect His people in their present distress. Upon Him, who had given the land to the fathers for a possession, it was incumbent to maintain the children in the enjoyment of it, if they had not forfeited it by their sins. Now Jahve as a covenant God was bound to do this, and also as God and ruler of heaven and earth He had the requisite power and might; cf. Ps. cxv. 3. אֵין עִמְּךָ לְהִתְיַצֵּב, there is none with Thee who could set himself, *i.e.* could withstand Thee: cf. the similar phrase, xiv. 10; and for the thought, see 1 Chron. xxix. 12.—On ver. 7*a*, cf. Josh. xxiii. 9, xxiv. 12, Ex. xxiii. 20 ff., etc.; on 7*b*, cf. Gen. xiii. 15 f., xv. 18, etc.; on אֹהֵב, Isa. xli. 8.—Ver. 8. In this land they dwelt, and built Thee therein a sanctuary for Thy name; cf. vi. 5, 8. לֵאמֹר, saying, *i.e.* at the consecration of this house, having expressed the confident hope contained in the following words (ver. 9). In this verse, the cases enumerated in Solomon's dedicatory prayer, in which supplication is made that God would hear in the temple, are briefly summed up. By referring to that prayer, Jehoshaphat presupposes that Jahve had promised that He would answer prayer offered there, since He had filled the temple with His glory; see vii. 1–3. The name שְׁפוֹט, which occurs only here, between דֶּבֶר and חֶרֶב, denotes in this connection a punitive judgment.—Ver. 10. וְעַתָּה, *and now*, the contrary of this has occurred. Peoples into whose midst (אֲשֶׁר . . . לְבוֹא בָהֶם) Thou didst not allow Israel to come, *i.e.* into whose land Thou didst not allow Israel to enter when they came out of the land of Egypt, for they (the Israelites under Moses) turned from them and destroyed them not (cf. as to the fact, Num. xx. 14 ff.; Deut. ii. 4, ix. 19); behold, these peoples recompense us by coming to cast us out of our possession which Thou hast given us (הוֹרִישׁ, to give as a possession, as in Judg. xi. 24). There follows hereupon in ver. 12 the prayer: "Our God, wilt Thou not judge," *i.e.* do right upon them, for we have not strength before (to withstand) this multitude? We know not what to do, *sc.* against so many enemies; but our eyes are turned to Thee, *i.e.* to Thee we look for help; cf. Ps. cxxiii. 2, cxli. 8.—Ver. 13. Thus all Judah, with their king, stood praying before the Lord. They had, moreover, brought with them their little ones, their wives, and their sons, to pray for deliverance for them from the enemy; cf. Judith iv. 9.

Vers. 14–19. The Lord's answer by the prophet Jahaziel.—Ver. 14. In the midst of the assembly the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jahaziel, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, and promised miraculous assistance to king and people. Jahaziel's descent is traced back for five generations to the Levite Mattaniah of the sons of Asaph. This Mattaniah is not the same person as the Mattaniah in 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 16, who lived in David's time, for he belonged to the sons of Heman; but perhaps (as Movers conjectures, S. 112) he is identical with the Asaphite Nethaniah, 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 12, since ם and נ might easily be confounded.—Ver. 15. Jahaziel announced to the king and people that they need not fear before the great multitude of their foes; "for the war is not yours, but Jahve's," *i.e.* you have not to make war upon them, for the Lord will do it; cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 47.—Ver. 16. "To-morrow go ye down against them: behold, they come up by the height Hazziz; and ye will find them at the end of the valley, before the desert Jeruel." The wilderness Jeruel was, without doubt, the name of a part of the great stretch of flat country, bounded on the south by the Wady el Ghâr, and extending from the Dead Sea to the neighbourhood of Tekoa, which is now called el Hasasah, after a wady on its northern side. The whole country along the west side of the Dead Sea, "where it does not consist of mountain ridges or deep valleys, is a high table-land, sloping gradually towards the east, wholly waste, merely covered here and there with a few bushes, and without the slightest trace of having ever been cultivated" (Robinson's *Pal. sub voce*). The name מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ, ascent or height of Hazziz, has perhaps remained attached to the Wady el Hasasah. LXX. have rendered הַצִּיץ by Ἀσσείς; Josephus (*Antt.* ix. 1. 2) has ἀναβάσεως λεγομένης ἐξοχῆς, in accordance with which Robinson (*loc. cit.*) takes the way "upwards from Ziz" to be the pass which at present leads from Ain Jidy to the table-land. Yet it is described by him as a "fearful pass,"[1] and it can hardly be thought of here, even if the enemy, like the Bedouins now when on their forays, may be

[1] He remarks: "The path winds up in zig-zags, often at the steepest gradient which horses could ascend, and runs partly along projecting walls of rock on the perpendicular face of the cliff, and then down the heaps of *débris*, which are almost as steep. When one looks back at this part from below, it seems quite impossible that there could be any pathway; but by skilful windings the path has been carried down without any unconquerable difficulties, so that even loaded camels often go up and down."

supposed to have marched along the shore of the sea, and ascended to the table-land only at Engedi; for the Israelites did not meet the enemy in this ascent, but above upon the table-land. Josephus' translation of הַצִּיץ by ἐξοχή is also very questionable, for it is not necessary that the ה should be the article (Ew. *Gesch.* iii. S. 475, der 2 Aufl.).—Ver. 17. Ye have not to fight therein (בָּזֹאת); only come hither, stand and see the help of the Lord (who is) with you. You need do nothing more, and therefore need not fear.—Ver. 18. For this comforting assurance the king and people thanked the Lord, falling down in worship before Him, whereupon the Levites stood up to praise God with a loud voice. Levites "of the sons of Kohath, yea, of the Korahites," for they were descended from Kohath (1 Chron. vi. 22).

Vers. 20–30. The fulfilment of the divine promise.—Ver. 20. On the next morning the assembled men of Judah marched, in accordance with the words of the prophet, to the wilderness of Tekoa. As they marched forth, Jehoshaphat stood, probably in the gate of Jerusalem, where those about to march forth were assembled, and called upon them to trust firmly in the Lord and His prophets (הַאֲמִינוּ and תֵּאָמֵנוּ, as in Isa. vii. 9). After he had thus counselled the people (יִוָּעַץ אֶל, shown himself a counsellor; cf. 2 Kings vi. 8), he ordered them to march, not for battle, but to assure themselves of the wonderful help of the Lord. He placed singers of the Lord (ל before יהוה as a periphrasis for the genitive), singing praise in holy ornaments, in the marching forth before the army, and saying; *i.e.* he commanded the Levitic singers to march out before the army, singing and playing in holy ornaments (לְהַדְרַת־קֹ, clad in holy ornaments, = בְּהַדְרַת in 1 Chron. xvi. 29; cf. Ew. § 217, *a*), to praise the Lord for the help He had vouchsafed.—Ver. 22. And at the time when they (having come into the neighbourhood of the hostile camp) began with singing and praising, Jahve directed liers in wait against the sons of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, who were come against Judah, and they were smitten. מְאָרְבִים denotes liers in wait, men hidden in ambush and lying in wait (Judg. ix. 25). Who are here meant cannot be ascertained with certainty. Some of the older commentators, Ew. and Berth., think it refers to powers, angels sent by God, who are called *insidiatores*, because of the work they had to do in the army of the hostile peoples. But the passages where the interposition of heavenly powers is spoken of are different (cf. 2 Kings vi. 17, xix. 35), and it is not

probable that heavenly powers would be called מְאֹרְבִים. Most probably earthly liers in wait are meant, who unexpectedly rushed forth from their ambush upon the hostile army, and raised a panic terror among them; so that, as is narrated in ver. 23 f., the Ammonites and Moabites first turned their weapons against the inhabitants of Mount Seir, and after they had exterminated them, began to exterminate each other. But the ambush cannot have been composed of men of Judah, because they were, according to vers. 15 and 17, not to fight, but only to behold the deliverance wrought by the Lord. Probably it was liers in wait of the Seirites, greedy of spoil, who from an ambush made an attack upon the Ammonites and Moabites, and by the divine leading put the attacked in such fear and confusion, that they turned furiously upon the inhabitants of Mount Seir, who marched with them, and then fell to fighting with each other; just as, in Judg. vii. 22 f., the Midianites were, under divine influence, so terrified by the unexpected attack of the small band led by Gideon, that they turned their swords against and mutually destroyed each other. וּכְכַלּוֹתָם בִּיוֹשְׁבֵי שֵׂ׳, and when they had come to an end (were finished) among the inhabitants of Seir, when they had massacred these, they helped the one against the other to destruction (מַשְׁחִית is a substantive, as xxii. 4, Ezek. v. 16, etc.).—Ver. 24. Now, when Judah came to the height in the wilderness (מִצְפֶּה, *specula*, watch-tower, here a height in the wilderness of Tekoa, whence one might look out over the wilderness Jeruel, ver. 16), and turned, or was about to turn, against the multitude of the enemy (הֲהָמוֹן referring back to ver. 12), behold, they saw "corpses lying upon the earth, and none had escaped," *i.e.* they saw corpses in such multitude lying there, that to all appearance none had escaped.—Ver. 25. So Jehoshaphat, with his people, came (as Jahaziel had announced, not to fight, but only to make booty) and found among them (בָּהֶם, among or by the fallen) in abundance both wealth and corpses and precious vessels. The mention of פְּגָרִים as part of the booty, between רְכוּשׁ and the precious vessels, is somewhat surprising. Some Codd. (4 Kennic. and 3 de Rossi) and various ancient editions (Complut., the Brixenian used by Luther, the Bomberg. of date 1518 and 21, and the Münster) have, instead of it, בְּגָדִים; but it is very questionable if the LXX. and Vulg. have it (cf. de Rossi *variæ lectt. ad h. l.*). בְּגָדִים, garments, along with רְכוּשׁ, moveable property (cattle, tents, etc.), seems to suit better, and is

therefore held by Dathe and Berth. to be the correct and original reading.* Yet the proofs of this are not decisive, for פנרים is much better attested, and we need not necessarily take רְכוּשׁ to mean living and dead cattle; but just as רְכוּשׁ denotes property of any kind, which, among nomadic tribes, consists principally in cattle, we may also take פְּגָרִים in the signification of slain men and beasts—the clothes of the men and the accoutrements and ornaments of the beasts (cf. Judg. viii. 26) being a by no means worthless booty. Garments as such are not elsewhere met with in enumerations of things taken as booty, in Judg. viii. 26 only the purple robes of the Midianite princes being spoken of; and to the remark that the before-mentioned פְּגָרִים has given rise to the changing of בְּגָדִים into פְּגָרִים, we may oppose the equally well-supported conjecture, that the apparently unsuitable meaning of the word פנרים may have given rise to the alteration of it into בְּגָדִים. כְּלֵי חֲמֻדוֹת are probably in the main gold and silver ornaments, such as are enumerated in Judg. viii. 25 f. And they spoiled for themselves לְאֵין מַשָּׂא, "there was not carrying," *i.e.* in such abundance that it could not be carried away, removed, and plundered in three days, because the booty was so great. The unusually large quantity of booty is accounted for by the fact that these peoples had gone forth with all their property to drive the Israelites out of their inheritance, and to take possession of their land for themselves; so that this invasion of Judah was a kind of migration of the peoples, such as those which, at a later time, have been repeated on a gigantic scale, and have poured forth from Central Asia over the whole of Europe. In this, the purpose of the hostile hordes, we must seek the reason for their destruction by a miracle wrought of God. Because they intended to drive the people of Israel out of the land given them by God, and to destroy them, the Lord was compelled to come to the help of His people, and to destroy their enemies.—Ver. 26. On the fourth day the men of Judah gathered themselves together, to give thanks to God the Lord for this blessing, in a valley which thence received the name עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה (valley of blessing), and which cannot have been far from the battle-field. Thence they joyfully returned, with Jehoshaphat at their head, to Jerusalem, and went up, the Levites and priests performing solemn music, to the house of God, to render further thanks to the Lord for His wondrous help (ver. 27 f.). The ancient name בְּרָכָה still exists in the Wady Bereikut, to the west of Tekoa, near

the road which leads from Hebron to Jerusalem. "A wide, open valley, and upon its west side, on a small rising ground, are the ruins of Bereikut, which cover from three to four acres" (Robinson's *New Biblical Researches*, and *Phys. Geogr.* S. 106; cf. v. de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 292). Jerome makes mention of the place *in Vita Paulæ*, where he narrates that Paula, standing *in supercilio Caphar baruca*, looked out thence upon the wide desert, and the former land of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Reland, *Pal. illustr.* pp. 356 and 685). There is no ground, on the other hand, for the identification of the valley of blessing with the upper part of the valley of Kidron, which, according to Joel iv. 2, 12, received the name of Valley of Jehoshaphat (see on Joel iv. 2).—On ver. 27*b*, cf. Ezra vi. 22, Neh. xii. 43.—Ver. 29. The fame of this victory of the Lord over the enemies of Israel caused the terror of God to be spread abroad over all the kingdoms of the surrounding lands, in consequence of which the kingdom of Judah had rest (cf. xvii. 10). On the last clause of ver. 30, cf. xv. 15. This wonderful act of the Lord is made the subject of praise to God in the Korahite Psalms, xlvi., xlvii., and xlviii., and perhaps also in Ps. lxxxiii., composed by an Asaphite, perhaps Jahaziel (see Del. Introduction to these Psalms).

Vers. 31–37. Concluding notes on Jehoshaphat's reign, which are found also in 1 Kings xxii. 41–51, where they, supplemented by some notes (vers. 45, 48, and 49) which are wanting in the Chronicle, form the whole account of his reign. In the statements as to Jehoshaphat's age at his accession, and the length and character of his reign, both accounts agree, except that the author of the Chronicle has, instead of the stereotyped formula, "and the people still sacrificed and offered incense upon the high places," a remark more significant of the state of affairs: "and the people had not yet determinedly turned their heart to the God of their fathers" (ver. 33). The notice that Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel (Kings, ver. 45) is not found in the Chronicle, because that would, as a matter of course, follow from Jehoshaphat's having joined affinity with the royal house of Ahab, and had been already sufficiently attested by the narrative in chap. xviii., and is so still further by the undertaking spoken of in ver. 35 ff. For the same reason, the clause introduced in 1 Kings xxii. 46 about the valiant acts and the wars of Jehoshaphat is omitted in the Chronicle, as these acts have been

specially narrated here. As to Jehu's speeches, which were put into the book of Kings, see the Introduction, p. 34. Further, the remark on the driving out of the remaining Sodomites (קָדֵשׁ) from the land, 1 Kings xxii. 47, which refers back to 1 Kings xv. 12, is wanting here, because this speciality is not mentioned in the case of Asa. Finally, the remark that Edom had no king, but only a viceroy or deputy, serves in 1 Kings xxii. 48 only as an introduction to the succeeding account of Jehoshaphat's attempt to open up anew the sea traffic with Ophir. But on that subject the author of the Chronicle only recounts in vers. 35–37 that Jehoshaphat allied himself with the godless Ahaziah the king of Israel to build in Ezion-gaber ships to go to Tarshish, was censured for it by the prophet Eliezer, who announced to him that Jahve would destroy his work, and that thereupon the ships were broken, doubtless by a storm, and so could not go upon the voyage. אַחֲרֵי־כֵן does not definitely fix the time (cf. xx. 1), but only states that the alliance with Ahaziah took place after the victory over the Ammonites and Moabites. Ahaziah ascended the throne in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned scarcely two years, and the enterprise under discussion falls in that period. אֶתְחַבֶּר is an Aramaic form for הִתְחַבֵּר. The last clause of ver. 38, "he did wickedly," Bertheau refers to Jehoshaphat: he did wrong; because the context shows that these words are intended to contain a censure on Jehoshaphat for his connection with the king of the northern kingdom. But this remark, though substantially correct, by no means proves that הוּא refers to Jehoshaphat. The words contain a censure on Jehoshaphat on account of his alliance with Ahaziah, even if they describe Ahaziah's conduct. We must, with the older commentators, take the words to refer to Ahaziah, for הִרְשִׁיעַ is much too strong a word for Jehoshaphat's fault in the matter. The author of the Chronicle does indeed use the word הִרְשִׁיעַ of Jehoshaphat's grandson Ahaziah, xxii. 3, in the clause, "his mother, a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, was for הִרְשִׁיעַ his counsellor," but only that he may characterize the acts of the Ahabic house. Jehoshaphat allied himself with the wicked Ahaziah to build ships לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, to go to Tarshish; and they built ships at Ezion-gaber, *i.e.* on the Red Sea. Instead of this, we have in 1 Kings xxii. 49: Jehoshaphat built Tarshish ships to go to Ophir for gold. Hence it is manifest that in both passages the same undertaking is spoken of, and the expression

"Tarshish ships" is paraphrased in the Chronicle by "ships to go to Tarshish." This periphrasis is, however, a mistake; for Tarshish ships are merely ships which, like those going to Tarshish, were built for long sea voyages, for Jehoshaphat merely desired to renew the voyages to Ophir. With the exception of this erroneous interpretation of the words, Tarshish ships, the two narratives agree, if we only keep in mind the fact that both are incomplete extracts from a more detailed account of this enterprise. The Chronicle supplies us with an explanatory commentary on the short account in 1 Kings xxii. 49, both in the statement that Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah of Israel for the preparation of the ships, and also in communicating the word of the prophet Eliezer as to the enterprise, which makes clear to us the reason for the destruction of the ships; while in 1 Kings xxii. 49 merely the fact of their destruction is recorded. Of the prophet Eliezer nothing further is known than the saying here communicated. His father's name, Dodavahu, is analogous in form to Hodavya, Joshavya (see on 1 Chron. iii. 24), so that there is no good ground to alter it into דּוֹדִיָּהוּ, friend of Jahve, after the Δωδία of the LXX. As to Mareshah, see on xi. 8. The perfect פָּרַץ is prophetic: Jahve will rend thy work asunder. The words which follow record the fulfilment. עֵצֶר as in xiii. 20, xiv. 10. With this the chronicler's account of this enterprise concludes; while in 1 Kings xxii. 50 it is further stated that, after the destruction of the ships first built, Ahaziah called upon Jehoshaphat still to undertake the Ophir voyage in common with him, and to build new ships for the purpose, but Jehoshaphat would not. The ground of his refusal may easily be gathered from ver. 37 of the Chronicle.

CHAP. XXI.—JEHOSHAPHAT'S DEATH, AND THE REIGN OF HIS SON JORAM.

The account of the death and burial of Jehoshaphat is carried over to chap. xxi., because Joram's first act after Jehoshaphat's death, ver. 2 ff., stands in essential connection with that event, since Joram began his reign with the murder of all his brothers, the sons of Jehoshaphat (vers. 2–4). The further account of Joram (vers. 5–10) agrees almost verbally with the account in 2 Kings viii. 17–22; then in vers. 12–19 there follows further information as to the divine chastisements inflicted upon Joram

for his crime, which is not found in 2 Kings; and in ver. 20 we have remarks on his end, which correspond to the statements in 2 Kings viii. 24.

Vers. 1–4. *Jehoshaphat's death, and the slaughter of his sons by Joram.*—Vers. 2, 3. Joram had six brothers, whom their father had plentifully supplied with means of subsistence—presents in silver, gold, and precious things—"in the fenced cities of Judah;" *i.e.* he had made them, as Rehoboam also had made his sons, commandants of fortresses, with ample revenues; but the kingdom he gave to Joram as the first-born. Among the six names two Azariahs occur,—the one written Azarjah, the other Azarjahu. Jehoshaphat is called king of Israel instead of king of Judah, because he as king walked in the footsteps of Israel, Jacob the wrestler with God, and was a true king of God's people.—Ver. 4. Now when Joram ascended (raised himself to) the throne of his father, and attained to power (יִתְחַזֵּק as in i. 1), he slew all his brethren with the sword, and also some of the princes of Israel, *i.e.* the tribal princes of his kingdom. It could hardly be from avarice that he slew his brothers, merely to get possession of their property; probably it was because they did not sympathize with the political course which he was entering upon, and disapproved of the idolatrous conduct of Joram and his wife Athaliah. This may be gathered from the fact that in ver. 13 they are called better than Joram. The princes probably drew down upon themselves the wrath of Joram, or of his heathen consort, by disapproving of the slaughter of the royal princes, or by giving other signs of discontent with the spirit of their reign.

Vers. 5–10. *Duration and spirit of Joram's reign.*—These verses agree with 2 Kings viii. 17–22, with the exception of some immaterial divergences, and have been commented upon in the remarks on that passage.—In ver. 7 the thought is somewhat otherwise expressed than in ver. 19 (Kings): "Jahve would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that He had made with David;" instead of, "He would not destroy Judah because of David His servant, as He had said." Instead of לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר לְבָנָיו we have in the Chronicle לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר וּלְבָנָיו, to give him a lamp, and that in respect of his sons, ו being inserted before לבניו to bring the idea more prominently forward. In regard to עִם שָׂרָיו, ver. 9, instead of צְעִירָה, Kings ver. 21, see on 2 Kings *loc. cit.* At the end of ver. 9 the words, "and the people fled to their

tents" (ver. 21, Kings), whereby the notice of Joram's attempt to bring Edom again under his sway, which is in itself obscure enough, becomes yet more obscure.—Ver. 10 f. The chronicler concludes the account of the revolt of Edom and of the city of Libnah against Judah's dominion with the reflection: "For he (Joram) had forsaken Jahve the God of the fathers," and consequently had brought this revolt upon himself, the Lord punishing him thereby for his sin. "Yea, even high places did he make." The גַּם placed at the beginning may be connected with בָּמוֹת (cf. Isa. xxx. 33), while the subject is emphasized by הוּא: The same who had forsaken the God of the fathers, made also high places, which Asa and Jehoshaphat had removed, xiv. 2, 4, xvii. 6. "And he caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication," *i.e.* seduced them into the idolatrous worship of Baal. That the Hiph. וַיִּזֶן is to be understood of the spiritual whoredom of Baal-worship we learn from ver. 13: "as the house of Ahab caused to commit fornication." וַיַּדַּח, "and misled Judah;" *i.e.* drew them away by violence from the right way. יַדַּח is to be interpreted in accordance with Deut. xiii. 6, 11.

Vers. 12–19. The prophet Elijah's letter against Joram, and the infliction of the punishments as announced.—Ver. 12. There came to him a writing from the prophet Elijah to this effect: "Thus saith Jahve, the God of thy father David, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat, . . . but hast walked in the way of the kings of Israel, . . . and also hast slain thy brethren, the house of thy father, who were better than thyself; behold, Jahve will send a great plague upon thy people, and upon thy sons, and thy wives, and upon all thy goods; and thou shalt have great sickness, by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness day by day." מִכְתָּב, writing, is a written prophetic threatening, in which his sins are pointed out to Joram, and the divine punishment for them announced. In regard to this statement, we need not be surprised that nothing is elsewhere told us of any written prophecies of Elijah; for we have no circumstantial accounts of his prophetic activity, by which we might estimate the circumstances which may have induced him in this particular instance to commit his prophecy to writing. But, on the other hand, it is very questionable if Elijah was still alive in the reign of Joram of Judah. His translation to heaven is narrated in 2 Kings ii., between the reign of Ahaziah and Joram of Israel, but the year of the event

is nowhere stated in Scripture. In the Jewish Chronicle *Seder olam*, chap. xvii. 45, it is indeed placed in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel; but this statement is not founded upon historical tradition, but is a mere deduction from the fact that his translation is narrated in 2 Kings ii. immediately after Ahaziah's death; and the last act of Elijah of which we have any record (2 Kings i.) falls in the second year of that king. Lightfoot, indeed (*Opp.* i. p. 85), Ramb., and Dereser have concluded from 2 Kings iii. 11 that Elijah was taken away from the earth in the reign of Jehoshaphat, because according to that passage, in the campaign against the Moabites, undertaken in company with Joram of Israel, Jehoshaphat inquired for a prophet, and received the answer that Elisha was there, who had poured water upon the hands of Elijah. But the only conclusion to be drawn from that is, that in the camp, or near it, was Elisha, Elijah's servant, not that Elijah was no longer upon earth. The perfect אֲשֶׁר יָצַק seems indeed to imply this; but it is questionable if we may so press the perfect, *i.e.* whether the speaker made use of it, or whether it was employed only by the later historian. The words are merely a periphrasis to express the relationship of master and servant in which Elijah stood to Elisha, and tell us only that the latter was Elijah's attendant. But Elisha had entered upon this relationship to Elijah long before Elijah's departure from the earth (1 Kings xix. 19 ff.). Elijah may therefore have still been alive under Joram of Judah; and Berth. accordingly thinks it "antecedently probable that he spoke of Joram's sins, and threatened him with punishment. But the letter," so he further says, "is couched in quite general terms, and gives, moreover, merely a prophetic explanation of the misfortunes with which Joram was visited;" whence we may conclude that in its present form it is the work of a historian living at a later time, who describes the relation of Elijah to Joram in few words, and according to his conception of it as a whole. This judgment rests on dogmatic grounds, and flows from a principle which refuses to recognise any supernatural prediction in the prophetic utterances. The contents of the letter can be regarded as a prophetic exposition of the misfortunes which broke in, as it were, upon Joram, only by those who deny *à priori* that there is any special prediction in the speeches of the prophets, and hold all prophecies which contain such to be *vaticinia post eventum*. Somewhat more weighty is the objection raised against the

view that Elijah was still upon earth, to the effect that the divine threatenings would make a much deeper impression upon Joram by the very fact that the letter came from a prophet who was no longer in life, and would thus more easily bring him to the knowledge that the Lord is the living God, who had in His hand his breath and all his ways, and who knew all his acts. Thus the writing would smite the conscience of Joram like a voice from the other world (Dächsel). But this whole remark is founded only upon subjective conjectures and presumptions, for which actual analogies are wanting. For the same reason we cannot regard the remark of Menken as very much to the point, when he says: "If a man like Elias were to speak again upon earth, after he had been taken from it, he must do it from the clouds: this would harmonize with the whole splendour of his course in life; and, in my opinion, that is what actually occurred." For although we do not venture "to mark the limits to which the power and sphere of activity of the perfected saints is extended," yet we are not only justified, but also bound in duty, to judge of those facts of revelation which are susceptible of different interpretations, according to the analogy of the whole Scripture. But the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments know nothing of any communications by writing between the perfected saints in heaven and men; indeed, they rather teach the contrary in the parable of the rich man[1] (Luke xvi. 31). There are consequently no sufficient grounds for believing that the glorified Elijah either sent a letter to Joram from heaven by an angel, or commissioned any living person to write the letter. The statement of the narrative, "there came to him a writing from Elijah the prophet," cannot well be understood to mean anything else than that Elijah wrote the threatening prophecy which follows; but we have no certain proof that Elijah was then no longer alive, but had been already received into heaven. The time of his translation cannot be exactly fixed. He was still alive in the second year of Ahaziah of Israel; for he an-

[1] "*Neque enim*," says Ramb., "*ulla ratione credibile est, Deum in gratiam impii regis ejusmodi quid fecisse, cujus nullum alias exemplum exstat; immo quod nec necessarium erat, quum plures aliæ essent rationes, quibus Deus voluntatem suam ei manifestare poterat; coll. Luc.* xvi. 27, 29." And, still more conclusively, Calov. declares: "*Non enim triumphantium in cœlis est erudire aut ad pœnitentiam revocare mortales in terra. Habent Mosen et prophetas, si illos non audiant, neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit, nedum si quis ex cœlis literas perscripserit, credent Luc.* xvi. 31."

nounced to this king upon his sick-bed that he would die of his fall (2 Kings i.). Most probably he was still alive also at the commencement of the reign of Joram of Israel, who ascended the throne twenty-three years after Ahab. Jehoshaphat died six or seven years later; and after his death, his successor Joram slew his brothers, the other sons of Jehoshaphat. Elijah may have lived to see the perpetration of this crime, and may consequently also have sent the threatening prophecy which is under discussion to Joram. As he first appeared under Ahab, on the above supposition, he would have filled the office of prophet for about thirty years; while his servant Elisha, whom he chose to be his successor as early as in the reign of Ahab (1 Kings xix. 16), died only under Joash of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 14 f.), who became king fifty-seven years after Ahab's death, and must consequently have discharged the prophetic functions for at least sixty years. But even if we suppose that Elijah had been taken away from the earth before Jehoshaphat's death, we may, with Buddæus, Ramb., and other commentators, accept this explanation: that the Lord had revealed to him Joram's wickedness before his translation, and had commissioned him to announce to Joram in writing the divine punishment which would follow, and to send this writing to him at the proper time. This would entirely harmonize with the mode of action of this great man of God. To him God had revealed the elevation of Jehu to the throne of Israel, and the extirpation of the house of Ahab by him, together with the accession of Hazael, and the great oppressions which he would inflict upon Israel,—all events which took place only after the death of Joram of Judah. Him, too, God had commissioned even under Ahab to anoint Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16), which Elisha caused to be accomplished by a prophetic scholar fourteen years later (2 Kings ix. 1 ff.); and to him the Lord may also have revealed the iniquity of Joram, Jehoshaphat's successor, even as early as the second year of Ahaziah of Israel, when he announced to this king his death seven years before Jehoshaphat's death, and may have then commissioned him to announce the divine punishment of his sin. But if Elijah committed the anointing of both Hazael and Jehu to his servant Elisha, why may he not also have committed to him the delivery of this threatening prophecy which he had drawn up in writing? Without bringing forward in support of this such hypotheses as that the contents of the letter would have all the

greater effect, since it would seem as if the man of God were speaking to him from beyond the grave (O. v. Gerlach), we have yet a perfect right to suppose that a written word from the terrible man whom the Lord had accredited as His prophet by fire from heaven, in his struggle against Baal-worship under Ahab and Ahaziah, would be much better fitted to make an impression upon Joram and his consort Athaliah, who was walking in the footsteps of her mother Jezebel, than a word of Elisha, or any other prophet who was not endowed with the spirit and power of Elijah.

Elijah's writing pointed out to Joram two great transgressions: (1) his forsaking the Lord for the idolatrous worship of the house of Ahab, and also his seducing the people into this sin; and (2) the murder of his brothers. For the punishment of the first transgression he announced to him a great smiting which God would inflict upon his people, his family, and his property; for the second crime he foretold heavy bodily chastisements, by a dreadful disease which would terminate fatally. יָמִים עַל יָמִים, ver. 15, is *accus.* of duration: days on days, *i.e.* continuing for days added to days; cf. סְבוּ שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה, Isa. xxix. 1. יָמִים Berth. takes to mean a period of a year, so that by this statement of time a period of two years is fixed for the duration of the disease before death. But the words in themselves cannot have this signification; it can only be a deduction from ver. 18. These two threats of punishment were fulfilled. The fulfilment of the first is recorded in ver. 16 f. God stirred up the spirit of the Philistines and the Arabians (הֵעִיר אֶת רוּחַ, as in 1 Chron. v. 26), so that they came up against Judah, and broke it, *i.e.* violently pressed into the land as conquerors (בָּקַע, to split; then to conquer cities by breaking through their walls; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 4, etc.), and carried away all the goods that were found in the king's house, with the wives and sons of Joram, except Jehoahaz the youngest (xxii. 1). Movers (*Chron.* S. 122), Credner, Hitz., and others on Joel iv. 5, Berth., etc., conclude from this that these enemies captured Jerusalem and plundered it. But this can hardly be the case; for although Jerusalem belonged to Judah, and might be included in בִּיהוּדָה, yet as a rule Jerusalem is specially named along with Judah as being the chief city; and neither the conquest of Judah, nor the carrying away of the goods from the king's house, and of the king's elder sons, with certainty involves the capture of the capital. The opinion

that by the "substance which was found in the king's house" we are to understand the treasures of the royal palace, is certainly incorrect. רְכוּשׁ denotes property of any sort; and what the property of the king or of the king's house might include, we may gather from the catalogue of the אוֹצָרוֹת of David, in the country, in the cities, villages, and castles, 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff., where they consist in vineyards, forests, and herds of cattle, and together with the אֹצְרוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ formed the property (הָרְכוּשׁ) of King David. All this property the conquering Philistines and Arabians who had pressed into Judah might carry away without having captured Jerusalem. But בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ denotes here, not the royal palace, but the king's family; for הַנִּמְצָא לְבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ does not denote what was found in the palace, but what of the possessions of the king's house they found. נִמְצָא with לְ is not synonymous with נִמְצָא בְּ, but denotes to be attained, possessed by; cf. Josh. xvii. 16 and Deut. xxi. 17. Had Jerusalem been plundered, the treasures of the palace and of the temple would also have been mentioned: 2 Chron. xxv. 24, xii. 9; 2 Kings xiv. 13 f. and 1 Kings xiv. 26; cf. Kuhlmey, *alttestl. Studien in der Luther. Ztschr.* 1844, iii. S. 82 ff. Nor does the carrying away of the wives and children of King Joram presuppose the capture of Jerusalem, as we learn from the more exact account of the matter in xxii. 1.—Ver. 18 f. The second punishment fell upon the body and life of the king. The Lord smote him in his bowels to (with) disease, for which there was no healing. לְאֵין מַרְפֵּא is in apposition to לַחֳלִי, literally, "to not being healing."—Ver. 19. And it came to pass in days after days (*i.e.* when a number of days had passed), and that at the time (וּבְעֵת) of the expiration of the end in two days, then his bowels went out during his sickness, and he died in sore pains (תַּחֲלֻאִים, phenomena of disease, *i.e.* pains). The words וּבְעֵת צֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם are generally translated as if לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם were a mere periphrasis of the *stat. constr.* Vatabl. and Cler., for example, translate: *et secundum tempus egrediendi finis annorum duorum*, i.e. *postquam advenit finis a. d.*, or *cum exacti essent duo anni;* similarly Berth.: "at the time of the approach of the end of two times." But against this we have not only the circumstance that no satisfactory reason for the use of this periphrasis for the genitive can be perceived, and that no analogies can be found for the expression לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם לַקֵּץ, the end of two years, instead of קֵץ הַיָּמִים שְׁנַיִם; but also the more decisive linguistic reason that צֵאת הַקֵּץ cannot denote the approach of the

end, but only the expiry, the running out of the end; and finally, that the supposition that יָמִים here and in ver. 15 denotes a year is without foundation. Schmidt and Ramb. have already given a better explanation: *quumque esset tempus, quo exiit finis s. quum exiret ac compleretur terminus ille, in epistola Eliæ v.* 15 *præfixus;* but in this case also we should expect קֵץ הַיָּמִים, since לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם should point back to יָמִים עַל יָמִים, and contain a more exact definition of the terms employed in ver. 15, which are not definite enough. We therefore take צֵאת הַקֵּץ by itself, and translate: At the time of the end, *i.e.* when the end, *sc.* of life or of the disease, had come about two days, *i.e.* about two days before the issue of the end of the disease, then the bowels went out of the body—they flowed out from the body as devoured by the disease. עִם חֳלָיוֹ, in, during the sickness, consequently before the decease (cf. for עִם in this signification, Ps. lxxii. 5, Dan. iii. 33). Trusen (*Sitten, Gebr. und Krankh. der alten Hebräer*, S. 212 f.) holds this disease to have been a violent dysentery (diarrhœa), "being an inflammation of the nervous tissue (*Nervenhaut*) of the whole great intestine, which causes the overlying mucous membrane to decay and peel off, which then falls out often in tube-shape, so that the intestines appear to fall from the body." His people did not make a burning for him like the burning of his fathers, cf. xvi. 14; that is, denied him the honours usual at burial, because of their discontent with his evil reign.—Ver. 20. The repetition of his age and the length of his reign (cf. ver. 6) is accounted for by the fact that the last section of this chapter is derived from a special source, wherein these notes likewise were contained. The peculiarity of the language and the want of the current expressions of our historian also favour the idea that some special authority has been used here. "And he departed, mourned by none." Luther erroneously translates, "and walked in a way which was not right" (*und wandelt das nicht fein war*), after the "*ambulavit non recte*" of the Vulg.; for חֶמְדָּה denotes, not a good walk, but *desiderium*, בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה, *sine desiderio*, i.e. *a nemine desideratus.* הָלַךְ, to depart, *i.e.* die, as Gen. xv. 2. Moreover, though he was buried in the city of David, yet he was not laid in the graves of the kings, by which act also a judgment was pronounced upon his reign; cf. xxiv. 25 and xxvi. 23.

CHAP. XXII.—THE REIGNS OF AHAZIAH AND THE IMPIOUS ATHALIAH.

Vers. 1–9. *Ahaziah's reign of a year, and his death.*—The account of Ahaziah in 2 Kings viii. 26–29 agrees with our narrative, except that there the reflections of the chronicler on the spirit of his government are wanting; but, on the contrary, the account of his death is very brief in the Chronicle (vers. 6–9), while in 2 Kings ix. and x. the extirpation of the Ahabic house by Jehu, in the course of which Ahaziah was slain with his relatives, is narrated at length.—Ver. 1. Instead of the short stereotyped notice, "and Ahaziah his son was king in his stead," with which 2 Kings viii. 24 concludes the history of Joram, the Chronicle gives more exact information as to Ahaziah's accession: "The inhabitants of Jerusalem made Ahaziah, his youngest son (who is called in xxi. 17 Jehoahaz), king in his stead; for all the elder (sons), the band which had come among the Arabs to the camp had slain." In יַמְלִיכוּ we have a hint that Ahaziah's succession was disputed or doubtful; for where the son follows the father on the throne without opposition, it is simply said in the Chronicle also, "and his son was king in his stead." But the only person who could contest the throne with Ahaziah, since all the other sons of Joram who would have had claims upon it were not then alive, was his mother Athaliah, who usurped the throne after his death. All the elder sons (הָרִאשֹׁנִים, the earlier born) were slain by the troop which had come among (with) the Arabians (see xxi. 16 f.) into the camp,—not of the Philistines (Cler.), but of the men of Judah; that is, they were slain by a reconnoitring party, which, in the invasion of Judah by the Philistines and Arabs, surprised the camp of the men of Judah, and slew the elder sons of Joram, who had marched to the war. Probably they did not cut them down on the spot, but (according to xxi. 17) took them prisoners and slew them afterwards.—Ver. 2. The number 42 is an orthographical error for 22 (ב having been changed into מ), 2 Kings viii. 26. As Joram was thirty-two years of age at his accession, and reigned eight years (xxi. 20 and 5), at his death his youngest son could not be older than twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, and even then Joram must have begotten him in his eighteenth or nineteenth year. It is quite consistent with this that Joram had yet older sons; for in the East marriages are entered upon at a very early

age, and the royal princes were wont to have several wives, or, besides their proper wives, concubines also. Certainly, had Ahaziah had forty-two older brothers, as Berth. and other critics conclude from 2 Kings x. 13 f., then he could not possibly have been begotten, or been born, in his father's eighteenth year. But that idea rests merely upon an erroneous interpretation of the passage quoted; see on ver. 8. Ahaziah's mother Athaliah is called the daughter, *i.e.* granddaughter, of Omri, as in 2 Kings viii. 26, because he was the founder of the idolatrous dynasty of the kingdom of the ten tribes.—Ver. 3. He also (like his father Joram, xxi. 6) walked in the ways of the house of Ahab. This statement is accounted for by the clause: for his mother (a daughter of Ahab and the godless Jezebel) was his counsellor to do evil, *i.e.* led him to give himself up to the idolatry of the house of Ahab.—Ver. 4. The further remark also, "he did that which was displeasing in the sight of the Lord, like the house of Ahab," is similarly explained; for they (the members of the house of Ahab related to him through his mother) were counsellors to him after the death of his father to his destruction, cf. xx. 23; while in 2 Kings viii. 27, the relationship alone is spoken of as the reason of his evil-doing. How far this counsel led to his destruction is narrated in ver. 5 and onwards, and the narrative is introduced by the words, "He walked also in their counsel;" whence it is clear beyond all doubt, that Ahaziah entered along with Joram, Ahab's son, upon the war which was to bring about the destruction of Ahab's house, and to cost him his life, on the advice of Ahab's relations. There is no doubt that Joram, Ahab's son, had called upon Ahaziah to take part in the war against the Syrians at Ramoth Gilead (see on xviii. 28), and that Athaliah with her party supported his proposal, so that Ahaziah complied. In the war the Aramæans (Syrians) smote Joram; *i.e.*, according to ver. 6, they wounded him (הָרֻמִּים is a contraction for הָאֲרַמִּים, 2 Kings viii. 28). In consequence of this Joram returned to Jezreel, the summer residence of the Ahabic royal house (1 Kings xviii. 45), the present Zerin; see on Josh. xix. 18. כִּי חַמְּכִים has no meaning, and is merely an error for כֶּן חַמְּכִים, 2 Kings viii. 29, which indeed is the reading of several Codd.: to let himself be cured of his strokes (wounds). וַעֲזָרְיָהוּ, too, is an orthographical error for וַאֲחַזְיָהוּ: and Ahaziah went down to visit the wounded Joram, his brother-in-law. Whether he went from Jerusalem or from the loftily-situated Ramah cannot

be with certainty determined, for we have no special account of the course of the war, and from 2 Kings ix. 14 f. we only learn that the Israelite army remained in Ramoth after the return of the wounded Joram. It is therefore probable that Ahaziah went direct from Ramoth to visit Joram, but it is not ascertained; for there is nothing opposed to the supposition that, after Joram had been wounded in the battle, and while the Israelite host remained to hold the city against the Syrian king Hazael, Ahaziah had returned to his capital, and thence went after some time to visit the wounded Joram in Jezreel.

Vers. 7–9. Without touching upon the conspiracy against Joram, narrated in 2 Kings ix., at the head of which was Jehu, the captain of the host, whom God caused to be anointed king over Israel by a scholar of the prophets deputed by Elisha, and whom he called upon to extirpate the idolatrous family of Ahab, since it did not belong to the plan of the Chronicle to narrate the history of Israel, our historian only briefly records the slaughter of Ahaziah and his brother's sons by Jehu as being the result of a divine dispensation.—Ver. 7. "And of God was (came) the destruction (תְּבוּסָה, a being trodden down, a formation which occurs here only) of Ahaziah, that he went to Joram;" *i.e.* under divine leading had Ahaziah come to Joram, there to find his death. וּבְבֹאוֹ וגו׳, And when he was come, he went out with Joram against Jehu (instead of אֶל־יֵהוּא, we have in 2 Kings ix. 21 the more distinct יֵהוּא לִקְרַאת, towards Jehu) the son of Nimshi, whom God had anointed to extirpate the house of Ahab (2 Kings ix. 1–10).—Ver. 8. When Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab (נִשְׁפֹּט usually construed with אֶת, to be at law with any one, to administer justice; cf. Isa. lxvi. 16, Ezek. xxxviii. 22), he found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brothers of Ahaziah, serving Ahaziah, and slew them. מְשָׁרְתִים, *i.e.* in the train of King Ahaziah as his servants. As to when and where Jehu met the brothers' sons of Ahaziah and slew them, we have no further statement, as the author of the Chronicle mentions that fact only as a proof of the divinely directed extirpation of all the members of the idolatrous royal house. In 2 Kings x. 12–14 we read that Jehu, after he had extirpated the whole Israelite royal house—Joram and Jezebel, and the seventy sons of Ahab—went to Samaria, there to eradicate the Baal-worship, and upon his way thither met the brothers of Ahaziah the king of Judah, and caused them to be taken

alive, and then slain, to the number of forty-two. These אֲחֵי אֲחַזְיָהוּ, forty-two men, cannot have been actual brothers of Ahaziah, since all Ahaziah's brethren had, according to ver. 1 and xxi. 17, been slain in the reign of Joram, in the invasion of the Philistines and Arabians. They must be brothers only in the wider sense, *i.e.* cousins and nephews of Ahaziah, as Movers (S. 258) and Ewald recognise, along with the older commentators. The Chronicle, therefore, is quite correct in saying, "sons of the brethren of Ahaziah," and along with these princes of Judah, who, according to the context, can only be princes who held offices at court, especially such as were entrusted with the education and guardianship of the royal princes. Perhaps these are included in the number forty-two (Kings). But even if this be not the case, we need not suppose that there were forty-two brothers' sons, or nephews of Ahaziah, since אַחִים includes cousins also, and in the text of the Chronicle no number is stated, although forty-two nephews would not be an unheard-of number; and we do not know how many elder brothers Ahaziah had. Certainly the nephews or brothers' sons of Ahaziah cannot have been very old, since Ahaziah's father Joram died at the age of forty, and Ahaziah, who became king in his twenty-second year, reigned only one year. But from the early development of posterity in southern lands, and the polygamy practised by the royal princes, Joram might easily have had in his fortieth year a considerable number of grandsons from five to eight years old, and boys of from six to nine years might quite well make a journey with their tutors to Jezreel to visit their relations. In this way the divergent statements as to the slaughter of the brothers and brothers' sons of Ahaziah, contained in 2 Kings ix. and in our 8th verse, may be reconciled, without our being compelled, as Berth. thinks we are, to suppose that there were two different traditions on this subject.—Ver. 9. And he (Jehu) sought Ahaziah, and they (Jehu's body-guard or his warriors) caught him while he was hiding in Samaria, and brought him to Jehu, and slew him. Then they (his servants, 2 Kings ix. 27) buried him, for they said: He is a son of Jehoshaphat, who sought Jahve with all his heart. We find more exact information as to Ahaziah's death in 2 Kings ix. 27 f., according to which Ahaziah, overtaken by Jehu near Jibleam in his flight before him, and smitten, *i.e.* wounded, fled to Megiddo, and there died, and was brought by his servants to Jerusalem, and buried with his fathers in the city of David. For

the reconciliation of these statements, see on 2 Kings ix. 27 f. The circumstance that in our account first the slaughter of the brothers' sons, then that of Ahaziah is mentioned, while according to 2 Kings ix. and x. the slaughter of Ahaziah would seem to have preceded, does not make any essential difference; for the short account in the Chronicle is not arranged chronologically, but according to the subject, and the death of Ahaziah is mentioned last only in order that it might be connected with the further events which occurred in Judah. The last clause of ver. 9, "and there was not to the house of Ahab one who would have possessed power for the kingdom," *i.e.* there was no successor on the throne to whom the government might straightway be transferred, forms a transition to the succeeding account of Athaliah's usurpation.

Vers. 10–12. *The six years' tyranny of Athaliah.*—In regard to her, all that is stated is, that after Ahaziah's death she ascended the throne, and caused all the royal seed of the house of Judah, *i.e.* all the male members of the royal house, to be murdered. From this slaughter only Joash the son of Ahaziah, an infant a year old, was rescued, together with his nurse, by the princess Jehoshabeath, who was married to the high priest Jehoiada. He was hidden for six years, and during that time Athaliah reigned. The same narrative, for the most part in the same words, is found in 2 Kings xi. 1–3, and has been already commented upon there.

CHAP. XXIII. AND XXIV.—THE FALL OF ATHALIAH, AND THE CORONATION AND REIGN OF JOASH.

After Joash had been kept in hiding for six years, the high priest Jehoiada came to the resolution to make an end of the tyranny of Athaliah, and to raise the young prince to the throne. The carrying out of this resolution is narrated in chap. xxiii., and thereafter in chap. xxiv. All that is important as to the reign of Joash is communicated.

Chap. xxiii. *Joash raised to the throne, and Athaliah slain.*—In 2 Kings xi. 4–20 we have another account of these events, in which the matter is in several points more briefly narrated, and apparently differently represented. According to both narratives, the thing was undertaken and carried out by the high

priest Jehoiada; but according to 2 Kings xi., the high priest would appear to have mainly availed himself of the co-operation of the royal body-guard in the execution of his plan, while according to the Chronicle it is the Levites and the heads of the fathers'-houses who are made use of. Thereupon De Wette, Movers, Thenius, and Bertheau consequently maintain that the author of the Chronicle, proceeding on the view that the high priest, the chief of so many priests and Levites, would not have recourse to the assistance of the royal body-guard, has altered the statements in the second book of Kings accordingly, and wishes to represent the matter in a different way. But this assertion can be made with an appearance of truth only on the presupposition, already repeatedly shown to be erroneous, that the author of the Chronicle has made the account in 2 Kings xi. the basis of his narrative, and designedly altered it, and can scarcely be upheld even by the incorrect interpretation of various words. That 2 Kings xi. is not the source from which our account has been derived, nor the basis on which it is founded, is manifest from the very first verses of the chronicler's narrative, where the names of the five princes over hundreds, with whose co-operation Jehoiada elaborated his plan and carried it into execution, are individually enumerated; while in 2 Kings xi., where the preparations for the accomplishment of the work are very briefly treated of, they will be sought for in vain. But if, on the contrary, the two accounts be recognised to be extracts confining themselves to the main points, excerpted from a more detailed narrative of the event from different points of view, the discrepancies may be at once reconciled. Instead of the short statement, 2 Kings xi. 4, that the high priest Jehoiada ordered the centurions of the royal body-guard to come to him in the temple (וַיִּקַּח . . . וַיָּבֵא), made a covenant with them, caused them to swear, and showed them the king's son, we read in the Chronicle (vers. 1–3), that the high priest Jehoiada took five centurions, whose names are stated with historical exactitude, into covenant with him, *i.e.* sent for them and made a covenant with them, and that these men then went throughout Judah, and summoned the Levites from all the cities of Judah, and the heads of the fathers'-houses of Israel, to Jerusalem; whereupon Jehoiada with the whole assembly made a covenant with the king in the house of God, and Jehoiada said to the people, "The king's son shall be king, as Jahve hath said of the sons of David." That this more

expanded narrative can without difficulty be reconciled with the summary statement in 2 Kings xi. 4, is perfectly manifest. By various devices, however, Berth. tries to bring out some discrepancies. In the first place, in the words, "Jehoiada sent and brought the princes of hundreds" (Kings, ver. 4), he presses the שָׁלַח, which is not found in the Chronicle, translates it by "he sent out," and interprets it with ver. 2 of the Chronicle; in the second, he takes כָּל־הַקָּהָל in ver. 3 of the Chronicle to mean "the whole congregation," whereas it denotes only the assembly of the men named in vers. 1 and 2; and, thirdly, he opposes the expression, "they made a covenant with the king" (ver. 3, Chron.), to the statement (ver. 2, Kings) that Jehoiada made a covenant to the princes, by making this latter statement mean that Jehoiada made a covenant *with* the princes, but not with the king, as if this covenant concerning the coronation of Joash as king might not be called, by a shorter mode of expression, a covenant with the king, especially when the declaration, "the son of the king shall reign," follows immediately.—Vers. 4–7. The case is similar with the contradictions in the account of the carrying out of the arrangements agreed upon. In Bertheau's view, this is the state of the case: According to 2 Kings xi. 5–8, the one part of the body-guard, which on Sabbath mounted guard in the royal palace, were to divide themselves into three bands: one third was to keep the guard of the royal house, which was certainly in the neighbourhood of the main entrance; the second third was to stand at the gate Sur, probably a side-gate of the palace; the third was to stand behind the door of the runners. The other part of the body-guard, on the other hand—all those who were relieved on the Sabbath—were to occupy the temple, so as to defend the young king. But according to the representation of the Chronicle, (1) the priests and the Levites were to divide themselves into three parts: the first third, those of the priests and Levites, who entered upon their duties on the Sabbath, were to be watchers of the thresholds (cf. on 1 Chron. ix. 19 f.), *i.e.* were to mount guard in the temple as usual; the second third was to be in the house of the king (*i.e.* where the first third was to keep watch, according to 2 Kings); the third was to be at the gate Jesod. Then (2) the whole people were to stand in the courts of the temple, and, according to ver. 6, were to observe the ordinance of Jahve (chap. xiii. 11), by which they were forbidden to enter the

temple. From this Bertheau then concludes: "The guarding of the house of Jahve for the protection of the king (2 Kings xi. 7) has here become a משמרת יהוה." But in opposition to this, we have to remark that in 2 Kings xi. 5–8 it is not said that the royal body-guard was to be posted as guards in the royal palace and in the temple; that is only a conclusion from the fact that Jehoiada conferred on the matter with the שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת of the executioners and runners, *i.e.* of the royal satellites, and instructed these centurions, that those entering upon the service on Sabbath were to keep watch in three divisions, and those retiring from the service in two divisions, in the following places, which are then more accurately designated. The one division of those entering upon the service were to stand, according to 2 Kings, by the gate Sur; according to the Chronicle, by the gate Jesod. The second, according to 2 Kings, was to keep the guard of the king's house; according to the Chronicle, it was to be in or by the king's house. The third was, according to 2 Kings, to be by (in) the gate behind the runners, and to keep the guard of the house Massach; according to the Chronicle, they were to serve as watchers of the thresholds. If, as is acknowledged by all, the gate סוּר is identical with the gate הַיְסוֹד, —although it can neither be ascertained whether the difference in name has resulted merely from an orthographical error, or rests upon a double designation of one gate; nor yet can it be pointed out what the position of this gate, which is nowhere else mentioned, was,—then the Chronicle and 2 Kings agree as to the posts which were to occupy this door. The position also of the third part, בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ (Chron.), will not be different from that of the third part, to which was committed the guarding of the king's house (Kings). The place where this third part took up its position is not exactly pointed out in either narrative, yet the statement, "to keep the watch of the house (temple) for warding off" (Kings), agrees with the appointment "to be guards of the thresholds" (Chron.), since the guarding of the thresholds has no other aim than to prevent unauthorized persons from entering. Now, since the young king, not merely according to the Chron., but also according to 2 Kings xi. 4,—where we are told that Jehoiada showed the son of the king to the chief men whom he had summoned to the house of Jahve,—was in the temple, and only after his coronation and Athaliah's death was led solemnly into the royal palace, we might take the king's house, the guard

of which the one third of those entering upon the service were to keep (Kings, ver. 7), to be the temple building in which the young king was, and interpret בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ in accordance with that idea. In that case, there would be no reference to the settling of guards in the palace; and that view would seem to be favoured by the circumstance that the other third part of those entering upon their service on the Sabbath were to post themselves at the gate, behind the runners, and keep the guard of the house מַסָּח. That מַסָּח is not a *nom. propr.*, but *appellat.*, from נָסַח, to ward off, signifying warding off, is unanimously acknowledged by modern commentators; only Thenius would alter מַסָּח into וְנָסַח, "and shall ward off." Gesenius, on the contrary, in his *Thesaurus*, takes the word to be a substantive, *cum* מִשְׁמֶרֶת *per appositionem conjunctum*, in the signification, the guard for warding off, and translates, *et vos agetis custodiam templi ad depellendum sc. populum* (to ward off). If this interpretation be correct, then these words also do not treat of a palace guard; and to take הַבַּיִת to signify the temple is so evidently suggested by the context, according to which the high priest conducted the whole transaction in the temple, that we must have better grounds for referring the words to the royal palace than the mere presumption that, because the high priest discussed the plan with the captains of the royal body-guard, it must be the occupation of the royal palace which is spoken of. But quite apart from the Chronicle, even the further account of the matter in 2 Kings xi. is unfavourable to the placing of guards in the royal palace. According to ver. 9, the captains did exactly as Jehoiada commanded. They took each of them their men—those coming on the Sabbath, and those departing—and went to the priest Jehoiada, who gave them David's weapons out of the house of God (ver. 10), and the satellites stationed themselves in the court of the temple, and there the king was crowned. The unambiguous statement, ver. 9, that the captains, each with his men—*i.e.* those coming on Sabbath (entering upon the service), and those departing—came to the high priest in the temple, and there took up their position in the court, decisively excludes the idea that "those coming on the Sabbath" had occupied the guard-posts in the royal palace, and demands that the divisions mentioned in vers. 5 and 6 should be posted at different parts and gates of the temple. That one third part had assigned to it a place behind the gate of the runners is not at all inconsistent with the

above idea; for even if the gate behind the runners be identical with the gate of the runners (Kings, ver. 19), it by no means follows from that that it was a gate of the palace, and not of the outer court of the temple. In accordance with this view, then, vers. 5 and 6 (Kings) do not treat of an occupation of the royal palace, but of a provision for the security of the temple by the posting of guards. It is, moreover, against the supposition that the entrances to the palace were occupied by guards, that Athaliah, when she heard from her palace the noise of the people in the temple, came immediately into the temple, and was dragged forth and slain by the captains there in command. For what purpose can they have placed guards by the palace gates, if they did not desire to put any hindrance in the way of the queen's going forth into the temple? The hypotheses of Thenius, that it was done to keep away those who were devoted to Athaliah, to make themselves masters of the palace, and to hinder Athaliah from taking any measures in opposition to them, and to guard the place of the throne, are nothing but expedients resulting from embarrassment. If there was no intention to put any hindrance in the way of the queen leaving the palace, there could have been none to prevent her taking opposing measures. For the rest, the result obtained by careful consideration of the account in 2 Kings xi., that in vers. 5 and 6 an occupation by guards, not of the royal palace, but of the temple, is spoken of, does not stand or fall with the supposition that בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ was the dwelling of the young king in the temple building, and not the palace. The expression שָׁמַר מִשְׁמֶרֶת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ, to guard the guard of the king's house, *i.e.* to have regard to whatever is to be regarded in reference to the king's house, is so indefinite and elastic, that it may have been used of a post which watched from the outer court of the temple what was going on in the palace, which was over against the temple. With this also the corresponding בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ, in the short account of the distribution of the guards given by the chronicler (ver. 5), may be reconciled, if we translate it "at the house of the king," and call to mind that, according to 2 Kings xvi. 18 and 1 Kings x. 5, there was a special approach from the palace to the temple for the king, which this division may have had to guard. But notwithstanding the guarding of this way, Athaliah could come from the palace into the court of the temple by another way, or perhaps the guards were less

watchful at their posts during the solemnity of the young king's coronation.

And not less groundless is the assertion that the priest Jehoiada availed himself in the execution of his plan, according to 2 Kings xi., mainly of the co-operation of the royal body-guard, according to the Chronicle mainly of that of the Levites; or that the chronicler, as Thenius expresses it, "has made the body-guards of 2 Kings into Levites, in order to divert to the priesthood the honour which belonged to the Prætorians." The שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת, mentioned by name in the Chronicle, with whom Jehoiada discussed his plan, and who had command of the guards when it was carried out, are not called Levites, and may consequently have been captains of the executioners and runners, *i.e.* of the royal body-guard, as they are designated in 2 Kings xi. 4. But the men who occupied the various posts are called in both texts בָּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת (Kings, ver. 5; Chron. ver. 4): in 2 Kings, vers. 7 and 9, the corresponding יֹצְאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת is added; while in the Chronicle the באי השבת are expressly called Levites, the words לַכֹּהֲנִים וְלַלְוִיִּם being added. But we know from Luke i. 5, compared with 1 Chron. xxiv. (see above, p. 263), that the priests and Levites performed the service in the temple in courses from one Sabbath to another, while we have no record of any such arrangement as to the service of the Prætorians; so that we must understand the words "coming on the Sabbath" (entering upon the service), and "going on the Sabbath" (those relieved from it), of the Levites in the first place. Had it been intended that by these words in 2 Kings xi. we should understand Prætorians, it must necessarily have been clearly said. From the words spoken to the centurions of the body-guard, "the third part of you," etc., it does not follow at all as a matter of course that they were so, any more than from the fact that in Kings, ver. 11, the posts set are called הָרָצִים, the runners = satellites. If we suppose that in this extraordinary case the Levitic temple servants were placed under the command of centurions of the royal body-guard, who were in league with the high priest, the designation of the men they commanded by the name רָצִים, satellites, is fully explained; the men having been previously more accurately described as those who were entering upon and being relieved from service on the Sabbath. In this way I have explained the matter in my *apologet. Versuch über die Chron.* S. 362 ff., but this explanation of it has neither been regarded

nor confuted by Thenius and Bertheau. Even the mention of כָּרִי and רָצִים along with the captains and the whole people, in Kings, ver. 19, is not inconsistent with it; for we may without difficulty suppose, as has been said in my commentary on that verse, that the royal body-guard, immediately after the slaughter of Athaliah, went over to the young king just crowned, in order that they, along with the remainder of the people who were assembled in the court, might lead him thence to the royal palace. There is only one statement in the two texts which can scarcely be reconciled with this conjecture,—namely, the mention of the רָצִים and of the people in the temple before Athaliah was slain (ver. 12 Chron. and ver. 13 Kings), since it follows from that that runners or satellites belonging to the body-guard were either posted, or had assembled with the others, in the court of the temple. To meet this statement, we must suppose that the centurions of the body-guard employed not merely the Levitic temple guard, but also some of the royal satellites, upon whose fidelity they could rely, to occupy the posts mentioned in vers. 5–7 (Kings) and vers. 4 and 5 (Chron.); so that the company under the command of the centurions who occupied the various posts in the temple consisted partly of Levitic temple guards, and partly of royal body-guards. But even on this view, the suspicion that the chronicler has mentioned the Levites instead of the body-guard is shown to be groundless and unjust, since the רָצִים also are mentioned in the Chronicle.

According to this exposition, the true relation between the account in the Chronicle and that in the book of Kings would seem to be something like this: Both accounts mention merely the main points of the proceedings,—the author of the book of Kings emphasizing the part played in the affair by the royal body-guard; the author of the Chronicle, on the other hand, emphasizing that played by the Levites: so that both accounts mutually supplement each other, and only when taken together give a full view of the circumstances. We have still to make the following remarks on the narrative of the Chronicle in detail. The statement (Kings, ver. 5) that all those relieved on the Sabbath were to keep guard of the house of Jahve, in reference to the king, in two divisions, is in Chronicles, ver. 5, thus generalized: "all the people were in the courts of the house of Jahve." כָּל־הָעָם is all the people except the before-mentioned bodies of men with their captains, and comprehends not only

the remainder of the people mentioned in 2 Kings xi. 13 and 19, who came to the temple without any special invitation, but also the body of guards who were relieved from service on Sabbath. This is clear from ver. 8 of the Chronicle, where we have the supplementary remark, that those departing on the Sabbath also, as well as those coming, did what Jehoiada commanded. In addition to this, in ver. 6 this further command of Jehoiada is communicated: Let no one enter the house of Jahve (בֵּית יהוה is the temple building, *i.e.* the holy place and the most holy, as distinguished from the courts), save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites, *i.e.* of those Levites who perform the service, who are consecrated thereto; but all the people shall keep the watch of the Lord, *i.e.* keep what is to be observed in reference to Jahve, *i.e.* here, to keep without the limits appointed in the law to the people in drawing near to the sanctuaries. The whole verse, therefore, contains only an elucidation of the command that all the people were to remain in the courts, and not to press farther into the sanctuary.—Ver. 7. "And the Levites shall compass the king round about, each with his weapons in his hand." The Levites are the bodies of guards mentioned in vers. 4, 5. If we keep that in view, then the following words, "every one who cometh into the house shall be put to death," say the same as the words, "every one who cometh within the ranks" (Kings, ver. 8). A contradiction arises only if we misinterpret הִקִּיפוּ, and understand it of the forming of a circle around the king; whereas הִקִּיפוּ, like הִקִּפְתֶּם (Kings), is to be understood, according to the context, of the setting of the guards both at the temple gate and in the courts, so that whoever entered the court of the temple came within the ranks of the guards thus placed.—Vers. 8–10. The account of the occupation of the temple thus arranged agrees with vers. 9–11, Kings. Instead of שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת (Kings), in ver. 8 are very fittingly named "the Levites (as in ver. 5) and all Judah," viz. in its chiefs, since the high priest had assured himself of the support of the heads of the fathers'-houses of Israel (ver. 2). Further, to the statement that those who were departing from the service also took part in the affair, it is added, "for Jehoiada had not dismissed the courses." הַמַּחְלְקוֹת are the divisions which, according to the arrangement made by David (1 Chron. xxiv.–xxvi.), had charge of the temple service at that time. To the captains Jehoiada gave the spears and shields which had been presented

to the temple by David as offerings, because they had come into the temple without weapons; see on 2 Kings xi. 10. וַיַּעֲמֹד, "and he caused the whole people to take position," is connected formally with וַיִּתֵּן, ver. 9; while in Kings, ver. 11, we have simply וַיַּעַמְדוּ.—Ver. 11. The coronation of Joash, as in ver. 12 (Kings). The subject of וַיּוֹצִיאוּ and וַיִּתְּנוּ is those present, while in וַיּוֹצִיא and וַיִּתֵּן (Kings), Jehoiada as leader of the whole is referred to. In the Chronicle, Jehoiada and his sons, *i.e.* the high priest with the priests assisting him, are expressly named as subject to וַיַּמְלִיכוּ and וַיִּמְשָׁחֻהוּ, where in Kings also the plural is used; while, on the contrary, "the clapping of the hands" as a sign of joyful acclamation (Kings) is omitted, as being unimportant.—Vers. 12–15. Slaughter of Athaliah, as in 2 Kings xi. 13–16. In ver. 13 of the Chronicle, the statement that the assembled people played on instruments is expanded by the addition, "and singing with instruments of song, and proclaiming aloud to praise," *i.e.* and praising. וַיּוֹצֵא, ver. 14, is an orthographical error for וַיֵּצֵא (Kings).

Vers. 16–21. *The renewal of the covenant, extirpation of Baal-worship, and the solemn entry of the king into his palace*, as in 2 Kings xi. 17–20, and already commented on in that place. The remark as to the renewal of the covenant is in ver. 16 (Chron.) somewhat more brief than in Kings, ver. 17; and בֵּינוֹ, between himself, the same as between himself, the high priest, as representative of Jehovah. In Kings, ver. 17, the matter is more clearly expressed. In ver. 18 f., the statement, "the priest set overseers over the house of Jahve" (Kings), is expanded by the addition of the words, "by means of the Levitic priests whom David had distributed for the house of Jahve to offer sacrifices; . . . and he placed doorkeepers at the doors of the house of Jahve," etc. The meaning is: Jehoiada again introduced the old arrangement of the public worship in the temple as David had settled it, it having either fallen into decay or wholly ceased under the rule of the idolatrous Athaliah. As to the remainder, see on 2 Kings xi. 19 and 30.

Chap. xxiv. *The reign of Joash;* cf. 2 Kings xii.—In both accounts only two main events in Joash's reign of forty years are narrated at any length,—the repair of the temple, and the campaign of the Syrian king Hazael against Jerusalem. Besides this, at the beginning, we have a statement as to the duration and spirit of his reign; and in conclusion, the murder

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of Joash in consequence of a conspiracy is mentioned. Both accounts agree in all essential points, but are shown to be extracts containing the most important part of a more complete history of Joash, by the fact that, on the one hand, in 2 Kings xii. single circumstances are communicated in a more detailed and more exact form than that in which the Chronicle states them; while, on the other hand, the account of the Chronicle supplements the account in 2 Kings xii. in many respects. To these latter belong the account of the marriage of Joash, and his many children, the account of the death of Jehoiada at the age of 130 years, and his honourable burial with the kings, etc.; see on ver. 15.

Vers. 4–14. As to the *repair of the temple*, see the commentary on 2 Kings xii. 5–17, where both the formal divergences and the essential agreement of the two narratives are pointed out.—Ver. 11. וַיְהִי בְּעֵת יָבִיא וגו׳, translate: It came to pass at the time when they brought the chest to the guard of the king by the Levites, *i.e.* to the board of oversight appointed by the king from among the Levites. עֵת *stat. constr.* before a sentence following. לְיוֹם בְּיוֹם does not denote every day, but every time when there was much money in the chest.—Ver. 13. וַתַּעַל אֲרוּכָה, and there was a band laid upon the work, *i.e.* the restoration of the house of God was furthered; cf. for this symbolical expression, Neh. iv. 1, Jer. viii. 7.—Ver. 14. וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כֵלִים, therefrom (the king) caused to be made (prepared) vessels for the house of Jahve, (namely) vessels of the service, *i.e.*, according to Num. iv. 12, in the holy place, and for the offering of burnt-offering, *i.e.* altar vessels, and (besides) bowls, and (other) vessels of gold and silver. The last clause of ver. 14 leads on to the following: "They (king and people) offered burnt-offering continually so long as Jehoiada lived."

Vers. 15–22. *Jehoiada's death: the fall of the people into idolatry: the protest of the prophet Zechariah against it, and the stoning of him.*—This section is not found in 2 Kings xii., but is important for the understanding of the later history of Joash (ver. 23 ff.). With the death of the grey-haired high priest came a turning-point in the reign of Joash. Jehoiada had saved the life and throne of Joash, preserved to the kingdom the royal house of David, to which the promises belonged, and had put an end to the idolatry which had been transplanted into Judah by Joram's marriage into the royal house of Ahab, restoring the Jahve-worship. For this he was honoured at his death, his body

being laid in the city of David among the kings: "For he had done good in Israel, and towards God and His house" (the temple). According to 2 Kings xii. 7, he still took an active part in the repair of the temple in the twenty-third year of Joash, and according to ver. 14 he lived for some time after the completion of that work. But after his death the people soon forgot the benefits they owed him.—Ver. 17 f. The princes of Judah besought the king to allow them to worship the Astartes and idols, and the king hearkened to them, did not venture to deny their request. יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַמֶּלֶךְ, they bowed themselves before the king, *i.e* they besought him. What they thus beseechingly requested is not stated, but may be gathered from what they did, according to ver. 18. They forsook Jahve the God of their fathers, etc. There came wrath upon Judah because of this their trespass. קֶצֶף, a wrathful judgment of the Lord, cf. xxix. 8, viz. the invasion of the land by Hazael, ver. 23 ff. On the construction אַשְׁמָתָם זֹאת, cf. Ew. § 293, *c*, S. 740. Against this defection prophets whom the Lord sent did indeed lift up their testimony, but they would not hearken to them. Of these prophets, one, Zechariah the son of the high priest Jehoiada, is mentioned by name in ver. 20 ff., who, seized by the Spirit of the Lord, announced to the people divine punishment for their defection, and was thereupon, at the king's command, stoned in the court of the temple. With רוּחַ לָבְשָׁה cf. 1 Chron. xii. 18, and the commentary on Judg. vi. 34. מֵעַל לָעָם, above the people, viz., as we learn from ver. 21, in the inner, higher-lying court, so that he was above the people who were in the outer court. "Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord, and (why) will ye not prosper?" Fidelity to the Lord is the condition of prosperity. If Israel forsake the Lord, the Lord will also forsake it; cf. xii. 5, xv. 2.—Ver. 21. And they (the princes and the people) conspired against him, and stoned him, at the command of the king, in the court of the temple. This זְכַרְיָה is the *Ζαχαρίας* whose slaughter is mentioned by Christ in Matt. xxiii. 36 and Luke xi. 51 as the last prophet-murder narrated in the Old Testament, whose blood would come upon the people, although Matthew calls him *υἱὸς Βαραχίου*. According to these passages, he was slain between the temple and the altar of burnt-offering, consequently in the most sacred part of the court of the priests. That the king, Joash, could give the command for this murder, shows how his compliance with the princes'

demands (ver. 17) had made him the slave of sin. Probably the idolatrous princes accused the witness for God of being a seditious person and a rebel against the majesty of the crown, and thereby extorted from the weak king the command for his death. For it is not said that Joash himself worshipped the idols; and even in ver. 22 it is only the base ingratitude of which Joash had been guilty, in the slaughter of the son of his benefactor, which is adduced against him. But Zechariah at his death said, "May the Lord look upon it, and take vengeance" (דָּרַשׁ, to seek or require a crime, *i.e.* punish it). This word became a prophecy, which soon began to be fulfilled, ver. 23 ff.

Vers. 23–26. The punishment comes upon them. *Joash afflicted by the invasion of Judah by Hazael the Syrian; and his death in consequence of a conspiracy against him.*—These two events are narrated in 2 Kings xii. 18–22 also, the progress of Hazael's invasion being more exactly traced; see the commentary on 2 Kings xii. 18 f. The author of the Chronicle brings forward only those parts of it which show how God punished Joash for his defection from Him.—Ver. 23. "At the revolution of a year," *i.e.* scarcely a year after the murder of the prophet Zechariah, a Syrian army invaded Judah and advanced upon Jerusalem; "and they destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people," *i.e.* they smote the army of Joash in a battle, in which the princes (the chief and leaders) were destroyed, *i.e.* partly slain, partly wounded. This punishment came upon the princes as the originators of the defection from the Lord, ver. 17. "And they sent all their booty to the king (Hazael) to Damascus." In this booty the treasures which Joash gave to the Syrians (2 Kings xii. 19) to buy their withdrawal are also included. In order to show that this invasion of the Syrians was a divine judgment, it is remarked in ver. 24 that the Syrians, with a small army, gained a victory over the very large army of Judah, and executed judgment upon Joash. עָשָׂה שְׁפָטִים, as in Ex. xii. 12, Num. xxxiii. 4, frequently in Ezekiel, usually construed with בְּ, here with אֵת, analogous to the עָשָׂה טוֹב אֵת, *e.g.* 1 Sam. xxiv. 19. These words refer to the wounding of Joash, and its results, ver. 25 f. In the war Joash was badly wounded; the Syrians on their withdrawal had left him behind in many wounds (מַחֲלִיִּים only met with here, synonymous with חֳלָאִים, xxi. 19). Then his own servants, the court officials named in ver. 26, conspired against him, and smote him

upon his bed. In 2 Kings xii. 21, the place where the king, lying sick upon his bed, was slain is stated. He met with his end thus, "because of the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest" which had been shed. The plural בְּנֵי is perhaps only an orthographical error for בֶּן, occasioned by the preceding דְּמֵי (Berth.); but more probably it is, like בָּנָיו, xxviii. 3 and xxxiii. 6, a rhetorical plural, which says nothing as to the number, but only brings out that Joash had brought blood-guiltiness upon himself in respect of the children of his benefactor Jehoiada; see on xxviii. 3. Upon the murdered king, moreover, the honour of being buried in the graves of the kings was not bestowed; cf. xxi. 20. On the names of the two conspirators, ver. 26, see on 2 Kings xii. 21. In ver. 27 it is doubtful how ורב is to be read. The Keri demands יִרְבּוּ, which Berth. understands thus: And as regards his sons, may the utterance concerning him increase; which might signify, "May the wish of the dying Zechariah, ver. 22, be fulfilled on them in a still greater degree than on their father." But that is hardly the meaning of the Keri. The older theologians took יִרְבּוּ relatively: *et quam creverit s. multiplicatum fuerit.* Without doubt, the Keth. וְרֹב or וְרַב is the correct reading. הַמַּשָּׂא, too, is variously interpreted. Vulg., Luther, and others take it to be synonymous with מַשָּׂאת, vers. 6, 9, and understand it of the money derived from Moses' tax; but to that עָלָיו is by no means suitable. Others (as Then.) think of the tribute laid upon him, 2 Kings xii. 19, but very arbitrarily. On the other hand, Clericus and others rightly understand it of prophetic threatenings against him, corresponding to the statement in ver. 19, that God sent prophets against him. As to the Midrash of the book of Kings, see the Introduction, p. 31 f.

CHAP. XXV.—THE REIGN OF AMAZIAH. CF. 2 KINGS XIV. 1–20.

Vers. 1–4. The statement as to the duration and spirit of the reign agrees with 2 Kings xiv. 1–6, except that in ver. 2 the estimation of the spirit of the reign according to the standard of David, "only not as his ancestor David, but altogether as his father Joash did," which we find in the book of Kings, is replaced by "only not with a perfect heart;" and the standing formula, "only the high places were not removed," etc., is omitted.

The succeeding section, vers. 5–16, enlarges upon Amaziah's

preparations for war with Edom, which had revolted under Joram of Judah, 2 Kings viii. 22; upon the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, and on the results of this war;—on all which we have in 2 Kings xiv. 7 only this short note: "he smote Edom in the valley of Salt 10,000 men, and took Selah in war, and called its name Joktheel unto this day." But the more exact statements of the Chronicle as to the preparations and the results of this war and victory are important for Amaziah's later war with King Joash of Israel, which is narrated in ver. 17 ff. of our chapter, because in them lie the causes of that war, so fatal to Amaziah; so that the history of Amaziah is essentially supplemented by those statements of the Chronicle which are not found in 2 Kings.

Vers. 5–13. *The preparations for the war against Edom, and the victory over the Edomites in the Valley of Salt.*—Ver. 5. Amaziah assembled Judah, *i.e.* the men in his kingdom capable of bearing arms, and set them up (ordered them) according to the princes of thousands and hundreds, of all Judah and Benjamin, and passed them in review, *i.e.* caused a census to be taken of the men liable to military service from twenty years old and upward. They found 300,000 warriors "bearing spear and target" (cf. xiv. 7); a relatively small number, not merely in comparison with the numbers under Jehoshaphat, chap. xvii. 14 ff., which are manifestly too large, but also with the numberings made by other kings, *e.g.* Asa, chap. xiv. 7. By Joram's unfortunate wars, chap. xxi. 17, those of Ahaziah, and especially by the defeat which Joash sustained from the Syrians, xxiv. 43, the number of men in Judah fit for war may have been very much reduced. Amaziah accordingly sought to strengthen his army against the Edomites, according to ver. 6, by having an auxiliary corps of 100,000 men from Israel (of the ten tribes) for 100 talents of silver, *i.e.* he took them into his pay. But a prophet advised him not to take the Israelitish host with him, because Jahve was not with Israel, viz. on account of their defection from Jahve by the introduction of the calf-worship. To Israel there is added, (with) all the sons of Ephraim, to guard against any misunderstanding. —Ver. 8. Amaziah is to go alone, and show himself valiant in war, and the Lord will help him to conquer. This is without doubt the thought in ver. 8, which, however, does not seem to be contained in the traditional Masoretic text. יַכְשִׁילְךָ הָאֵל can hardly, after the preceding imperatives—do, be strong for battle—be other-

wise translated than by, "and God will cause thee to stumble before the enemy." But this is quite unsuitable. Clericus, therefore, would take the words ironically: *sin minus, tu vadito*, etc.; *i.e.* if thou dost not follow my advice, and takest the Israelites with thee to the war, go, show thyself strong for the war, God will soon cause thee to stumble. But כִּי אִם can never signify *sin minus*. Others, as Schmidt and Ramb., translate: Rather do thou go alone (without the Israelitish auxiliaries), and be valiant, *alioquin enim, si illos tecum duxeris, corruere te faciet Deus;* or, May God make thee fall before the enemy (De Wette). But the supplying of *alioquin*, which is only hidden by De Wette's translation, cannot be grammatically justified. This interpretation of the יַכְשִׁילְךָ would be possible only if the negation כִּי אִם לֹא stood in the preceding clause and יַכְשִׁילְךָ was joined to it by וְ. The traditional text is clearly erroneous, and we must, with Ewald and Berth., supply a לֹא or וְלֹא before יַכְשִׁילְךָ: Go thou (alone), do, be valiant for battle, and God will not let thee come to ruin.[1] After this we have very fittingly the reason assigned: "for with God there is power to help, and to cause to fall."—Ver. 9. Amaziah had regard to this exhortation of the prophet, and asked him only what he should do for the 100 talents of silver which he had paid the Israelite auxiliary corps; to which the prophet answered that Jahve could give him more than that sum. Amaziah thereupon dismissed the hired Ephraimite mercenaries. יַבְדִּילֵם, he separated them (*sc.* from his army prepared for battle), viz. the band, that they might go to their place, *i.e.* might return home. The לְ before הַגְּדוּד is *nota accus.*, and לְהַגְּדוּד is in apposition to the suffix in יַבְדִּילֵם. But the auxiliaries thus dismissed returned home full of wrath against Judah, and afterwards fell upon the border cities of Judah, wasting and plundering (ver. 13). Their anger probably arose from the fact that by their dismissal the opportunity of making a rich booty in war was taken away.—Ver. 11 f. But Amaziah courageously led his people into the Valley of Salt, and smote the Edomites. הִתְחַזֵּק, as in xv. 8, refers back to חֲזַק, ver. 8: he showed himself strong, according to the word of the prophet. As to the Valley of Salt, see on 2 Sam.

[1] Even the old translators could make nothing of the present text, and expressed the first clause of the verse as they thought best. LXX., ὅτι ἐὰν ὑπολάβῃς κατασχῦσαι ἐν τούτοις; Vulg., *quod si putes in robore exercitus bella consistere;* after which Luth., "denn so du komest das du eine künheit beweisest im streit, wird Gott dich fallen lassen für deinen Feinden."

viii. 13 and 1 Chron. xviii. 12. Besides the 10,000 slain in the battle, the men of Judah took 10,000 other Edomites prisoners, whom they cast from the top of a rock. This statement is wanting in 2 Kings xiv. 7, where, instead of it, the capture of the city Sela (Petra) is mentioned. The conjecture of Thenius, that this last statement of the Chronicle has been derived from a text of the Kings which had become illegible at this place, has already been rejected as untenable by Bertheau. Except the word סֶלַע, the two texts have nothing in common with each other; but it does suggest itself that רֹאשׁ הַסֶּלַע, the top of the rock (which has become famous by this event), is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the city Selah, as the war was ended only by the capture of Selah. Besides the battle in the Valley of Salt there were still further battles; and in the numbers 10,000, manifestly the whole of the prisoners taken in the war are comprehended, who, as irreconcilable enemies of Judah, were not made slaves, but were slain by being thrown down from a perpendicular rock.— Ver. 13. The Ephraimite host dismissed by Amaziah fell plundering upon the cities of Judah, and smote of them (the inhabitants of these cities) 3000, and carried away great booty. They would seem to have made this devastating attack on their way home; but to this idea, which at first suggests itself, the more definite designation of the plundered cities, "from Samaria to Bethhoron," does not correspond, for these words can scarcely be otherwise understood than as denoting that Samaria was the starting-point of the foray, and not the limit up to which the plundered cities reached. For this reason Berth. thinks that this attack upon the northern cities of Judah was probably carried out only at a later period, when Amaziah and his army were in Edom. The latter is certainly the more probable supposition; but the course of events can hardly have been, that the Ephraimite auxiliary corps, after Amaziah had dismissed it, returned home to Samaria, and then later, when Amaziah had marched into the Valley of Salt, made this attack upon the cities of Judah, starting from Samaria. It is more probable that the dismissal of this auxiliary corps, which Amaziah had certainly obtained on hire from King Joash, happened after they had been gathered together in Samaria, and had advanced to the frontier of Judah. Then, roused to anger by their dismissal, they did not at once separate and return home; but, Amaziah having meanwhile taken the field against the Edomites with his army, made an attack upon the

northern frontier cities of Judah as far as Bethhoron, plundering as they went, and only after this plundering did they return home. As to Bethhoron, now Beit-Ur, see on 1 Chron. vii. 24.

Vers. 14–16. *Amaziah's idolatry.*—Ver. 14. On his return from smiting the Edomites, *i.e.* from the war in which he had smitten the Edomites, Amaziah brought the gods (images) of the sons of Seir (the inhabitants of Mount Seir) with him, and set them up as gods, giving them religious adoration.[1] In order to turn him away from this sin, which would certainly kindle Jahve's wrath, a prophet said to Amaziah, "Why dost thou seek the gods of the people, who have not delivered their people out of your hand?" The prophet keeps in view the motive which had induced the king to set up and worship the Edomite idols, viz. the belief of all polytheists, that in order to make a people subject, one must seek to win over their gods (cf. on this belief the remarks on Num. xxii. 17), and exposes the folly of this belief by pointing out the impotence of the Edomite idols, which Amaziah himself had learnt to know.—Ver. 16. The king, however, in his blindness puts aside this earnest warning with proud words: "Have we made thee a counsellor of the king? Forbear, why should they smite thee?" נִתְּנוּךָ is spoken collectively: We, the king, and the members of the council. And the prophet ceased, only answering the king thus: "I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this (introduced Edomite idols), and hast not hearkened unto my counsel." The prophet calls his warning "counsel," referring to the king's word, that he was not appointed a counsellor to the king.

[1] This statement, which is not found in 2 Kings xiv., may, in the opinion of Berth., perhaps not rest upon a definite tradition, but be merely the application of a principle which generally was found to act in the history of Israel to a particular case; *i.e.*, it may be a clothing in historical garments of the principle that divine punishment came upon the idolatrous king, because it does not agree with the statement of 2 Kings xiv. 3. In that passage it is said of Amaziah: He did what was right in the eyes of Jahve, only not as David; altogether as his father Joash had done, did he. But Joash allowed his princes, after Jehoiada's death, to worship idols and Asheras, and had caused the prophet Zechariah, who reproved this idolatry, to be stoned. These are facts which, it is true, are narrated only in the Chronicle, but which are admitted by Bertheau himself to be historical. Now if Amaziah did altogether the same as his father Joash, who allowed idolatry, etc., it is hard indeed to see wherein the inconsistency of our account of Amaziah's idolatry with the character assigned to this king in 2 Kings xiv. 3 consists. Bertheau has omitted to give us any more definite information on this point.

Vers. 17–24. *The war with Joash, king of Israel.*—Instead of following the counsel of the prophet, Amaziah consulted (*sc.* with his public officials or courtiers), and challenged King Joash of Israel to war. The challenge, and the war which followed, are also narrated in 2 Kings xiv. 8–14 in agreement with our account, and have been already commented upon at that place, where we have also considered the occasion of this war, so fatal to Amaziah and the kingdom of Judah, an account of which has been handed down to us only in the supplementary narrative of the Chronicle. לְךָ in ver. 17 for לְכָה, come, as in Num. xxiii. 13 and Judg. xix. 13.—In ver. 20 the chronicler explains Amaziah's refusal to hear the warning of Joash before the war with him, by a reference to the divine determination: "For it (came) of God (that Amaziah still went to war), that He might deliver them (the men of Judah) into the hand, because they had sought the gods of Edom:" נָתַן בְּיַד, to give into the power of the enemy.—In ver. 23, שַׁעַר הַפּוֹנָה is a manifest error for הַפִּנָּה (Kings, ver. 13). Were הַפּוֹנָה, the gate that turns itself, faces (in some direction), correct, the direction would have to be given towards which it turned, *e.g.* Ezek. viii. 3. —וְכָל־הַזָּהָב וגו׳, ver. 24, still depends upon תָּפַשׂ, ver. 23: and (took away) all the gold, etc. In Kings, ver. 14, וַיִּקַּח is supplied.

Vers. 25–28. *The end of Amaziah's reign*; cf. 2 Kings xiv. 17–20.—Although conquered and taken prisoner by Joash, Amaziah did not lose the throne. For Joash, contented with the carrying away of the treasures of the temple and of the palace, and the taking of hostages, set him again at liberty, so that he continued to reign, and outlived Joash by about fifteen years.—Ver. 26. On the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, see the Introduction, p. 30 f.—Ver. 27. On the conspiracy against Amaziah, his death, etc., see the commentary on 2 Kings xiv. 17 f. בְּעִיר יְהוּדָה, in the city of Judah, is surprising, since everywhere else "the city of David" is mentioned as the burial-place, and even in our passage all the ancient versions have "in the city of David." יְהוּדָה would therefore seem to be an orthographical error for דָּוִיד, occasioned by the immediately following יְהוּדָה.

CHAP. XXVI.—THE REIGN OF UZZIAH (AZARIAH). CF. 2 KINGS XIV. 21, 22, AND XV. 1–7.

Vers. 1–5. The statements as to Uzziah's attainment of dominion, the building of the seaport town Elath on the Red

Sea, the length and character of his reign (vers. 1–4), agree entirely with 2 Kings xiv. 21, 22, and xv. 2, 3; see the commentary on these passages. Uzziah (עֻזִּיָּהוּ) is called in 1 Chron. iii. 12 and in 2 Kings (generally) Azariah (עֲזַרְיָה); cf., on the use of the two names, the commentary on 2 Kings xiv. 21.—In ver. 5, instead of the standing formula, "only the high places were not removed," etc. (Kings), Uzziah's attitude towards the Lord is more exactly defined thus: "He was seeking God in the days of Zechariah, who instructed him in the fear of God; and in the days when he sought Jahve, God gave him success." In וַיְהִי לְדָרְשׁ the infinitive with לְ is subordinated to הָיָה, to express the duration of his seeking, for which the participle is elsewhere used. Nothing further is known of the Zechariah here mentioned: the commentators hold him to have been an important prophet; for had he been a priest, or the high priest, probably הַכֹּהֵן would have been used. The reading בִּרְאוֹת הָאֱלֹהִים (Keth.) is surprising. הַמֵּבִין בְּ ה׳ can only denote, who had insight into (or understanding for the) seeing of God; cf. Dan. i. 17. But Kimchi's idea, which other old commentators share, that this is a periphrasis to denote the prophetic endowment or activity of the man, is opposed by this, that "the seeing of God" which was granted to the elders of Israel at the making of the covenant, Ex. xxiv. 10, cannot be regarded as a thing within the sphere of human action or practice, while the prophetic beholding in vision is essentially different from the seeing of God, and is, moreover, never so called. בראות would therefore seem to be an orthographical error for בְּיִרְאַת, some MSS. having ביראות or ביראת (cf. de Rossi, *variæ lectt.*); and the LXX., Syr., Targ., Arab., Raschi, Kimchi, and others giving the reading הַמֵּבִין בְּיִרְאַת ה׳, who was a teacher (instructor) in the fear of God, in favour of which also Vitringa, *proll. in Jes.* p. 4, has decided.

Vers. 6–13. *Wars, buildings, and army of Uzziah.*—Of the successful undertakings by which Uzziah raised the kingdom of Judah to greater worldly power and prosperity, nothing is said in the book of Kings; but the fact itself is placed beyond all doubt, for it is confirmed by the portrayal of the might and greatness of Judah in the prophecies of Isaiah (chap. ii.–iv.), which date from the times of Uzziah and Jotham.—Ver. 6. After Uzziah had, in the very beginning of his reign, completed the subjection of the Edomites commenced by his father by the capture and fortification of the seaport Elath (ver. 2), he took the field to chastise the

Philistines and Arabians, who had under Joram made an inroad upon Judah and plundered Jerusalem (xxi. 16 f.). In the war against the Philistines he broke down the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (*i.e.* after capturing these cities), and built cities in Ashdod, *i.e.* in the domain of Ashdod, and בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים, *i.e.* in other domains of the Philistines, whence we gather that he had wholly subdued Philistia. The city of Gath had been already taken from the Philistines by David; see 1 Chron. xviii. 1; and as to situation, see on xi. 8. Jabneh, here named for the first time, but probably occurring in Josh. xv. 11 under the name Jabneel, is often mentioned under the name Jamnia in the books of the Maccabees and in Josephus. It is now a considerable village, Jebnah, four hours south of Joppa, and one and a half hours from the sea; see on Josh. xv. 11. Ashdod is now a village called Esdud; see on Josh. xiii. 3.—Ver. 7. As against the Philistines, so also against the Arabians, who dwelt in Gur-Baal, God helped him, and against the Maanites, so that he overcame them and made them tributary. Gur-Baal occurs only here, and its position is unknown. According to the Targum, the city Gerar is supposed to be intended; LXX. translate ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας, having probably had the capital city of the Edomites, Petra, in their thoughts. The מְעוּנִים are the inhabitants of Maan; see on 1 Chron. iv. 41.—Ver. 8. And the Ammonites also paid him tribute (מִנְחָה), and his name spread abroad even to the neighbourhood of Egypt; *i.e.*, in this connection, not merely that his fame spread abroad to that distance, but that the report of his victorious power reached so far, he having extended his rule to near the frontiers of Egypt, for he was exceedingly powerful. חָזַק, to show power, as in Dan. xi. 7.—Ver. 9. In order enduringly to establish the power of his kingdom, he still more strongly fortified Jerusalem by building towers at the gates, and the wall of the citadel. At the corner gate, *i.e.* at the north-west corner of the city (see on xxv. 23 and 2 Kings xiv. 13), and at the valley gate, *i.e.* on the west side, where the Jaffa gate now is. From these sides Jerusalem was most open to attack. הַמִּקְצוֹעַ, at the corner, *i.e.*, according to Neh. iii. 19 f., 24 f., on the east side of Zion, at the place where the wall of Zion crossed over at an angle to the Ophel, and joined itself to the south wall of the temple hill, so that the tower at this corner defended both Zion and the temple hill against attacks from the valley to the south-east. וַיְחַזְּקֵם, he made them (thereby) strong

or firm; not, he put them in a condition of defence (Berth.), although the making strong was for that end.—Ver. 10. Moreover, Uzziah took measures for the defence of his herds, which formed one main part of his revenues and wealth. He built towers in the wilderness, in the steppe-lands on the west side of the Dead Sea, so well fitted for cattle-breeding (*i.e.* in the wilderness of Judah), to protect the herds against the attacks of the robber peoples of Edom and Arabia. And he dug many wells to water the cattle; "for he had much cattle" in the wilderness just mentioned, and "in the lowland" (Shephelah) on the Mediterranean Sea (see 1 Chron. xxvii. 28), and "in the plain" (מִישׁוֹר), *i.e.* the flat land on the east side of the Dead Sea, extending from Arnon to near Heshbon in the north, and to the north-east as far as Rabbath Ammon (see on Deut. iii. 10), *i.e.* the tribal land of Reuben, which accordingly at that time belonged to Judah. Probably it had been taken from the Israelites by the Moabites and Ammonites, and reconquered from them by Uzziah, and incorporated with his kingdom; for, according to ver. 8, he had made the Ammonites tributary; cf. on 1 Chron. v. 17. Husbandmen and vine-dressers had he in the mountains and upon Carmel, for he loved husbandry. After אִכָּרִים וגו׳, הָיוּ לוֹ is to be supplied. אֲדָמָה, the land, which is cultivated, stands here for agriculture. As to Carmel, see on Josh. xix. 26.—Vers. 11–14. His army. He had a host of fighting men that went out to war by bands (לִגְדוּד, in bands), "in the number of their muster by Jeiel the scribe, and Maaseiah the steward (שֹׁטֵר), under Hananiah, one of the king's captains." The meaning is: that the mustering by which the host was arranged in bands or detachments for war service, was undertaken by (בְּיַד) two officials practised in writing and the making up of lists, who were given as assistants to Hananiah, one of the princes of the kingdom (עַל יַד), or placed at his disposal.—Ver. 12. The total number of the heads of the fathers'-houses in valiant heroes (לְגִבּוֹרֵי with לְ of subordination) was 2600, and under these (עַל יָדָם, to their hand, *i.e.* subordinate to them) an army of 307,500 warriors with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. The army was consequently divided according to the fathers'-houses, so that probably each father's-house formed a detachment (גְּדוּד) led by the most valiant among them.—Ver. 14. Uzziah supplied this force with the necessary weapons,—shield, lance, helmet, and coat of mail, bows and sling-stones. לָהֶם is more closely defined

by לְבַד.—Ver. 15. Besides this, he provided Jerusalem with machines for defence on the towers and battlements. חִשְׁבֹּנוֹת from חִשָּׁבוֹן, literally *excogitata, i.e. machinæ*, with the addition "invention of the artificers," are ingenious machines, and as we learn from the following וגו׳ לְיָרוֹא, slinging machines, similar or corresponding to the *catapultæ* and *ballistæ* of the Romans, by which arrows were shot and great stones propelled. Thus his name spread far abroad (cf. ver. 8), for he was marvellously helped till he was strong.

Vers. 16–22. *Uzziah's pride, and chastisement by leprosy. His death and burial.*—The fact that the Lord smote Uzziah with leprosy, which continued until his death, so that he was compelled to dwell in a hospital, and to allow his son Jotham to conduct the government, is narrated also in 2 Kings xv. 5; but the cause of this punishment inflicted on him by God is stated only in our verses.—Ver. 16. "When Uzziah had become mighty (בְּחָזְקָתוֹ as in xii. 1), his heart was lifted up (in pride) unto destructive deeds." He transgressed against Jahve his God, and came into the sanctuary of Jahve to offer incense upon the altar of incense. With a lofty feeling of his power, Uzziah wished to make himself high priest of his kingdom, like the kings of Egypt and of other nations, whose kings were also *summi pontifices*, and to unite all power in his person, like Moses, who consecrated Aaron and his sons to be priests. Then. and Ewald, indeed, think that the powerful Uzziah wished merely to restore the high-priesthood exercised by David and Solomon; but though both these kings did indeed arrange and conduct religious festal solemnities, yet they never interfered in any way with the official duties reserved for the priests by the law. The arrangement of a religious solemnity, the dedicatory prayer at the dedication of the temple, and the offering of sacrifices, are not specifically priestly functions, as the service by the altars, and the entering into the holy place of the temple, and other sacrificial acts were.—Ver. 17 ff. The king's purpose was consequently opposed by the high priest Azariah and eighty priests, valiant men, who had the courage to represent to him that to burn incense to the Lord did not appertain to the king, but only to the sanctified Aaronite priests; but the king, with the censer in his hand, was angry, and the leprosy suddenly broke out upon his forehead. When the priests saw the leprosy, they removed the king immediately from the holy place; and Uzziah himself also hurried to go forth, because Jahve had

smitten him; for he recognised in the sudden breaking out of the leprosy a punishment from God. Azariah is called כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, *i.e.* a high priest, and is in all probability the same person as the high priest mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 36 (see on the passage). לֹא לְךָ יְהוָה לְכָבוֹד, "It (the offering of incense) is not for thine honour before Jahve." זָעַף, to foam up in anger. וּבְזָעְפּוֹ, and while he foamed against the priests, *i.e.* was hot against them, the leprosy had broken out. מֵעַל־לַמִּזְבֵּחַ, from by = near, the altar. Thus was Uzziah visited with the same punishment, for his haughty disregard of the divinely appointed privileges of the priesthood, as was once inflicted upon Miriam for her rebellion against the prerogatives assigned to Moses by God (Num. xii. 10).—Ver. 21. But Uzziah had to bear his punishment until his death, and dwelt the rest of his life in a separate house, while his son conducted the government for him. This is also recorded in 2 Kings xv. 5 (cf. for בֵּית הַחָפְשִׁית the commentary on that passage). The reason of the separation of the king from intercourse with others, by his dwelling in the hospital, is given in the Chronicle in the words: "for he was cut off (shut out) from the house of Jahve." This reason can only mean, that because he, as a leper, was shut out from the house of the Lord, he could not live in fellowship with the people of God, but must dwell in a separate house. For the rest, we cannot exactly say how long Uzziah continued to live under the leprosy; but from the fact that his son Jotham, who at Uzziah's death was twenty-five years old, conducted the government for him, so much is clear, viz. that it can only have lasted a year or two.—Ver. 22. The history of his reign was written by the prophet Isaiah (see the Introduction, p. 34).—Ver. 23. At his death, Uzziah, having died in leprosy, was not buried in the graves of the kings, but only in the neighbourhood of them, in the burial-field which belonged to the kings, that his body might not defile the royal graves.

CHAP. XXVII.—THE REIGN OF JOTHAM. CF. 2 KINGS XV. 32–38.

Vers. 1–4. Jotham having ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, reigned altogether in the spirit and power of his father, with the single limitation that he did not go into the sanctuary of Jahve (cf. xxvi. 16 ff.). This remark is not found in 2 Kings xv., because there Uzziah's intrusion into the temple

is also omitted. The people still did corruptly (cf. xxvi. 16). This refers, indeed, to the continuation of the worship in the high places, but hints also at the deep moral corruption which the prophets of that time censure (cf. especially Isa. ii. 5 f., v. 7 ff.; Mic. i. 5, ii. 1 ff.).—Ver. 3 f. He built the upper gate of the house of Jahve, *i.e.* the northern gate of the inner or upper court (see on 2 Kings xv. 35); the only work of his reign which is mentioned in the book of Kings. But besides this, he continued the fortifying of Jerusalem, which his father had commenced; building much at the wall of the Ophel. הָעֹפֶל was the name of the southern slope of the temple mountain (see on xxxiii. 14); the wall of Ophel is consequently the wall connecting Zion with the temple mountain, at which Uzziah had already built (see on xxvi. 9). He likewise carried on his father's buildings for the protection of the herds (xxvi. 10), building cities in the mountains of Judah, and castles (בִּירָנִיּוֹת, xvii. 12) and towers in the forests of the mountains of Judah (חֻרָשִׁים from חֹרֶשׁ, a thicket).

Vers. 5–9. He made war upon the king of the Ammonites, and overcame them. The Ammonites had before paid tribute to Uzziah. After his death they would seem to have refused to pay this tribute; and Jotham made them again tributary by force of arms. They were compelled to pay him after their defeat, in that same year, 100 talents of silver, 10,000 cor of wheat, and a similar quantity of barley, as tribute. זֹאת יְשִׁיבוּ לוֹ: this they brought to him again, *i.e.* they paid him the same amount as tribute in the second and third years of their subjection also. After three years, consequently, they would seem to have again become independent, or refused the tribute, probably in the last years of Jotham, in which, according to 2 Kings xv. 37, the Syrian king Rezin and Pekah of Israel began to make attacks upon Judah.—Ver. 6. By all these undertakings Jotham strengthened himself, *sc.* in the kingdom, *i.e.* he attained to greater power, because he made his ways firm before Jahve, *i.e.* walked stedfastly before Jahve; did not incur guilt by falling away into idolatry, or by faithless infringement of the rights of the Lord (as Uzziah did by his interference with the rights of the priesthood). From the כָּל-מִלְחַמְתָּיו in the concluding remark (ver. 7) we learn that he had waged still other successful wars. The older commentators reckon among these wars, the war against Rezin and Pekah, which kings the Lord began in his days to send against Judah (see 2 Kings xv. 37), but hardly with

justice. The position of this note, which is altogether omitted in the Chronicle, at the end of the account of Jotham in 2 Kings xv. 37, appears to hint that this war broke out only towards the end of Jotham's reign, so that he could not undertake anything important against this foe. — Ver. 8. The repetition of the chronological statement already given in ver. 1 is probably to be explained by supposing that two authorities, each of which contained this remark, were used.

CHAP. XXVIII.—THE REIGN OF AHAZ. CF. 2 KINGS XVI.

In the general statements as to the king's age, and the duration and the spirit of his reign, both accounts (Chron. vers. 1-4; Kings, vers. 1-4) agree entirely, with the exception of some unessential divergences; see the commentary on 2 Kings xvi. 1-4. From ver. 5 onwards both historians go their own ways, so that they coincide only in mentioning the most important events of the reign of this quite untheocratic king. The author of the book of Kings, in accordance with his plan, records only very briefly the advance of the allied kings Rezin and Pekah against Jerusalem, the capture of the seaport Elath by the Syrians, the recourse which the hard-pressed Ahaz had to the help of Tiglath-pileser the king of Assyria, whom he induced, by sending him the temple and palace treasures of gold and silver, to advance upon Damascus, to capture that city, to destroy the Syrian kingdom, to lead the inhabitants away captive to Kir, and to slay King Rezin (vers. 5-9). Then he records how Ahaz, on a visit which he paid the Assyrian king in Damascus, saw an altar which so delighted him, that he sent a pattern of it to the priest Urijah, with the command to build a similar altar for the temple of the Lord, on which Ahaz on his return not only sacrificed himself, but also commanded that all the sacrifices of the congregation should be offered. And finally, he recounts how he laid violent hands on the brazen vessels of the court, and caused the outer covered sabbath way to be removed into the temple because of the king of Assyria (vers. 10–18); and then the history of Ahaz is concluded by the standing formulæ (vers. 19, 20). The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, depicts in holy indignation against the crimes of the godless Ahaz, how God punished him for his sins. 1. He tells us how God gave Ahaz into the hand of the king of Syria, who smote him and led away many prisoners to Damascus,

and into the hand of King Pekah of Israel, who inflicted on him a dreadful defeat, slew 120,000 men, together with a royal prince and two of the highest officials of the court, and carried away 200,000 prisoners—women and children—with a great booty (vers. 5–8); and how the Israelites yet, at the exhortation of the prophet Oded, and of some of the heads of the people who supported the prophet, again freed the prisoners, provided them with food and clothing, and conducted them back to Jericho (vers. 9–15). 2. He records that Ahaz turned to the king of Assyria for help (ver. 16), but that God still further humbled Israel by an invasion of the land by the Edomites, who carried prisoners away (ver. 17); by an attack of the Philistines, who deprived Judah of a great number of cities (ver. 18); and finally also by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, who, although Ahaz had sent him the gold and silver of the temple and of the palaces of the kings and princes, yet did not help him, but rather oppressed him (ver. 20 f.). 3. Then he recounts how, notwithstanding all this, Ahaz sinned still more against Jahve by sacrificing to the idols of the Syrians, cutting up the vessels of the house of God, closing the doors of the temple, and erecting altars and high places in all corners of Jerusalem, and in all the cities of Judah, for the purpose of sacrificing to idols (vers. 22–25). This whole description is planned and wrought out rhetorically; cf. C. P. Caspari, *der syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg*, S. 42 ff. Out of the historical materials, those facts which show how Ahaz, notwithstanding the heavy blows which Jahve inflicted upon him, always sinned more deeply against the Lord his God, are chosen, and oratorically so presented as not only to bring before us the increasing obduracy of Ahaz, but also, by the representation of the conduct of the citizens and warriors of the kingdom of Israel towards the people of Judah who were prisoners, the deep fall of that kingdom.

Vers. 5–8. *The war with the Kings Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel.*—On the events of this war, so far as they can be ascertained by uniting the statements of our chapter with the summary account in 2 Kings xvi., see the commentary on 2 Kings xvi. 5 ff. The author of the Chronicle brings the two main battles prominently forward as illustrations of the way in which Jahve gave Ahaz into the power of his enemies because of his defection from Him. Into the power of the king of Aram. They (וַיַּכּוּ, and they, the Arameans) smote בּוֹ, in him, *i.e.* they

inflicted on his army a great defeat. Just so also מִמֶּנּוּ signifies of his army. שִׁבְיָה גְדוֹלָה, a great imprisonment, *i.e.* a great number of prisoners. And into the power of the king of Israel, Pekah, who inflicted on him a still greater defeat. He slew in (among) Judah 120,000 men "in one day," *i.e.* in a great decisive battle. Judah suffered these defeats because they (the men of Judah) had forsaken Jahve the God of their fathers. Judah's defection from the Lord is not, indeed, expressly mentioned in the first verses of the chapter, but may be inferred as a matter of course from the remark as to the people under Jotham, xxvii. 2. If under that king, who did that which was right in the eyes of Jahve, and stedfastly walked before the Lord (xxvii. 6), they did corruptly, they must naturally have departed much further from the God of the fathers, and been sunk much deeper in the worship of idols, and the worship on high places, under Ahaz, who served the Baals and other idols.—Ver. 7. In this battle, Zichri, an Ephraimite hero, slew three men who were closely connected with the king: Maaseiah, the king's son, *i.e.* not a son of Ahaz, for in the first years of his reign, in which this war arose, he cannot have had an adult son capable of bearing arms, but a royal prince, a cousin or uncle of Ahaz, as in xviii. 25, xxii. 11, etc. (cf. Caspari, *loc. cit.* S. 45 ff.); Azrikam, a prince of the house, probably not of the house of God (xxxi. 13; 1 Chron. ix. 11), but a high official in the royal palace; and Elkanah, the second from the king, *i.e.* his first minister; cf. Esth. x. 3, 1 Sam. xxiii. 17.—Ver. 8. The Israelites, moreover, carried away 200,000—women, sons, and daughters—from their brethren, and a great quantity of spoil, and brought the booty (prisoners and goods; cf. for שָׁלָל of men, Judg. v. 30) to Samaria. אֲחֵיהֶם, the brethren of the Israelites, is the name given, with emphasis, to the inhabitants of Judah, here and in ver. 11, in order to point out the cruelty of the Israelites in not scrupling to carry away captive the defenceless women and children of their brethren.

The modern critics have taken offence at the large numbers, 120,000 slain and 200,000 women and children taken prisoners, and have declared them to be exaggerations of the wonder-loving chronicler (Gesen. on Isa., De Wette, Winer, etc.). But in this they are mistaken; for if we consider the war more closely, we learn from Isa. vii. 6 that the allied kings purposed to annihilate the kingdom of Judah. And, moreover, the Ephraimites acted always with extreme cruelty in war (cf. 2 Kings xv. 16);

but more especially cherished the fiercest hatred against the men of Judah, because these regarded them as having fallen away from the service of the true God (2 Chron. xxv. 6–10, xiii. 4 ff.). But in a war for the existence of the kingdom, Ahaz must certainly have called out the whole male population capable of bearing arms, which is estimated in the time of Amaziah at 300,000 men, and in that of Uzziah at 307,500 (xxv. 5, xxvi. 13), —numbers which appear thoroughly credible, considering the size and populousness of Judah. If we suppose the army of Ahaz to have been as large, in a decisive battle fought with all possible energy nearly 120,000 men may have fallen, especially if the Ephraimites, in their exasperation, unsparingly butchered their enemies, as the narrative would seem to hint both by the word הָרַג in ver. 6, which signifies to murder, massacre, butcher, and by the saying of the prophet, ver. 9, "Ye massacred among them with a rage which reached to heaven." By the character of the war, which resembled a civil or even a religious war, and by the cruelty of the Israelites, the great number of those carried captive is accounted for; for after the great defeat of the men of Judah the whole land fell into the hands of the enemy, so that they could sate their hatred and anger to their heart's content by carrying off the defenceless women and children to make them slaves. And finally, we must also consider that the numbers of the slain and of the prisoners are not founded upon exact enumeration, but upon a mere general estimate. The immense loss which was sustained in the battle was estimated on the side of Judah at 120,000 men; and the number of captive women and children was so immense, that they were, or might be, estimated at 200,000 souls, it being impossible to give an exact statement of their number. These numbers were consequently recorded in the annals of the kingdom, whence the author of the Chronicle has taken them; cf. Caspari, S. 37 ff.

Vers. 9–15. *The liberation of the prisoners.*—In Samaria there was a prophet of the Lord (*i.e.* not of the Jahve there worshipped in the calf images, but of the true God, like Hosea, who also at that time laboured in the kingdom of the ten tribes), Oded by name. He went forth to meet the army returning with the prisoners and the booty, as Azariah-ben-Oded (xv. 2) once went to meet Asa; pointed out to the warriors the cruelty of their treatment of their brethren, and the guilt, calling to Heaven for vengeance, which they thereby incurred; and exhorted them to turn

away the anger of God which was upon them, by sending back the prisoners. To soften the hearts of the rude warriors, and to gain them for his purpose, he tells them (ver. 9), "Because the Lord God of your fathers was wroth, He gave them (the men of Judah) into your hand:" your victory over them is consequently not the fruit of your power and valour, but the work of the God of your fathers, whose wrath Judah has drawn upon itself by its defection from Him. This you should have considered, and so have had pity upon those smitten by the wrath of God; "but ye have slaughtered among them with a rage which reacheth up to heaven," *i.e.* not merely with a rage beyond all measure, but a rage which calls to God for vengeance; cf. Ezra ix. 6.—Ver. 10. "And now the sons of Judah and Jerusalem ye purpose to subject to yourselves for bondmen and bondwomen!" בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה is *accus.*, and precedes as being emphatic; *i.e.*, your brethren, whom the wrath of God has smitten, you purpose to keep in subjection. אַתֶּם also is emphatically placed, and then is again emphasized at the end of the sentence by the suffix in לָכֶם: "Are there not, only concerning you, with you, sins with Jahve your God?" *i.e.*, Have you, to regard only you, not also burdened yourselves with many sins against the Lord? The question הֲלֹא is a lively way of expressing assurance as to a matter which is not at all doubtful.—Ver. 11. After thus quickening the conscience, he calls upon them to send back the prisoners which they had carried away from among their brethren, because the anger of Jahve was upon them. Already in their pitiless butchery of their brethren they had committed a sin which cried to heaven, which challenged God's anger and His punishments; but by the carrying away of the women and children from their brethren they had filled up the measure of their sin, so that God's anger and rage must fall upon them.—Ver. 12. This speech made a deep impression. Four of the heads of the Ephraimites, here mentioned by name,—according to ver. 12, four princes at the head of the assembled people,—came before those coming from the army (קוּם עַל, to come forward before one, to meet one), and said, ver. 13, "Bring not the captives hither; for in order that a sin of Jahve come upon us, do you purpose (do you intend) to add to our sins and to our guilt?" *i.e.* to increase our sins and our guilt by making these prisoners slaves; "for great is our guilt, and fierce wrath upon Israel."—Ver. 14. Then the armed men (הַחָלוּץ, cf. 1 Chron. xii. 23) who had escorted the prisoners

to Samaria left the prisoners and the booty before the princes and the whole assembly.—Ver. 15. "And the men which were specified by name stood up." אֲשֶׁר נִקְּבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת does not signify those before mentioned (ver. 12), but the men specified by name, distinguished or famous men (see on 1 Chron. xii. 31), among whom, without doubt, those mentioned in ver. 12 are included, but not these alone; other prominent men are also meant. These received the prisoners and the booty, clothed all the naked, providing them with clothes and shoes (sandals) from the booty, gave them to eat and to drink, anointed them, and set all the feeble upon asses, and brought them to Jericho to their brethren (countrymen). The description is picturesque, portraying with satisfaction the loving pity for the miserable. מַעֲרֻמִּים, nakedness, *abstr. pro concr.*, the naked. לְכָל-כּוֹשֵׁל is accus., and a nearer definition of the suffix in יְנַהֲלוּם: they brought them, (not all, but only) all the stumbling, who could not, owing to their fatigue, make the journey on foot. Jericho, the city of palm trees, as in Judg. iii. 13, in the tribe of Benjamin, belonged to the kingdom of Judah; see Josh. xviii. 21. Arrived there, the prisoners were with their brethren.

The speech of the prophet Oded is reckoned by Gesenius, on Isaiah, S. 269, among the speeches invented by the chronicler; but very erroneously so: cf. against him, Caspari, *loc cit.* i. S. 49 ff. The speech cannot be separated from the fact of the liberation of the prisoners carried away from Judah, which it brought about; and that is shown to be a historical fact by the names of the tribal princes of Ephraim, who, in consequence of the warning of the prophet, took his part and accomplished the sending of them back; they being names which are not elsewhere met with (ver. 12). The spontaneous interference of these tribal chiefs would not be in itself impossible, but yet it is very improbable, and becomes perfectly comprehensible only by the statement that these men were roused and encouraged thereto by the word of a prophet. We must consequently regard the speech of the prophet as a fact which is as well established as that narrated in vers. 12–15. "If that which is narrated in ver. 12 ff. be not invented, it would betray the greatest levity to hold that which is recorded in vers. 9–11 to be incredible" (Casp.). And, moreover, the speech of the prophet does not contain the thoughts and phrases current with the author of the Chronicle, but is quite suitable to the circumstances, and so fully corre-

sponds to what we should expect to hear from a prophet on such an occasion, that there is not the slightest reason to doubt the authenticity of its contents. Finally, the whole transaction is exactly parallel to the interference of the prophet Shemaiah in 1 Kings xii. 22–24 (2 Chron. xi. 1–4), who exhorted the army of Judah, fully determined upon war with the ten tribes which had just revolted from the house of David, not to make war upon their brethren the Israelites, as the revolt had been brought about by God. "That fact at the beginning of the history of the two separated kingdoms, and this at the end of it, finely correspond to each other. In the one place it is a Judæan prophet who exhorts the men of Judah, in the other an Ephraimite prophet who exhorts the Ephraimites, to show a conciliatory spirit to the related people; and in both cases they are successful. If we do not doubt the truth of the event narrated in 1 Kings xii. 22–24, why should that recorded in 2 Chron. xxviii. 9–11 be invented?" (Casp. S. 50.)

Vers. 16–21. *The further chastisements inflicted upon King Ahaz and the kingdom of Judah.*—Ver. 16. At this time, when the kings Rezin and Pekah had so smitten Ahaz, the latter sent to the king of Assyria praying him for help. The time when Ahaz sought the help of the king of Assyria is neither exactly stated in 2 Kings xvi. 7–9, nor can we conclude, as Bertheau thinks we can, from Isa. vii. f. that it happened soon after the invasion of Judah by the allied kings. The plural מַלְכֵי אַשּׁוּר is rhetorical, like the plur. בָּנָיו, ver. 3. For, that Ahaz applied only to one king, in the opinion of the chronicler also, we learn from vers. 20, 21. By the plural the thought is expressed that Ahaz, instead of seeking the help of Jahve his God, which the prophet had promised him (Isa. vii. 4 ff.), turned to the kings of the world-power, so hostile to the kingdom of God, from whom he naturally could obtain no real help. Even here the thought which is expressed only in vers. 20, 21, is present to the mind of the author of the Chronicle. For before he narrates the issue of the help thus sought from the Assyrian world-power in vers. 17–19, he ranges all the other afflictions which Judah suffered by its enemies, viz. the devastating inroads of the Edomites and Philistines, in a series of circumstantial clauses, as they preceded in time the oppression of Tiglath-pileser.—Ver. 17 is to be translated, "And besides, the Edomites had come, and had inflicted a defeat upon Judah, and carried away captives." עוֹד, yet besides, *præterea*,

as in Gen. xliii. 6, Isa. i. 5. The Edomites had been made subject to the kingdom of Judah only by Amaziah and Uzziah (xxv. 11 ff., xxvi. 2); but freed by Rezin from this (cf. 2 Kings xvi. 6), they immediately seized the opportunity to make an inroad upon Judah, and take vengeance on the inhabitants.—Ver. 18. And the Philistines whom Uzziah had subdued (xxvi. 6) made use of the pressure of the Syrians and Ephraimites upon Judah, not only to shake off the yoke imposed upon them, but also to fall plundering upon the cities of the lowland and the south of Judah, and to extend their territory by the capture of several cities of Judah. They took Beth-shemesh, the present Ain Shems; and Ajalon, the present village Jâlo (see on 1 Chron. vi. 44 and 54); Gederoth in the lowland (Josh. xv. 41), not yet discovered, for there are not sufficient grounds for identifying it with Gedera (Josh. xv. 36), which v. de Velde has pointed out south-eastward from Jabneh (see on 1 Chron. xii. 4); Shocho, the present Shuweike, which Rehoboam had fortified (xi. 7); Timnah, on the frontier of the tribal domain of Judah, the present Tibneh, three-quarters of an hour to the west of Ain Shems (see on Josh. xv. 10); and Gimzo, now Jimsû, a large village about two miles south-east of Lydda (Lud) on the way to Jerusalem (Rob. *sub voce*). The three last-named cities, with their daughters, *i.e.* the small villages dependent upon them.—Ver. 19. Judah suffered this defeat, because God humbled them on account of Ahaz. Ahaz is called king of Israel, not because he walked in the ways of the kings of the kingdom of the ten tribes (ver. 2), but ironically, because his government was the bitterest satire upon the name of the king of Israel, *i.e.* of the people of God (Casp.); so that Israel here, and in ver. 27, as in xxi. 2, xii. 6, is used with reference to the pregnant signification of the word. כִּי הִפְרִיעַ, for (Ahaz) had acted wantonly in Judah; not: made Judah wanton, for הִפְרִיעַ is construed with ב, not with *accus. obj.*, as in Ex. v. 4.

After this episode the narrator comes back upon the help which Ahaz sought of the Assyrians. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (on the name, see on 1 Chron. v. 6) did indeed come, but עָלָיו, against him (Ahaz), and oppressed him, but strengthened him not. וַיָּצַר לוֹ וְלֹא חִזְּקוֹ Thenius and Bertheau translate: he oppressed him, that is, besieged him, yet did not overcome him; adducing in support of this, that חָזַק *c. accus.* cannot be shown to occur in the signification to strengthen one,

and according to Jer. xx. 7, 1 Kings xvi. 22, is to be translated, to overcome. But this translation does not at all suit the reason given in the following clause: "for Ahaz had plundered the house of Jahve, . . . and given it to the king of Asshur; but it did not result in help to him." The sending away of the temple and palace treasures to the Assyrian king, to obtain his help, cannot possibly be stated as the reason why Tiglath-pileser besieged Ahaz, but did not overcome him, but only as a reason why he did not give Ahaz the expected help, and so did not strengthen him. וְלֹא חָזְקוֹ corresponds to the וְלֹא לְעֶזְרָה לוֹ, ver. 21, and both clauses refer back to לַעְזֹר לוֹ, ver. 16. That which Ahaz wished to buy from Tiglath-pileser, by sending him the treasures of the palace and the temple,—namely, help against his enemies,—he did not thereby obtain, but the opposite, viz. that Tiglath-pileser came against him and oppressed him. When, on the contrary, Thenius takes the matter thus, that the subjection of Ahaz under Tiglath-pileser was indeed prevented by the treasures given, but the support desired was not purchased by them, he has ungrammatically taken חָזַק as imperfect, and violently torn away the וְלֹא לְעֶזְרָה לוֹ from what precedes. If we connect these words, as the adversative וְלֹא requires, with וַיִּתֵּן וגו', then the expression, "Ahaz gave the Assyrian king the treasures of the temple, . . . but it did not result in help to him," gives no support to the idea that Tiglath-pileser besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. The context therefore necessarily demands that חָזַק should have the active signification, to strengthen, notwithstanding that חָזַק in Kal is mainly used as intransitive. Moreover, וַיָּצַר לוֹ also does not denote he besieged, as וַיָּצַר אֵלָיו or עָלָיו, 2 Sam. xx. 15, 1 Sam. xxiii. 8; but only, he oppressed him, and cannot here be translated otherwise than the חָצַר לוֹ, ver. 22, which corresponds to it, where Bertheau also has decided in favour of the signification *oppress*. It is not stated wherein the oppression consisted; but without doubt it was that Tiglath-pileser, after he had both slain Rezin and conquered his kingdom, and also taken away many cities in Galilee and the land of Naphtali from Pekah, carrying away the inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xvi. 9 and xv. 29), advanced against Ahaz himself, to make him a tributary. The verbs חָלַק and וַיִּתֵּן (ver. 21) are pluperfects: "for Ahaz had plundered," etc. Not when Tiglath-pileser oppressed him, but when he besought help of that king, Ahaz had sent him the treasures of the temple and the palace as שֹׁחַד, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8. חָלַק denotes to plunder,

like חֵלֶק a share of booty, Num. xxxi. 36, and booty, Job xvii. 5. The selection of this word for the taking away of the treasures of silver and gold out of the temple and palace arises from the impassioned nature of the language. The taking away of these treasures was, in fact, a plundering of the temple and of the palace. Had Ahaz trusted in the Lord his God, he would not have required to lay violent hands on these treasures. וְהַשָּׂרִים is added to בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ, to signify that Ahaz laid hands upon the precious things belonging to the high officials who dwelt in the palace, and delivered them over to the Assyrian king (Berth.).

Although the author of the Chronicle makes the further remark, that the giving of these treasures over did not result in help to Ahaz, yet it cannot be at all doubtful that he had the fact recorded in 2 Kings xvi. 7–9 before his eyes, and says nothing inconsistent with that account. According to 2 Kings xvi. 9, Tiglath-pileser, in consequence of the present sent him, took the field, conquered and destroyed the kingdom of Rezin, and also took possession of the northern part of the kingdom of Israel, as is narrated in 2 Kings xv. 29. The author of the Chronicle has not mentioned these events, because Ahaz was not thereby really helped. Although the kings Rezin and Pekah were compelled to abandon their plan of capturing Jerusalem and subduing the kingdom of Judah, by the inroad of the Assyrians into their land, yet this help was to be regarded as nothing, seeing that Tiglath-pileser not only retained the conquered territories and cities for himself, but also undertook the whole campaign, not to strengthen Ahaz, but for the extension of his own (the Assyrian) power, and so made use of it, and, as we are told in ver. 20 of the Chronicle, oppressed Ahaz. This oppression is, it is true, not expressly mentioned in 2 Kings xvi., but is hinted in 2 Kings xvi. 18, and placed beyond doubt by 2 Kings xviii. 7, 14, 20; cf. Isa. xxxvi. 5. In 2 Kings xvi. 18 it is recorded that Ahaz removed the covered sabbath portico which had been built to the house of God, and the external entrance of the king into the house of the Lord, because of (מִפְּנֵי) the king of Assyria. Manifestly Ahaz feared, as J. D. Mich. has already rightly concluded from this, that the king of Assyria, whom he had summoned to his assistance, might at some time desire to take possession of the city, and that in such a case this covered sabbath porch and an external entrance into the temple might be of use to him in the siege. This note, therefore, notwithstanding its

obscurity, yet gives sufficiently clear testimony in favour of the statement in the Chronicle, that the king of Assyria, who had been called upon by Ahaz for help, oppressed him, upon which doubt has been cast by Gesen. *Isa.* i. S. 269, etc. Tiglath-pileser must have in some way shown a desire to possess Jerusalem, and Ahaz have consequently feared that he might wish to take it by force. But from 2 Kings xviii. 7, 14, 20, cf. Isa. xxxvi. 5, it is quite certain Ahaz had become tributary to the Assyrian king, and the kingdom dependent upon the Assyrians. It is true, indeed, that in these passages, strictly interpreted, this subjection of Judah is only said to exist immediately before the invasion of Sennacherib; but since Assyria made no war upon Judah between the campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Damascus and Samaria and Sennacherib's attack, the subjection of Judah to Assyria, which Hezekiah brought to an end, can only have dated from the time of Ahaz, and can only have commenced when Ahaz had called in Tiglath-pileser to aid him against his enemies. Certainly the exact means by which Tiglath-pileser compelled Ahaz to submit and to pay tribute cannot be recognised under, and ascertained from, the rhetorical mode of expression: Tiglath-pileser came against him, and oppressed him. Neither וַיָּבֹא עָלָיו nor וַיָּצַר לוֹ require us to suppose that Tiglath-pileser advanced against Jerusalem with an army, although it is not impossible that Tiglath-pileser, after having conquered the Israelite cities in Galilee and the land of Naphtali, and carried away their inhabitants to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29), may have made a further advance, and demanded of Ahaz tribute and submission, ordering a detachment of his troops to march into Judah to enforce his demand. But the words quoted do not necessarily mean more than that Tiglath made the demand on Ahaz for tribute from Galilee, with the threat that, if he should refuse it, he would march into and conquer Judah; and that Ahaz, feeling himself unable to cope successfully with so powerful a king, promised to pay the tribute without going to war. Even in this last case the author of the Chronicle might say that the king who had been summoned by Ahaz to his assistance came against him and oppressed him, and helped him not. Cf. also the elaborate defence of the account in the Chronicle, in Caspari, S. 56 ff.

Vers. 22–25. *Increase of Ahaz' transgressions against the Lord.* —Ver. 22. After this proof that Ahaz only brought greater oppression upon himself by seeking help from the king of

Assyria (vers. 16–21), there follows (ver. 22 f.) an account of how he, in his trouble, continued to sin more and more against God the Lord, and hardened himself more and more in idolatry. וּבְעֵת הָצַר לוֹ corresponds to the בְּעֵת הַהִיא, ver. 16. "At the time when they oppressed him, he trespassed yet more against the Lord, he King Ahaz." In the last words the rhetorical emphasizing of the subject comes clearly out. The sentence contains a general estimation of the attitude of the godless king under the divine chastisement, which is then illustrated by facts (vers. 23–25).—Ver. 23. He sacrificed to the gods of Damascus, which smote him, saying, *i.e.* thinking, The gods of the kings of Aram which helped them, to them will I sacrifice, and they will help me. כִּי serves to introduce the saying, and both הֵם and לָהֶם are rhetorical. Berth. incorrectly translates the participle הַמַּכִּים by the pluperfect: who had smitten him. It was not after the Syrians had smitten him that Ahaz sought to gain by sacrifice the help of their gods, but while the Syrians were inflicting defeats upon him; not after the conclusion of the Syrian war, but during its course. The ungrammatical translation of the participle by the pluperfect arises from the view that the contents of our verse, the statement that Ahaz sacrificed to the Syrian gods, is an unhistorical misinterpretation of the statement in 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff., about the altar which Ahaz saw when he went to meet the Assyrian king in Damascus, and a copy of which he caused to be made in Jerusalem, and set up in the temple court, in the place of the copper altar of burnt-offering. But we have already rejected that view as unfounded, in the exposition of 2 Kings xvi. 10. Since Ahaz had cast and erected statues to the Baals, and even sacrificed his son to Moloch, he naturally would not scruple to sacrifice to the Assyrian gods to secure their help. But they (these gods) brought ruin to him and to all Israel. לְכָל־יִשְׂ is in the accusative, and co-ordinate with the suffix in הַכְּשִׁילוֹ.—Ver. 24 f. Not content with thus worshipping strange gods, Ahaz laid violent hands upon the temple vessels and suppressed the temple worship. He collected all the vessels of the house of God together, and broke them in pieces. These words also are rhetorical, so that neither the וַיֶּאֱסֹף, which depicts the matter vividly, nor the כֹּל, is to be pressed. The קְצִיץ of the vessels consisted, according to 2 Kings xvi. 17, in this, that he mutilated the artistically wrought vessels of the court, and cut out the panels from the bases, and took

away the lavers from them, and took down the brazen sea from the oxen on which it stood, and set it upon a pavement of stones. "And he closed the doors of the house of Jahve," in order to put an end to the Jahve-worship in the temple, which he regarded as superfluous, since he had erected altars at the corners of all the streets in Jerusalem, and in all the cities of Judah. The statement as to the closing of the temple doors, to which reference is made in chap. xxix. 3, 7, is said by Berth. not to rest upon good historical recollection, because the book of Kings not only does not say anything of it, but also clearly gives us to understand that Ahaz allowed the Jahve-worship to continue, 2 Kings xvi. 15 f. That the book of Kings (ii. 16) makes no mention of this circumstance does not prove much, it being an *argumentum e silentio;* for the book of Kings is not a complete history, it contains only a short excerpt from the history of the kings; while the intimation given us in 2 Kings xvi. 15 f. as to the continuation of the worship of Jahve, may without difficulty be reconciled with the closing of the temple doors. The דַּלְתוֹת בֵּית יהוה are not the gates of the court of the temple, but, according to the clear explanation of the Chronicle, chap. xxix. 7, the doors of the porch, which in xxix. 3 are also called doors of the house of Jahve; the "house of Jahve" signifying here not the whole group of temple buildings, but, in the narrower sense of the words, denoting only the main body of the temple (the Holy Place and the Most Holy, wherein Jahve was enthroned). By the closing of the doors of the porch the worship of Jahve in the Holy Place and the Most Holy was indeed suspended, but the worship at the altar in the court was not thereby necessarily interfered with: it might still continue. Now it is the worship at the altar of burnt-offering alone of which it is said in 2 Kings xvi. 15 that Ahaz allowed it to continue to this extent, that he ordered the priest Urijah to offer all the burnt-offerings and sacrifices, meat-offerings and drink-offerings, which were offered morning and evening by both king and people, not upon the copper sacrificial altar (Solomon's), but on the altar built after the pattern of that which he had seen at Damascus. The cessation of worship at this altar is also left unmentioned by the Chronicle, and in xxix. 7. Hezekiah, when he again opened the doors of the house of Jahve, only says to the priests and Levites, "Our fathers have forsaken Jahve, and turned their backs on His sanctuary; yea, have shut the doors of the porch, put out the lamps, and have

not burnt incense nor offered burnt-offerings in the Holy Place *unto the God of Israel.*" Sacrificing upon an altar built after a heathen model was not sacrificing to the God of Israel. There is therefore no ground to doubt the historical truth of the statement in our verse. The description of the idolatrous conduct of Ahaz concludes with the remark, ver. 25, that Ahaz thereby provoked Jahve, the God of his fathers, to anger.

Vers. 26 and 27. *The end of his reign.*—Ver. 27. Ahaz indeed both died and was buried in the city, in Jerusalem (as 2 Kings xvi. 20), but was not laid in the graves of the kings, because he had not ruled like a king of the people of God, the true Israel. Since the name Israel is used in a pregnant sense, as in ver. 19, the terms in which the place where he died is designated, "in the city, in Jerusalem," would seem to have been purposely selected to intimate that Ahaz, because he had not walked during life like his ancestor David, was not buried along with David when he died.

CHAP. XXIX.–XXXII.—THE REIGN OF HEZEKIAH. CF. 2 KINGS XVIII.–XX.

Hezekiah, the pious son of the godless Ahaz, recognised that it was to be the business of his reign to bring the kingdom out of the utterly ruinous condition into which Ahaz had brought it by his idolatry and his heathen policy, and to elevate the state again, both in respect to religion and morals, and also in political affairs. He consequently endeavoured, in the first place, to do away with the idolatry, and to restore the Jahve-worship according to the law; and then to throw off the yoke of subjection to the Assyrian. These two undertakings, on the success of which God bestowed His blessing, form the contents of the history of his reign both in the books of Kings and in the Chronicle; but they are differently treated by the authors of these books. In the book of Kings, the extirpation of idolatry, and Hezekiah's faithfulness in cleaving to the Lord his God, are very briefly recorded (2 Kings xvii. 3–7); while the throwing off of the Assyrian yoke, which brought on Sennacherib's invasion, and ended with the destruction of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, and the further results of that memorable event (the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah, the arrival of a Babylonian embassy in Jerusalem, and Hezekiah's reception of them), are very fully narrated in 2 Kings xviii. 8–

xx. 19. The author of the Chronicle, on the contrary, enlarges upon Hezekiah's reform of the cultus, the purification of the temple from all idolatrous abominations, the restoration of the Jahve-worship, and a solemn celebration of the passover, to which the king invited not only his own subjects, but also the remainder of the ten tribes (chap. xxix.–xxxi.); and gives merely a brief summary of the chief points in Sennacherib's invasion, and the events connected with it (chap. xxxii.).

Chap. xxix. *The beginning of his reign* (vers. 1, 2). *Purification and consecration of the temple* (vers. 3–36).—Vers. 1 and 2. Age of Hezekiah, duration and spirit of his reign, as in 2 Kings xviii. 1–3. With ver. 3 the account of the restoration of the Jahve-worship begins. In the first year of his reign, in the first month, Hezekiah caused the temple doors to be opened, and the priests and Levites to assemble, in order that he might rouse them by an energetic address to purify the house of God from all the uncleannesses of idolatry (vers. 3–11). They, vigorously commencing the work, completed the purification of the temple with its courts and vessels in sixteen days, and reported to the king what had been done (vers. 12–19); and then the king and the chiefs of the city offered a great sacrifice to consecrate the purified sanctuary, upon which followed burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and thankofferings of the whole assembly (vers. 20–36).

Vers. 3–19. *The purification of the temple by the priests and Levites.*—Ver. 3. In the first year of his reign, in the first month, he caused the doors of the house of Jahve to be opened and repaired (חִזֵּק as in xxiv. 12, where it alternates with חִדֵּשׁ). Cf. herewith the remark in 2 Kings xviii. 16, that Hezekiah caused the doors of the הֵיכָל to be covered with leaf-gold. The date, *in the first month*, in the first year of his reign, is variously interpreted. As the Levites, according to ver. 17, began the purification on the first day of the first month, in eight days had reached the porch, and on the sixteenth day of the first month had completed the work, while the king had, according to ver. 4, before called upon the priests and Levites to sanctify themselves for the work, and those summoned then assembled their brethren for this purpose, and after they had consecrated themselves, began the cleansing (ver. 15), it would seem as if the summons of the king and the calling together of the remaining Levites had occurred before the first day of the first month, when they began the purification of the house of God. On that

account Caspari (*Beiträge z. Einleit. in d. B. Jesaiah*, S. 111) thinks that the first month (ver. 3) is not the first month of the year (Nisan), but the first month of the reign of Hezekiah, who probably became king shortly before Nisan, towards the end of the year. But it is not at all likely that חֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן is used in a different sense in ver. 3 from that in which it is used in ver. 17. We therefere hold, with Berth. and others, the first month, both in ver. 3 and in ver. 17, to be the first month of the ecclesiastical year Nisan, without, however, accepting the supposition of Gumpach and Bertheau that the years of Hezekiah's reign began with the first of Tishri, for for that way of reckoning there are no certain data in the historical books of the Old Testament. The statement, "in the first year of his reign, in the first month" (not in the first year, in the first month of his reign), is sufficiently explained if Hezekiah ascended the throne in one of the last months of the calendar year, which began with Nisan. In that case, on the first of Nisan of the new year, so few months, or perhaps only weeks, would have elapsed since his accession, that what he did in Nisan could not rightly have been dated otherwise than "in the first year of his reign." The other difficulty, that the purification of the temple began on the first day of the first month (ver. 7), while the preparations for it which preceded were yet, according to ver. 3, made also in the first month, is removed if we take ver. 3 to be a comprehensive summary of what is described in the following verses, and regard the connection between vers. 3 and 4 ff. as only logical, not chronological, the ו consec. (וַיָּבֵא) expressing, not succession in time, but connection in thought. The opening of the doors of the house of God, and the repairing of them (ver. 3), did not precede in time the summons to the priests (ver. 4), but is placed at the commencement of the account of the reopening and restoration of the temple as a contrast to the closing and devastation of the sanctuary by Ahaz. Hezekiah commenced this work in the first year of his reign, in the first month of the calendar year, and accomplished it as is described in vers. 4–17. If we take ver. 3 as a statement of the contents of the succeeding section,—as are *e.g.* (1 Kings vi. 14, vii. 1) the statements, "he built the house, and completed it," where in both passages the completion of the building is described only in the succeeding verses,—we need not confine the preparations spoken of in vers. 4–15 to the first day of the first month, but may quite well suppose that these pre-

parations preceded the first day of the month, and that only the accomplishment of that which had been resolved upon and commanded by the king fell in the first month, as is more accurately stated in ver. 17.—Ver. 4. Hezekiah gathered the priests and Levites together "into the open space of the east," *i.e* in the eastern open space before the temple, not "in the inner court" (Berth.),—see on Ezra x. 9,—and called upon them (ver. 5) to sanctify themselves, and then to sanctify the house of the Lord. To purify the temple they must first sanctify themselves (cf. ver. 15), in order to proceed to the work of sanctifying the house of God in a state of Levitical purity. The work was to remove all that was unclean from the sanctuary. הַנִּדָּה is Levitical uncleanness, for which in ver. 16 we have הַטֻּמְאָה; here the abominations of idolatry. The king gave the reason of his summons in a reference to the devastation which Ahaz and his contemporaries had wrought in the house of God (vers. 6, 7), and to the wrath of God which had on that account come upon them (vers. 8, 9). "Our fathers" (ver. 6), that is, Ahaz and his contemporaries, for only these had been guilty of displeasing God in the ways mentioned in vers. 6 and 7, "have turned away their face from the dwelling of Jahve, and turned their back (upon it)." These words are a symbolical expression for: they have ceased to worship Jahve in His temple, and exchanged it for idolatry.—Ver. 7. Even (גַּם) the doors of the porch have they shut, and caused the service in the sanctuary, the lighting of the lamps, and the sacrifices of incense, to cease; see on xxviii. 24. The words, "and they brought not burnt-offerings in the sanctuary to the God of Israel," do not imply the complete cessation of the legal sacrificial worship, but only that no burnt-offerings were brought to the God of Israel. Sacrifices offered upon the altar of burnt-offering built after a heathen pattern by Ahaz were not, in the eyes of the author of the Chronicle, sacrifices which were offered to the God of Israel; and it is also possible that even this sacrificial worship may have more and more decayed. קֹדֶשׁ, ver. 7, is the whole sanctuary, with the court of the priests.—Ver. 8 f. Wherefore the wrath of the Lord came upon Judah and Jerusalem. Cf. for the expression, xxiv. 18, xxxii. 25; on ver. 8*b*, cf. Deut. xxviii. 25, 37, Jer. xxiv. 9, xxv. 9, etc. "As ye see with your eyes." The shameful defeats which Judah had sustained under Ahaz from the Syrians, Ephraimites, Philistines, and Edomites, and the oppression by the Syrian king (xxviii. 5 ff.,

vers. 17–21), are here referred to, as we learn from ver. 9.—Ver. 10. To turn away this anger of God, Hezekiah wishes to make a covenant with the Lord, *i.e.* to renew the covenant with Jahve by restoring His worship (עִם לְבָבִי as in vi. 7, ix. 1, 1 Chron. xxviii. 2, etc.), and therefore calls upon the Levites not to neglect the performance of their duty. בָּנַי he calls the Levites, addressing them in kindly language; cf. Prov. i. 8, etc. תִּשָּׁלוּ in Niph. occurs only here, and denotes to avoid a thing from carelessness or laziness,—from שָׁלָה, to draw forth; Job xxvii. 8. On ver. 11*b*, cf. Deut. x. 8, 1 Chron. xxiii. 13.

Vers. 12–19. This address was heard with gladness. The Levites present assembled their brethren, and set to work, after they had all sanctified themselves, to purify the temple. In vers. 12–14 fourteen names are mentioned as those of the audience, viz.: two Levites of each of the great families of Kohath, Merari, and Gershon; two of the family of Elizaphan, *i.e.* Elzaphan the son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath, Ex. vi. 18, who in the time of Moses was prince of the family of Kohath, Num. iii. 30; and then two Levites of the descendants of Asaph (of the family of Gershon); two of Heman's descendants (of the family of Kohath); and two of Jeduthun's (of the family of Merari): see on 1 Chron. vi. 18–32. Of these names, Mahath, Eden, and Jehiel occur again in chap. xxxi. 13–15; several others, Joah ben Zimmah and Kish ben Abdi, have occurred already in the genealogy, 1 Chron. vi. 5 f. and ver. 29, for in the various families the same name often repeats itself.—Ver. 15. These fourteen heads of the various families and branches of Levi assembled their brethren (the other Levites who dwelt in Jerusalem); then they all sanctified themselves, and went forward, according to the command of the king, with the work of cleansing the temple. בִּדְבְרֵי יהוה belongs to בְּמִצְוַת המ׳, according to the command of the king, which was founded upon the words of Jahve, *i.e.* upon the commands of Moses' law; cf. xxx. 12.—Ver. 16. The priests went into the inner part of the house of the Lord (into the holy place, probably also into the most holy place) to cleanse it, and removed all the uncleanness which was there into the court, whence the Levites carried it out into the valley of the brook Kidron (חוּצָה, out of the precincts of the temple). The Levites were forbidden by the law to enter the holy place, and this command was strictly observed. Of what nature the uncleannesses were which the priests found in the holy place

(הֵיכָל) cannot be accurately ascertained. Owing to the prevalence of idolatry under Ahaz, vessels, *e.g.* sacrificial bowls, which were used in the worship, may have come into the holy place; and besides, all vessels of the holy place would require to be cleaned, and their filth removed. The closing of the temple doors (xxviii. 24) occurred only in the last year of Ahaz, while idolatry had been practised from the beginning of his reign. On the Kidron, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 4.—Ver. 17. The duration of the purification. On the first day of the first month they commenced with the purification of the courts; on the eighth day of the same month they came to the porch of Jahve, and with it began the purification of the temple building. This lasted eight days more, so that the work was finished on the sixteenth day of the first month.—Ver. 18 f. At the end of this business they made their report to the king. "All the vessels which King Ahaz had thrown away, *i.e.* made worthy of rejection," are the copper altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea, and the lavers upon the bases (2 Kings xvi. 14, 17). הֲכִינֹנוּ, we have prepared, is a shorter form of הֲכִינוֹנוּ; cf. Gesen. *Gramm.* § 72. 5, and J. Olshausen, *hebr. Grammat.* S. 565. The altar of Jahve is the altar of burnt-offering; cf. ver. 21.

Vers. 20–30. *The re-dedication of the temple by offering sacrifices.*—Ver. 20. Probably on the very next morning Hezekiah went with the princes (heads) of the city into the house of the Lord, and brought seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven lambs for a burnt-offering, and seven he-goats for a sin-offering, "for the kingdom, for the sanctuary, and for Judah," *i.e.* as expiation for and consecration of the kingdom, sanctuary, and people. These sacrifices were offered by the priests according to the prescription of the law of Moses, vers. 22–24. The burnt-offerings are first named, as in the sacrificial Torah in Lev. i.–vi., although the offering of the sin-offering preceded that of the burnt-offering. The laying on of hands, too, is mentioned only with the sin-offering, ver. 23, although according to Lev. i. 4 the same ceremony was gone through with the burnt-offerings; but that is not because a confession of sin was probably made during the laying on of hands, as Bertheau conjectures, adducing Lev. xvi. 21, for from that passage no such conclusion can be drawn. The ceremony is mentioned only in the one case to emphasize the fact that the king and the assembly (the latter, of course, by their representatives) laid their hands upon the sacri-

ficial beasts, because the atonement was, according to the king's words, to be for all Israel. "All Israel" are probably not only all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah, but Israelites in general (the twelve tribes), for whom the temple in Jerusalem was the only lawful sanctuary. חִטֵּא אֵת דָּם signifies to bring the blood to the altar for an atonement, in the manner prescribed in Lev. iv. 30, 34.—Ver. 25. Hezekiah, moreover, restored again the music with which the Levites were wont to accompany the sacrificial act, and which David, with the prophets Gad and Nathan, had arranged. The ו *consec.* with וַיַּעֲמֵד expresses the secution of thought, and ver. 25 corresponds to the 21st verse. First, the beasts to be sacrificed were prepared for the sacrifice, and then to the Levites was committed the performance of instrumental and vocal music during the sacrificial act. In reference to the musical instruments, see on 1 Chron. xv. 16. The Levites were appointed to sing, "according to the command of David;" but this command was בְּיַד, by interposition of Jahve, viz. given by His prophets. David had consequently made this arrangement at the divine suggestion, coming to him through the prophets. With חֹזֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 9. בְּיַד נְבִיאָיו is in explanatory apposition to בְּיַד יהוה, and נְבִיאָיו is not to be referred to David, although David is called in viii. 14 "man of God."—Ver. 26. בְּלֵי דָוִיד are the musical instruments the use of which David introduced into the public worship; see 1 Chron. xxiii. 5.—The first clause, ver. 27, "And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt-offering upon the altar," is repeated from ver. 21 to form a connection for what follows: "At the time when the sacrificial act began, the song of Jahve commenced," *i.e.* the praising of Jahve by song and instrumental music (שִׁיר יהוה = שִׁיר לַיהוה, 1 Chron. xxv. 7), and (the blowing) of trumpets, "and that under the leading (עַל יְדֵי) of the instruments of David." This is to be understood as denoting that the blowing of the trumpets regulated itself by the playing of the stringed instruments,—suited itself to the song and the music of the stringed instruments.—Ver. 28. During the offering of the burnt-offering, until it was ended, the whole congregation stood worshipping; and the song of the Levites, accompanied by the music of the stringed instruments and the trumpet-blowing of the priests, continued. הַשִּׁיר מְשׁוֹרֵר, "the song was singing," stands for "the body of singers sang;" and the trumpets also stand for the trumpeters.—Ver. 29. At the conclusion of the sacrificial act

(לְהַעֲלוֹת is a contraction for לְהַעֲלוֹת הָעוֹלָה, ver. 27) the king and all who were present knelt and worshipped.—Ver. 30. The king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the words (psalms) of David and of Asaph; and they sang praise with joy, and bowed themselves and worshipped. This verse does not mean that the Levites began to sing psalms at the king's command only after the sacrificial act and the instrumental music (ver. 27 f.) had been finished, but it forms a comprehensive conclusion of the description of the sacrificial solemnities. The author of the Chronicle considered it necessary to make express mention of the praising of God in psalms, already *implicite* involved in the הַשִּׁיר מְשׁוֹרֵר, ver. 28, and to remark that the Levites also, at the conclusion of the song of praise, knelt and worshipped. Asaph is here called חוֹזֶה, as Jeduthun (Ethan) is in chap. xxxv. 15, and Heman, 1 Chron. xxv. 5.

Vers. 31–36. *The sacrifice of thank-offerings and praise-offerings and voluntary burnt-offerings.*—Hezekiah introduces this, the concluding act of this religious festival, with the words, "Now have ye filled your hand to the Lord," *i.e.* you have again consecrated yourselves to the service of the Lord (cf. Ex. xxxii. 39 and the commentary on Lev. vii. 37 f.); "come near, and bring sacrifices and thank-offerings into the house of the Lord." The words "Now have ye filled" are regarded by the commentators (Clericus, Ramb., Bertheau, etc.) as addressed to the priests; while the following גְּשׁוּ וגו׳ are supposed to be directed to the congregation, and Clericus and Ramb. consequently supply before גְּשׁוּ, *vos vero, Israelitæ.* The summons גְּשׁוּ וְהָבִיאוּ can certainly only be addressed to the congregation, as is shown by the words וַיָּבִיאוּ הַקָּהָל, and the congregation brought, which correspond to the summons. But the supplying of *vos vero* before גְּשׁוּ is quite arbitrary. If in גְּשׁוּ other persons are addressed than those to whom the king formerly said, "Now have ye filled your hands," the change in the persons addressed would have been intimated by mention of the person, or at least by וְאַתֶּם, "but ye." As the two clauses at present stand, they must be spoken to the same persons, viz. the whole assembled congregation, including the priests and Levites. We must therefore suppose that the phrase מִלֵּא יָד לי׳, which in its narrower sense denotes only the consecration of the priests for service at the altar (see on Lev. vii. 37), is here used in a wider sense, and transferred to the whole con-

gregation. They, by their participation in the consecratory offerings, by laying on of hands and worship during the sacrificial act, had consecrated themselves anew to the service of the Lord as their God, and had anew made a covenant with the Lord (ver. 10); so that only the sacrificial meal was wanting to the completion of this celebration of the covenant, and for this the offering of sacrifices was requisite. The collocation זְבָחִים וְתוֹדוֹת is strange. זְבָחִים are שְׁלָמִים זְבָחִים, sacrifices of peace-offering, also called briefly שְׁלָמִים. Of these, in the law, three species—praise-offerings (תּוֹדוֹת), vowed offerings, and voluntary offerings—are distinguished (Lev. vii. 11, 16). תּוֹדוֹת therefore denotes a species of the sacrifices or peace-offerings, the praise or thank-offerings in the stricter sense; and וְתוֹדוֹת must be taken as explicative: sacrifices, and that (or namely) praise-offerings. וְכָל־נְדִיב לֵב, and every one who was heartily willing, (brought) burnt-offerings; *i.e.*, all who felt inwardly impelled to do so, brought of their own accord burnt-offerings.—Ver. 32. The number of the burnt-offerings brought spontaneously by the congregation was very large: 70 bullocks, 100 rams, and 200 lambs.—Ver. 33. וְהַקְּדָשִׁים, and the consecrated, *i.e.* the beasts brought as thank-offering (cf. xxxv. 13, Neh. x. 34), were 600 bullocks and 3000 small cattle (sheep and goats).—In vers. 34–36 the account closes with some remarks upon these sacrifices and the festal solemnity. Ver. 34. But there were too few priests, and they were not able (so that they were not able) to flay all the burnt-offerings; and their brethren the Levites helped them till the work was ended (*i.e.* the flaying), and until the priests had sanctified themselves. In the case of private burnt-offerings the flaying of the beast was the business of the sacrificer (Lev. i. 6); while in the case of those offered on solemn occasions in the name of the congregation it was the priest's duty, and in it, as the work was not of a specifically priestly character, the Levites might assist. The burnt-offerings which are spoken of in ver. 34 are not merely those voluntarily offered (ver. 34), but also the consecratory burnt-offerings (vers. 22, 27). Only ver. 35 refers to the voluntary offerings alone. "For the Levites had been more upright to sanctify themselves than the priests." יְשָׁרֵי לֵב, *rectiores animo*, had endeavoured more honestly. Perhaps the priests had taken more part in the idolatrous worship of Ahaz than the Levites, which would be quite accounted for, as Kueper, *das Priesterth. des A. Bundes* (1870), S. 216, remarks, by their relation to the

court of the king, and their dependence upon it. They consequently showed themselves more slack even in the purification than the Levites, who *forte etiam idololatricis sacris minus contaminati et impediti erant* (Ramb.).—Ver. 35 gives yet another reason why the Levites had to help the priests: "And also the burnt-offerings were in abundance, with the fat of the peace-offerings, and the drink-offerings for every burnt-offering." The priests could not accomplish the flaying for this reason also, that they had, besides, to see to the proper altar service (sprinkling of the blood, and burning of the sacrifices upon the altar), which taxed their strength, since, besides the consecratory burnt-offerings, there were the voluntary burnt-offerings (ver. 31), which were offered along with the thank-offerings and the drink-offerings, which belonged to the burnt-offerings of Num. xv. 1–15. Thus the service of the house of Jahve was arranged. עֲבוֹדָה is not the purification and dedication of the temple (Berth.), but only the sacrificial service, or rather all that concerned the regular temple worship, which had decayed under Ahaz, and had at length wholly ceased. — Ver. 36. Hezekiah and the whole people rejoiced because of it. עַל הֵכִין, over that which God had prepared for the people (by the purification of the temple and the restoration of the Jahve-worship), not "because God had made the people ready" (Ramb., Berth.). The article with הֵכִין represents the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר; see on 1 Chron. xxvi. 28. The joy was heightened by the fact that the thing was done suddenly.

Chap. xxx. *The celebration of the passover.*—Vers. 1–12. The preparations for this celebration.—Ver. 1. Hezekiah invited all Israel and Judah to it; "and he also wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasseh," the two chief tribes of the northern kingdom, which here, as is manifest from vers. 5, 10, are named *instar omnium*. But the whole sentence serves only to elucidate וַיִּשְׁלַח עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל. To all Israel (of the ten tribes) he sent the invitation, and this he did by letters. The verse contains a general statement as to the matter, which is further described in what follows.—Ver. 2. The king consulted with his princes and the whole assembly in Jerusalem, *i.e.* with the community of the capital assembled in their representatives for this purpose, as to keeping the passover in the second month. This was (Num. ix. 6–13) allowed to those who, by uncleanness or by absence on a distant journey, were prevented from holding the feast at the lawful time, the 14th of the first

month. Both these reasons existed in this case (ver. 3): the priests had not sufficiently sanctified themselves, and the people had not assembled in Jerusalem, *sc.* at the legal time in the first month. לְמַדַּי, contracted from מַה־דַּי, that which is sufficient, is usually interpreted, "not in sufficient number" (Rashi, Vulg., Berth., etc.); but the reference of the word to the number cannot be defended. לְמַדַּי denotes only *ad sufficientiam*, and means not merely that the priests had not sanctified themselves in such numbers as were required for the slaughtering and offering of the paschal lambs, but that the priesthood in general was not yet sufficiently consecrated, many priests not having at that time wholly renounced idolatry and consecrated themselves anew. Nor does the passage signify, as Bertheau says it does, "that although the purification of the temple was completed only on the sixteenth day of the first month (xxix. 17), the passover would yet have been celebrated in the first month, though perhaps not on the legal fourteenth day, had not a further postponement become necessary for the reasons here given;" for there is nothing said in the text of a "further postponement." That is just as arbitrarily dragged into the narrative as the idea that Hezekiah ever intended to hold the passover on another day than the legal fourteenth day of the month, which is destitute of all support, and even of probability. The postponement of the passover until the second month in special circumstances was provided for by the law, but the transfer of the celebration to another day of the month was not. Such a transfer would have been an illegal and arbitrary innovation, which we cannot suppose Hezekiah capable of. Rather it is clear from the consultation, that the king and his princes and the congregations were persuaded that the passover could be held only on the fourteenth day of the month; for they did not consult as to the day, but only as to the month, upon the basis of the law: if not in the first, then at any rate in the second month. The day was, for those consulting, so definitely fixed that it was never discussed, and is not mentioned at all in the record. If this were so, then the consultation must have taken place in the first month before the fourteenth day, at a time when the lawful day for the celebration was not yet past. This is implied in the words, "for they could not hold it at that time." בָּעֵת הַהִיא is the first month, in contrast to "in the second month;" not this or that day of the month. Now, since the reason given for their not being able to

hold it in the first month is that the priests had not sufficiently purified themselves, and the people had not assembled themselves in Jerusalem, we learn with certainty from these reasons that it is not a celebration of the passover in the *first* year of Hezekiah's reign which is here treated of, as almost all commentators think.[1] In the whole narrative there is nothing to favour such a supposition, except (1) the circumstance that the account of this celebration is connected by ו *consec.* (in וַיִּשְׁלַח) with the preceding purification of the temple and restoration of the Jahve-worship which took place in the first year of Hezekiah's reign; and (2) the statement that the priests had not sufficiently sanctified themselves, ver. 3, which, when compared with that in chap. xxix. 34, that the number of priests who had sanctified themselves was not sufficient to flay the beasts for sacrifice, makes it appear as if the passover had been celebrated immediately after the consecration of the temple; and (3) the mention of the second month in ver. 2, which, taken in connection with the mention of the first month in xxix. 3, 17, seems to imply that the second month of the first year of Hezekiah's reign is meant. But of these three apparent reasons none is convincing.

The use of ו *consec.* to connect the account of the celebration of the passover with the preceding, without the slightest hint that the celebration took place in another (later) year, is fully accounted for by the fact that in no case is the year in which any event of Hezekiah's twenty-nine years' reign occurred stated in the Chronicle. In chap. xxxii. 1, Sennacherib's invasion of Judah is introduced only by the indefinite formula, "and after these events," though it happened in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah; while the arrangements as to the public worship made by this king, and recorded in chap. xxxi., belong to the first years of his reign. Only in the case of the restoration of the Jahve-worship is it remarked, xxix. 3, that Hezekiah commenced it in the very first year of his reign, because that was important in forming an estimate of the spirit of his reign; but the statement of the year in which his other acts were done had not much bearing upon the practical aim of the chronicler. Nor does the reason given for the transfer of the celebration of the passover to the second month, viz. that the priests had not

[1] Cf. the elaborate discussion of this question in Caspari, *Beitrr. zur Einl. in das B. Jesaja*, S. 109 ff.

sufficiently sanctified themselves, prove that the celebration took place in the first year of Hezekiah. During the sixteen years' reign of the idolater Ahaz, the priesthood had beyond doubt fallen very low,—become morally sunk, so that the majority of them would not immediately make haste to sanctify themselves for the Jahve-worship. Finally, the retrospective reference to xxix. 3, 17, would certainly incline us to take בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי to mean the second month of the first year; but yet it cannot be at once taken in that sense, unless the reasons given for the transfer of the celebration of the passover to the second month point to the first year. But these reasons, so far from doing so, are rather irreconcilable with that view. The whole narrative, chap. xxix. and xxx., gives us the impression that Hezekiah had not formed the resolution to hold a passover to which the whole of Israel and Judah, all the Israelites of the ten tribes as well as the citizens of his kingdom, should be invited before or during the purification of the temple; at least he did not consult with his princes and the heads of Jerusalem at that time. According to xxix. 20, the king assembled the princes of the city only after the report had been made to him, on the completion of the purification of the temple on the sixteenth day of the first month, when he summoned them to the dedication of the purified temple by solemn sacrifice. But this consecratory solemnity occupied several days. The great number of burnt-offerings,—first seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven lambs, besides the sin-offering for the consecration of the temple (xxix. 21); then, after the completion of these, the voluntary burnt-offering of the congregation, consisting of 70 bullocks, 100 rams, and 200 lambs, together with and exclusive of the thank-offerings (xxix. 32),—could not possibly be burnt on *one* day on *one* altar of burnt-offering, and consequently the sacrificial meal could not well be held on the same day. If, then, the king consulted with the princes and the assembly about the passover after the conclusion of or during celebration,—say in the time between the seventeenth and the twentieth day,—it could not be said that the reason of the postponement of the passover was that the priests had not yet sufficiently sanctified themselves, and the people were not assembled in Jerusalem: it would only have been said that the fourteenth day of the first month was already past. Caspari has therefore rightly regarded this as decisive. But besides that, the invitation to all Israel (of the ten tribes) to this passover is more easily ex-

plained, if the celebration of it took place after the breaking up of the kingdom of the ten tribes by the Assyrians, than if it was before that catastrophe, in the time of Hosea, the last king of that kingdom. Though King Hosea may not have been so evil as some of his predecessors, yet it is said of him also, "he did that which was evil in the sight of Jahve" (2 Kings xvii. 2). Would Hezekiah have ventured, so long as Hosea reigned, to invite his subjects to a passover at Jerusalem? and would Hosea have permitted the invitation, and not rather have repelled it as an interference with his kingdom? Further, in the invitation, the captivity of the greater part of the ten tribes is far too strongly presupposed to allow us to imagine that the captivity there referred to is the carrying away of several tribes by Tiglath-pileser. The words, "the escaped who are left to you from the hand of the king of Assyria" (ver. 6), presuppose more than the captivity of the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes and the Naphtalites; not merely because of the plural, the "kings of Assur," but also because the remaining five and a half tribes were not at all affected by Tiglath-pileser's deportation, while there is no mention made of any being carried away by King Pul, nor is it a probable thing in itself; see on 1 Chron. v. 26. Finally, according to chap. xxxi. 1, the Israelites who had been assembled in Jerusalem for the passover immediately afterwards destroyed the pillars, Astartes, high places, and altars, not merely in all Judah and Benjamin, but also in Ephraim and Manasseh (consequently even in the capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes), "unto completion," *i.e.* completely, leaving nothing of them remaining. Is it likely that King Hosea, and the other inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes who had not gone to the passover, but had laughed at and mocked the messengers of Hezekiah (ver. 10), would have quietly looked on and permitted this? All these things are incomprehensible if the passover was held in the first year of Hezekiah, and make it impossible to accept that view.

Moreover, even the preparation for this passover demanded more time than from the seventeenth day of the first month to the fourteenth day of the second. The calling of the whole people together, "from Dan to Beersheba" (ver. 5), could not be accomplished in three weeks. Even if Hezekiah's messengers may have gone throughout the land and returned home again in that time, we yet cannot suppose that those invited, especially those

of the ten tribes, could at once commence their journey, so as to appear in Jerusalem at the time of the feast. In consequence of all these things, we must still remain stedfastly of the opinion already expressed in the *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (vol. ii. p. 81 ff.), that this passover was not held in the first year of Hezekiah, only a week or two after the restoration of the Jahve-worship according to the law had been celebrated. But if it was not held in the first year, then it cannot have been held before the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes, in the sixth year of Hezekiah. In the third year of Hezekiah, Shalmaneser marched upon Samaria, and besieged the capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes. But during the occupation of that kingdom by the Assyrians, Hezekiah could not think of inviting its inhabitants to a passover in Jerusalem. He can have resolved upon that only after the Assyrians had again left the country, Samaria having been conquered, and the Israelites carried away. "But after an end had been thoroughly made of the kingdom of the house of Israel, Hezekiah might regard himself as the king of all Israel, and in this character might invite the remnant of the ten tribes, as his subjects, to the passover (cf. Jer. xl. 1); and he might cherish the hope, as the Israelitish people had been just smitten down by this last frightful catastrophe, that its remaining members would humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, which had been laid on them solemnly, and turning to Him, would comply with the invitation; while before the ruin of the Israelitish kingdom, in inviting the Israelites of the ten tribes, he would have been addressing the subjects of a foreign king" (Caspari, S. 125). And with this view, the statement, xxx. 10, that the messengers of Hezekiah were laughed at by the majority of the Israelites, in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh unto Zebulun, may be easily reconciled. "If we only look," as Caspari pertinently says in answer to this objection, "at the conduct of those who remained in Judea after the destruction of Jerusalem, and who soon afterwards fled to Egypt to Jeremiah (Jer. xlii. 44), we will understand how the majority of the people of the kingdom of the ten tribes, who remained behind after the deportation by Shalmaneser, could be hardened and blinded enough to laugh at and mock the messengers of Hezekiah."

But if Hezekiah formed the resolution of holding such a passover festival only after the destruction of the kingdom of

Israel, it may perhaps be asked why he did not take the matter into consideration early enough to allow of the festival being held at the legal time, *i.e.* in the first month? To this we certainly cannot give an assured answer, because, from the reasons given for the delay of the passover to the second month (ver. 3), we can only gather that, when the king consulted with the princes in the matter, there was no longer sufficient time to carry out the celebration in the manner proposed at the legal time. But it is quite possible that Hezekiah resolved to invite the remnant of the ten tribes to the next passover, only in the beginning of the year, when the Assyrians had withdrawn from the land, and that in the consultation about the matter the two circumstances mentioned in ver. 3 were decisive for the postponement of the feast to the second month. It became clear, on the one hand, that the whole priesthood was not yet sufficiently prepared for it; and on the other, that the summoning of the people could not be accomplished before the 14th Nisan, so as to allow of the feast being held in the way proposed at the legal time; and accordingly it was decided, in order to avoid the postponement of the matter for a whole year, to take advantage of the expedient suggested by the law, and to hold the feast in the second month. From ver. 14 and chap. xxxi. 1 we gather that at that time there were still standing in Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah and Benjamin, Mazzeboth, Asherim, Bamoth, and altars; consequently, that the Baal-worship had not yet been extirpated. The continuance of the Baal-worship, and that on the high places in Jerusalem and Judah, until the sixth or seventh year of Hezekiah's reign, will not much astonish us, if we consider that even before Ahaz the most pious kings had not succeeded in quite suppressing worship on the high places on the part of the people. The reopening of the temple, and of the Jahve-worship in it, Hezekiah might undertake and carry out in the beginning of his reign, because he had all those of the people who were well inclined upon his side. But it was otherwise with the altars on the high places, to which the people from ancient times had been firmly attached. These could not be immediately destroyed, and may have been again restored here and there after they had been destroyed, even in the corners of the capital. Many Levitic priests had, to a certainty, taken part in this worship on high places, since, as a rule, it was not heathen idols, but Jahve, to whom sacrifice was offered upon

the high places, though it was done in an illegal way. Such Levitic priests of the high places could not, even if they had not practised idolatry, straightway take part in a passover to be celebrated to Jahve according to the precepts of the law. They must first sanctify themselves by abandoning the worship on the high places, and earnestly turning to the Lord and to His law. Now, if the passover was to be a general one, the time necessary for this sanctification of themselves must be granted to these priests. For the sanctification of these priests, and for the invitation of all Israel to the festival, the time up to the fourteenth of the second month was sufficient, and the king's proposal was consequently approved of by the whole assembly.—Ver. 5. They established the matter (יַעֲמִידוּ דָבָר, Vulg. rightly, according to the sense, *decreverunt*), to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beersheba to Dan (cf. Judg. xx. 1), that they should come to keep the passover. כִּי לֹא לָרֹב, for not in multitude had they celebrated it, as it is written. These words were interpreted as early as by Rashi thus: they had not celebrated it for a long time according to the precepts of the law, and were referred to the time of the division of the kingdom. But to this Berth. has rightly objected that the use of לָרֹב of time is unusual, and has correctly referred the words to the Israelites: they had not celebrated it in multitude, *i.e.* in the assembly of the whole people, as the law required. The words consequently tell us nothing as to the length of time during which it had not been celebrated in multitude: as to that, see ver. 26. Still less does it follow from the words that under Hezekiah, after the restoration of the temple worship, the passover had not been yearly held.—Ver. 6. "The runners (whether soldiers of the royal body-guard, cf. xii. 10, or other royal couriers, as Esth. iii. 13, 15, cannot be determined) went with letters from the hand of the king, . . . and according to the commandment of the king to say." To the written invitation of the king and his princes they were to add words of exhortation: "Turn again to Jahve, . . . that He may return (turn Himself) to the remnant which remains to you from the hand of the kings of Assyria," *i.e.* of Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser.—Ver. 7. Be not like your fathers, your brethren, *i.e.* those carried away by Tiglath and Shalmaneser. On יִתֵּנֶם לְשַׁמָּה cf. xxix. 8.—Ver. 8. Be not stiff-necked; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 14. "Give the hand to the Lord," *i.e.* here, not submit yourselves, as 1 Chron. xxix. 24, construed with תְּנוּ יָד; it denotes the giving of

the hand as a pledge of fidelity, as in 2 Kings x. 15, Ezra x. 19, Ezek. xvii. 18.—Ver. 9. If ye return to the Lord, your brethren and your sons (who are in exile) shall be for mercy, *i.e.* shall find mercy of them who carried them away, and for returning, *i.e.* and they shall return into this land. כִּי חַנּוּן וגו׳, cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6. —Ver. 10. The couriers went about from city to city in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulun; but the people laughed to scorn and mocked at the summons to return, and the invitation to the passover festival. The words "from city to city" are not inconsistent with the view that the kingdom of Israel had already been ruined. The Assyrians had not blotted out all the cities from the face of the land, nor carried away every one of the inhabitants to the last man, but had been satisfied with the capture of the fortresses and their partial or complete demolition, and carried only the flower of the inhabitants away. No doubt also many had saved themselves from deportation by flight to inaccessible places, who then settled again and built in the cities and villages which had not been completely destroyed, or perhaps had been completely spared, after the enemy had withdrawn. From the statement, moreover, that the couriers passed through the land of Ephraim and Manasseh unto Zebulun, no proof can be derived that the messengers did not touch upon the domain of the tribes led away captive by Tiglath-pileser (Naphtali and the trans-Jordanic land), but only visited those districts of the country which formed the kingdom of Israel as it continued to exist after Tiglath-pileser. If that were so, it would follow that the kingdom had not then been destroyed. But the enumeration is not complete, as is manifest from the fact that, according to vers. 11 and 18, men of the tribes of Asher and Issachar came to Jerusalem in compliance with the invitation; and the domain of Asher extended to the northern frontier of Canaan. If we further take it into consideration, that, according to the resolution of the king and his princes, all Israel, from Beersheba on the southern frontier to Dan on the northern, were to be invited, it is not to be doubted that the couriers went through the whole land.—Ver. 12. Also upon Judah came the hand of God, to give them one heart, to do . . . The phrase יַד יהוה הָיְתָה בְּ has usually a punitive signification (cf. Ex. ix. 3; Deut. ii. 15, etc.), but here it is the helping hand of God. God wrought powerfully upon Judah to make them of one mind. בִּדְבַר יהוה as in xxix. 15.

Vers. 13–22. *The celebration of the passover.*—Ver. 13. The

assembly of the people at Jerusalem to celebrate the feast became a great congregation.—Ver. 14. Before the slaying of the passover, in order to purify and sanctify the city for the feast, they removed the (illegal) altars and places for offering incense which had been erected under Ahaz (xxviii. 24), and threw them into the Kidron (xxix. 16). מְקַטְּרוֹת is here a substantive: places for incense-offerings (cf. Ew. § 160, *e*), and denotes altars intended for the offering of the קְטֹרֶת.—Ver. 15. When they slaughtered the passover on the 14th, the Levites and priests also were ashamed, *i.e.* had sanctified themselves under the influence of a feeling of shame, and offered the sacrifice in the house of the Lord; *i.e.* they performed the sacrificial functions incumbent upon them at the passover in the temple, as is stated more in detail in ver. 16. The clause וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וגו׳ is a circumstantial clause, and the statement points back to ver. 3. The mention of Levites along with the priests here is worthy of remark, since in xxix. 34 it is said that at the celebration of the dedication of the temple the Levites had sanctified themselves more zealously than the priests. But these two statements do not contradict each other. In chap. xxix. 34 it is the Levites and priests then present in or dwelling in Jerusalem who are spoken of; here, on the contrary, it is the priests and the Levites of the whole kingdom of Judah. Even though, at the former period, the Levites were more zealous in sanctifying themselves for the dedication of the temple, yet there must certainly have been many Levites in Judah, who, like many of the priests, did not immediately purify themselves from their defilement by the worship in the high places, and were only impelled and driven to sanctify themselves for the service of the Lord by the zeal of the people who had come to Jerusalem to hold the passover.—Ver. 16. Standing in their place, according to their right, *i.e.* according to the prescribed arrangement (see on 1 Chron. vi. 17), the priests sprinkled the blood (of the paschal lambs) from the hand of the Levites, they handing it to them. This was not the rule: in the case of the paschal lamb, the father of the family who slew the lamb had to hand the blood to the priest, that it might be sprinkled upon the altar; here the Levites did it for the reasons given in ver. 17. Because many in the assembly had not sanctified themselves, the Levites presided over the slaying of the paschal lambs for every one who was unclean, to sanctify (the lambs) to the Lord (see also on xxxv. 6, 11). רַבַּת, *stat. constr.* before the

noun with a preposition, stands as neuter substantively: there was a multitude in the assembly who . . . רַבַּת in ver. 18 is to be taken in a similar manner, not as an adverb (Berth.). רִבַּת מֵאֶפְרַיִם וגו׳ is in apposition to מַרְבִּית הָעָם, a multitude of people, viz.: Many of Ephraim . . . had not purified themselves, but ate the passover in an illegal fashion, not according to the precept (cf. Num. ix. 6). This clause explains how it happened that the Levites presided at the slaying of the passover for those who had not sanctified themselves, *i.e.* they caught the blood and gave it to the priests. Had this been done by persons levitically unclean, the expiatory sacrificial blood would have been defiled. The eating of the paschal lamb or the participation in the passover meal was indeed allowed only to the clean; but yet it was not so holy an act, *i.e.* did not bring the people into such immediate contact with God, who was present at His altar, that those who were not clean might not, under some circumstances, be admitted to it. Here it was allowed, for Hezekiah had prayed for them that God might forgive the transgression of the law.—Ver. 18 ends, according to the Masoretic verse-division, with the preposition בְּעַד; but that division seems merely to have arisen from ignorance of the construction כָּל־לְבָבוֹ הֵכִין, of the fact that בְּעַד stands before a relative sentence without אֲשֶׁר, like אֶל in 1 Chron. xv. 12, and is certainly wrong. If we separate בְּעַד from what follows, we must, with Aben Ezra, supply אֹמְרָה, and make הֵכִין (ver. 19) refer to Hezekiah, both being equally inadmissible. Rightly, therefore, the LXX., Vulg., and also Kimchi, with the majority of commentators, have given up this division of the verses as incorrect, and connected the words in this way: May the good Jahve atone, *i.e.* forgive every one who has fixed his heart (cf. xii. 14) to seek God, Jahve, the God of his fathers, but not in accordance with the purity of the sanctuary. This intercession of Hezekiah's is worthy of remark, not only because it expresses the conviction that upright seeking of the Lord, which proceeds from the heart, is to be more highly estimated than strict observance of the letter of the law, but also because Hezekiah presumes that those who had come out of Ephraim, etc., to the passover had fixed their heart to seek Jahve, the God of their fathers, but had not been in a position to comply with the precept of the law, *i.e.* to purify themselves up to the day appointed for the passover.—Ver. 20. God heard this intercession, and healed the people. רָפָא, *sanare*, is not to be explained

by supposing, with Bertheau, that first sickness, and then even death, were to be expected as the results of transgression of the law, according to Lev. xv. 31, and that the people might be already regarded as sick, as being on the point of becoming so. The use of the word is explained by the fact that sin was regarded as a spiritual disease, so that רפא is to be understood of healing the soul (as Ps. xli. 5), or the transgression (Hos. xiv. 5; Jer. iii. 22).—Ver. 21. And the Israelites that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness; and the Levites and priests praised the Lord day by day, singing to the Lord בִּכְלֵי עֹז ליהוה, "with instruments of power to the Lord," *i.e.* with which they ascribed power to the Lord; or, to express it more clearly, which they played to the praise of the power of the Lord. The stringed instruments played by the Levites, and the trumpets blown by the priests, to accompany the psalm-singing, are meant. The singing of praise in connection with the sacrificial service took place on the seventh day of the feast.—Ver. 22. Hezekiah spoke to the heart of all the Levites, *i.e.* spoke encouraging words of acknowledgment to all the Levites, "who showed good understanding in regard to Jahve," *i.e.* not *qui erant rerum divinarum peritiores aliosque instruere poterant*, but, as Clericus has already said, those who had distinguished themselves by intelligent playing to the honour of the Lord. "And they ate"—not merely the Levites and priests, but all who took part in the festival—the festal sacrifices, seven days. The expression אָכַל אֶת־הַמּוֹעֵד, to hold the festal sacrificial meal, is formed after אָכַל אֶת־הַפֶּסַח, to eat the passover = the passover meal. This we gather from the following participial clause, "offering peace-offerings," of which the sacrificial meals were prepared. וּמְתוַדִּים, and acknowledged the Lord, the God of their fathers. הִתְוַדָּה denotes here neither "to make confession of sin," nor "to approach with thank-offerings" (Berth.), but simply to acknowledge the Lord with heart and mouth, word and deed, or by prayer, praise, thanks, and offering of sacrifice.

Vers. 23–27. *Prolongation of the festival for seven days more, and the conclusion of it.*—Ver. 23 f. Since the king and the princes had given a very large number of beasts for sacrifice as thank-offerings, it was resolved to keep joy for other seven days, *i.e.* to keep them festally, with sacrificial meals. The expression עָשָׂה יָמִים, to hold or celebrate days, is similar to עָשָׂה פֶּסַח, to hold the passover. שִׂמְחָה is an adverbial accusative: in joy. For this

resolution two reasons are given in ver. 24: 1. Hezekiah had given to the assembly 1000 bullocks and 7000 head of small cattle, and the princes had given 1000 bullocks and 10,000 head of small cattle besides; so that there was more than they could use during the seven days of the Mazzoth feast. Bertheau incorrectly supposes that these were "rich gifts for further sacrificial feasts." The gifts were bestowed for the Mazzoth festival, but were so plentiful that they sufficed for another festival of seven days. הֵרִים, like תְּרוּמָה, denotes to bestow, *i.e.* to present beasts, etc., with the design that they should be used as sacrifices; cf. xxxv. 7. 2. The second reason: "priests also had sanctified themselves in multitude," so as to be able to carry on the service at the altar, even with such numerous sacrifices, refers back to vers. 15 and 3.—Vers. 25–27. Concluding remarks on this festival. There took part in it (1) the whole congregation of Judah, and the priests and Levites; (2) the whole congregation of those who had come out of Israel (the ten tribes); (3) the strangers, both those who came out of the land of Israel and those dwelling in Judah.—Ver. 26. The joy was great, for there had not been the like in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon. "The meaning is, that this feast could be compared only with the feast at the dedication of the temple in the time of Solomon, chap. vii. 1–10, in respect to its length, the richness of the sacrificial gifts, the multitude of those who participated, and the joyous feeling it caused" (Berth.). The feast at the dedication of the temple had been a festival of fourteen days; for the feast of tabernacles, which lasted seven days, came immediately after the proper dedicatory feast, and since the time of Solomon all the tribes had never been united at a feast in Jerusalem.—Ver. 27. At the end the Levitic priests dismissed the people with the blessing (the וְ before הַלְוִיִּם in some MSS., and which the LXX., Vulg., and Syr. also have, is a copyist's gloss brought from ver. 25; cf. against it, chap. xxiii. 18), and the historian adds, "Their voice was heard, and their prayer came to His holy dwelling-place, to heaven." This conclusion he draws from the divine blessing having been upon the festival; traceable partly in the zeal which the people afterwards showed for the public worship in the temple (chap. xxxi.), partly in the deliverance of Judah and Jerusalem from the attack of the Assyrian Sennacherib (chap. xxxii.).

Chap. xxxi. *Destruction of the idols and the altars of the high places. Provisions for the ordering and maintenance of the temple*

worship, and the attendants upon it.—Ver. 1. At the conclusion of the festival, all the Israelites who had been present at the feast (כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצְאִים to be understood as in xxx. 21) went into the cities of Judah, and destroyed all the idols, high places, and altars not only in Judah and Benjamin (the southern kingdom), but also in Ephraim and Manasseh (the domain of the ten tribes), utterly (עַד־לְכַלֵּה, cf. xxiv. 10), and only then returned each to his home; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Vers. 2–21. *Restoration of order in the public worship, and of the temple revenues and those of the priests.*—Ver. 2. Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and Levites according to their courses, each according to the measure of his service (cf. Num. vii. 5, 7), viz. the priests and Levites (לכה' וללי) are subordinated to אִישׁ in apposition by לְ), for burnt-offerings and thank-offerings, to serve (to wait upon the worship), and to praise and thank (by song and instrumental music) in the gates of the camp of Jahve, *i.e.* in the temple and court of the priests; see on 1 Chron. ix. 18 f.—Ver. 3. And the portion of the king from his possession was for the burnt-offerings, etc.; that is, the material for the burnt-offerings which are commanded in Num. xxviii. and xxix. the king gave from his possessions, which are enumerated in chap. xxxii. 27–29.—Vers. 4–8. The priests and Levites received their maintenance from the first-fruits (Ex. xxiii. 19; Num. xviii. 12; Deut. xxvi. 2) and the tithes, which the people had to pay from the produce of their cattle-breeding and their agriculture (Lev. xxvii. 30–33, cf. with Num. xviii. 21–24). Hezekiah commanded the people, viz. the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to give this portion to the Levites and priests, that they might hold themselves firmly to the law of Jahve, *i.e.* might devote themselves to the duties laid upon them by the law, the attendance upon the worship, without being compelled to labour for their subsistence; cf. Neh. xiii. 10 ff.—Ver. 5. When the word (the royal command) went forth (spread abroad), the Israelites brought in abundance the first-fruits which had been assigned to the priests (xviii. 12 f.), and the tithes, which were paid to the whole tribe of Levi (Num. xviii. 21–24). בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, ver. 6, are not the inhabitants of the northern kingdom, but the Israelites who had emigrated from that kingdom into Judah (as xxx. 25, xi. 16, x. 17). מַעֲשֵׂר קָדָשִׁים, the tenth from the holy gifts which were consecrated to Jahve, is surprising, since in the law, Num. xviii. 8 ff., it is not the tenth of the consecrated gifts

which is spoken of, but only תְּרוּמוֹת הַקֳּדָשִׁים (Num. xviii. 19). Proceeding upon the assumption that all קדשׁים which were consecrated to Jahve were given over to the tribe of Levi, Bertheau finds no correspondence between the law and the statement of our verse, that the tenth of the holy things was given, and points out that the LXX. seem to have read וְעֵז וְהַקָּדָשִׁים instead of מעשׂר קדשׁים, without, however, himself deciding in favour of that reading. But the LXX. have rendered the words ומעשׂר קדשׁים והמקדשים by *ἐπιδέκατα αἰγῶν, καὶ ἡγίασαν*, and consequently cannot have read וְעֵז for מַעֲשַׂר, since in their translation *ἐπιδέκατα* corresponds to מעשׂר. But the deviation of the statement in our verse from the law, Num. xviii., arises partly from an incorrect or inexact interpretation of the provisions of the law, Num. xviii. 8 ff. In the law, קדשׁים as such were not assigned to the tribe of Levi, or more correctly to the priests (Aaron and his sons), but only the תְּרוּמוֹת לְכָל־קָדְשֵׁיהֶם, the heave-offerings of all the holy gifts of the sons of Israel, *i.e.* the pieces or parts of the sacrificial gifts of the Israelites which were not burnt upon the altar, consequently the greater part of the meal, and oil, and flesh of the oblations, the sin-offerings, the trespass-offerings, and of the peace-offerings, the wave-breast and wave-thigh, and whatever else was waved in wave-offerings; see on Num. xviii. 8 ff. These Therumoth of the consecrated gifts are in our verse designated מַעֲשַׂר קָדָשִׁים, because they were only a fragment of that which was consecrated to the Lord, just as the tenth was a fragment of the whole herd, and of the field produce. The statement of our verse, therefore, differs only in expression from the prescription of the law, but in substance it completely agrees with it. וַיִּתְּנוּ עֲרֵמוֹת עֲרֵמוֹת, and they made many heaps, *i.e.* they brought the first-fruits and tithes in heaps.—Ver. 7. In the third month, consequently immediately at the end of the grain harvest, they commenced to found the heaps (to lay the foundation of the heaps); and in the seventh month, *i.e.* at the end of the fruit and wine harvest, they completed them (the heaps). In the third month fell pentecost, or the harvest feast; in the seventh, the feast of tabernacles, after the gathering in of all the fruits. לְיַסּוֹד has Daghesh in ס, because this verb in the imperf. assimilates its י like נ to the second radical, and the infinitive is formed after the imperf.; cf. Ew. § 245, *a*.—Ver. 8. When Hezekiah and the priests saw these heaps, they praised the Lord and His people Israel.

The employment and storing of these gifts, vers. 9–19.—Ver. 9 f. Hezekiah questioned (יִדְרֹשׁ) the priests and Levites concerning the heaps, *i.e.* not as to whether they were sufficient for the support of the priests and Levites, but as to how it happened that such masses had been heaped up. Thereupon Azariah the high priest (hardly the Azariah mentioned xxvi. 17, who forty years before tried to prevent Uzziah from pressing into the holy place), of the house of Zadok, answered him: Since they began to bring (לָבִיא for לְהָבִיא) the heave-offerings into the house of the Lord, we have eaten and satisfied ourselves, and have left in plenty. The *infin. absoll.* אָכוֹל וְשָׂבוֹעַ וְהוֹתֵר stand in animated speech instead of the first pers. plur. perf. From the same animation arises the construction of אֶת־הֶהָמוֹן with הַנּוֹתָר; for "that which is left" signifies, and we have left this quantity here.—Ver. 11 f. Then the king commanded to prepare cells in the house of God for the storing of the provisions. Whether new cells were built, or cells already existing were prepared for this purpose, cannot be decided, since הָכִין may signify either. Into these cells they brought the תְּרוּמָה, which here denotes the first-fruits (cf. ver. 5), the tithes, and the dedicated things, בֶּאֱמוּנָה, with fidelity, cf. xix. 9. עֲלֵיהֶם, over them (the first-fruits, etc.) the Levite Cononiah was set as ruler (inspector), and his brother Shimei as second ruler (מִשְׁנֶה).—Ver. 13. To them at their hand, *i.e.* as subordinate overseers, were given ten Levites, who are enumerated by name. Of the names, Jehiel and Mahath occur in xxix. 12 and 14. בְּמִפְקַד is translated by the Vulg. *ex imperio*, better *ex mandato Hizkiæ*. Azariah, the prince of the house of God, is the high priest mentioned in ver. 10.—To the fourteen Levites named in vers. 13 and 14 was committed the oversight and storing of the first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts. Besides these, there were special officers appointed for the distribution of them.—In vers. 14–19 these are treated of; ver. 14 dealing with the distribution of the voluntary gifts of God, *i.e.* all which was offered to God of spontaneous impulse (Lev. xxiii. 38; Deut. xii. 17), to which the first-fruits and tithes did not belong, they being assessments prescribed by the law. Over the freewill offerings the Levite Kore, the doorkeeper towards the east (see on 1 Chron. ix. 18), was set. His duty was to give (distribute) "the heave-offerings of Jahve," *i.e.* that portion of the thank-offerings which properly belonged to Jahve, and which was transferred by Him to the priests (Lev. vii. 14, xxxii. 10,

14 f.; Num. v. 9), and the "most holy," *i.e.* that part of the sin and trespass offerings (Lev. vi. 10, 22, vii. 6) and of the oblations (Lev. ii. 3, 10) which was to be eaten by the priests in the holy place.—Ver. 15. At his hand (עַל יָדוֹ = מִיַּד, ver. 13), *i.e.* under his superintendence, there were six Levites, enumerated by name, in the priests' cities, with fidelity, "to give to their brethren in their courses, as well to the great as to the small" (*i.e.* to the older and to the younger), *sc.* the portion of the gifts received which fell to each. By the brethren in their courses we are to understand not merely the Levites dwelling in the priests' cities, who on account of their youth or old age could not come into the temple, but also those who at the time were not on duty, since the Levites' courses performed it by turns, only some courses being on duty in the temple, while the others were at home in the priests' cities. The object to לָתֵת, ver. 15, is not to be taken straightway from the objects mentioned with לָתֵת in ver. 14. For the most holy gifts could not be sent to the priests' cities, but were consumed in the holy place, *i.e.* in the temple. Nor can we confine לָתֵת to the נְדִבוֹת הָאֱלֹהִים; for since the gifts of the people, laid up in the cells, consisted in first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts (ver. 11), and special officers were appointed for the storing and distribution of them, the business of distribution could not consist merely in the giving out of freewill offerings, but must have extended to all the offerings of the people. When, therefore, it is said of the Levite Kore, in ver. 14, that he was appointed over the freewill offerings, to distribute the heave-offerings and the most holy, only his chief function is there mentioned, and the functions of the officials associated with and subordinated to him in the priests' cities are not to be confined to that. The object to לָתֵת, ver. 15, is consequently to be determined by the whole context, and the arrangements which are assumed as known from the law; *i.e.* we must embrace under that word the distribution of the first-fruits, tithes, and consecrated gifts, of which the Levites in the priests' cities were to receive their portion according to the law.—In ver. 16, the אֲחֵיהֶם בְּמַחְלְקוֹת of ver. 15 is more closely defined by an exception: "Besides their catalogue of the men (*i.e.* exclusive of those of the male sex catalogued by them) from three years old and upward, namely, of all those who came into the house of Jahve to the daily portion, for their service in their offices according to their courses." דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ signifies, in this connection, the portion of the holy gifts coming to them

for every day; cf. Neh. xi. 23. The meaning of the verse is: From those dwelling in the priests' cities were excluded those who had come to perform service in the temple; and, indeed, not merely those performing the service, but also their male children, who were catalogued along with them if they were three years old and upward. Thence it is clear that those entering upon their service took their sons with them when they were three years old. These children ate in the place of the sanctuary of the portion coming to their parents.—Ver. 17 contains a parenthetic remark as to the catalogues. וְאֵת, as *nota accus.*, serves here to emphasize the statement which is added as an elucidation (cf. Ew. § 277, *d*): "But concerning the catalogue of the priests, it was (taken, prepared) according to the fathers'-houses; and the Levites, they were from twenty years old and upwards in their offices in their courses." All the duties were discharged by several courses. On the age fixed on, see 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.—Ver. 18. The connection and interpretation of this verse is doubtful. If we take וּלְהִתְיַחֵשׂ as a continuation of וְאֶת־הִתְיַחֵשׂ, ver. 17, it gives us no suitable sense. The addition, "and also to every priest and Levite was a larger or smaller portion given according to the catalogue" (Ramb., etc.), is arbitrary, and does not fully express the בְּ before בְּכָל־טַפָּם. Berth., on the other hand, correctly remarks, "After the parentheses in vers. 16 and 17, וּלְהִתְיַחֵשׂ may be taken as a continuation of לָתֵת in ver. 16;" but the word itself he translates wrongly thus: The men were in the priests' cities, also to register their children, etc., disregarding the construction of הִתְיַחֵשׂ with בְּ.—From ver. 19, where the same construction recurs, we learn how to interpret הִתְיַחֵשׂ בְּכָל־ט': the catalogue = those registered in (of) all their children. According to this view, ולהתיחש corresponds to the לַאֲחֵיהֶם, ver. 15: to give to their brethren, . . . and to the registered of all their children, their wives, and their sons and daughters, viz. to the whole multitude (*sc.* of the wives, sons, and daughters), *i.e.* as many of them as there were. This interpretation of the לְכָל־קָהָל seems simpler than with Schmidt and Ramb. to understand קָהָל to denote the corporation of priests. There was therefore no one forgotten or overlooked; "for according to their fidelity (ver. 15) did they show themselves holy in regard to the holy," *i.e.* they acted in a holy manner with the holy gifts, distributed them disinterestedly and impartially to all who had any claim to them.—Ver. 19. And for the sons of Aaron, the priests, in the field of the districts

of their cities (cf. Lev. xxv. 34; Num. xxxv. 5), in each city were men (appointed) famous (אֲשֶׁר נִקְּבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת, as in xxviii. 15; see on 1 Chron. xii. 31), to give portions to each male among the priests, and to all that were registered among the Levites. As for the inhabitants of the priests' cities (ver. 15), so also for the priests and Levites dwelling in the pasture grounds of the priests' cities, were special officers appointed to distribute the priestly revenues.

Vers. 20, 21. The conclusion of this account. Thus did Hezekiah in all Judah, and wrought in general that which was good and right and אֱמֶת before the Lord his God; and in every work that he commenced for the service of the house of God, and for the law and the commandment (*i.e.* for the restoration of the law and its commands), to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

Chap. xxxii. *Sennacherib's campaign against Judah and Israel: Hezekiah's sickness, the remainder of his reign, and his death.* Cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13–xx. 21, and Isa. xxxvi.–xxxix.—Vers. 1–13. Sennacherib's campaign against Judah and Jerusalem, and the annihilation of his whole army by the angel of the Lord. In 2 Kings xviii. and xix., and Isa. xxxvi. and xxxvii., we have two minute parallel accounts of this war, which threatened the existence of the kingdom of Judah, in both of which the course of this attack by the Assyrian world-power upon the kingdom of God is circumstantially narrated. The author of the Chronicle gives only a short narrative of the main events of the struggle; but, notwithstanding its brevity, supplies us with several not unessential additions to these detailed accounts. After stating that Sennacherib invaded Judah with the design of conquering the kingdom for himself (ver. 1), the author of the Chronicle describes the preparations which Hezekiah made for the defence of the capital in case it should be besieged (vers. 2–8). Then we have an account of Sennacherib's attempts to get Jerusalem into his power, by sending his generals, who sought to induce the people to submit by boastful speeches, and by writing threatening letters to Hezekiah (vers. 9–19); and, finally, of Hezekiah's prayer to God for help, and the answer to his prayer—the wonderful annihilation of the Assyrian army (vers. 20–23). The purpose of the chronicler in narrating these events was a didactic one: he wishes to show how God the Lord helped the pious King Hezekiah in this danger to his

kingdom, and humbled the presumption of Sennacherib confiding in the might of his powerful army. For this purpose, a brief rhetorical summary of the main events of the struggle and its issues was sufficient. As to the facts, see the commentary on 2 Kings xviii. f. and Isa. xxxvi. f.

Ver. 1. The didactic and rhetorical character of the narrative is manifest in the very form of the introductory statement. Instead of the chronological statement of 2 Kings xviii. 13, we find the loose formula of connection: After these events and this fidelity (cf. xxxi. 20), Sennacherib came (בָּא) and entered into Judah (וַיָּבֹא בִיהוּדָה), and besieged the fenced cities, and thought (וַיֹּאמֶר) to break (conquer) them for himself. He had already taken a number of them, and had advanced as far as Lachish in the south-west of Judah, when he made the attempt to get Jerusalem into his power; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 13 f.

Vers. 2–8. *Preparations of Hezekiah for the strengthening and defending of Jerusalem.*—We find an account of this neither in 2 Kings xviii. nor in Isa. xxxvi.; but the fact is confirmed both by Isa. xxii. 8–11, and by the remark 2 Kings xx. 20 (cf. ver. 30 of our chapter).—Ver. 2 ff. When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib advanced, and his face was to war against Jerusalem, *i.e.* that he purposed to capture Jerusalem, he consulted with his princes and his valiant men to cover the waters of the springs which were outside the city; and they helped him, brought much people together, and covered all the springs, and the brook which ran through the midst of the land. סָתַם does not denote to obstruct, but only to hide by covering and conducting the water into subterranean channels. The brook which flowed through the midst of the land is the Gihon, which was formed by the waters flowing from the springs, and was dried up by these springs being covered and the water diverted. For further information, see on ver. 30. The object of this measure is stated in the words which follow: Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water? *i.e.*, why should we provide them with much water, when they advance against the city and besiege it? The plural, kings of Assyria, is rhetorical, as in xxviii. 16.—Ver. 5. The fortification of Jerusalem. יִתְחַזֵּק, he showed himself strong, courageous, as in xv. 8, xxiii. 1. And he built the whole wall which was broken, *i.e.* he strengthened it by building up the breaches and defective places; cf. Isa. xxii. 9 f. The words וַיַּעַל עַל־הַמִּגְדָּלוֹת are obscure, since the translation

"he mounted on the towers" has no meaning. But if יַעַל be taken as a Hiph., "he caused to ascend upon the towers," the object is wanting; and if we supply walls, it is arbitrary, for we might just as well suppose it to be machines which he caused to be carried to the top of the towers for defence against the enemy (xxvi. 15). The LXX. have wholly omitted the words, and the translation of the Vulg., *et exstruxit turres desuper*, appears to be only a guess, but is yet perhaps correct, and presupposes the reading וַיַּעַל עֲלֵיהֶם מִגְדָּלוֹת, "and brought up upon it towers," in favour of which Ewald also decides. This conjecture is in any case simpler than Bertheau's, that ויעל על is a false transcription of וְעָלֶיהָ: "he built the whole wall, and towers upon it, and outside was the other wall," and is therefore to be preferred to it. The "other wall" enclosed the lower city (Acra). This, too, was not first built by Hezekiah; he only fortified it anew, for Isa. xxii. 11 already speaks of two walls, between which a body of water had been introduced: see on ver. 30. He fortified also the Millo of the city of David (see on 1 Chron. xi. 8), and supplied the fortifications with weapons (שֶׁלַח, a weapon of defence; see on Joel ii. 8) in multitude, and with shields; cf. xxvi. 14.— Ver. 6. And, moreover, he set captains of war over the people, *i.e.* the populace of Jerusalem, assembled them in the open space at the city gate (which gate is not stated; cf. Neh. viii. 1, 16), and addressed them in encouraging words; cf. xxx. 22. On ver. 7*a*, cf. xx. 15, Deut. xxxi. 6, etc. "For with us is more than with him." רַב, quite general, the closer definition following in ver. 8: "With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is Jahve, our God, to help us." An arm of flesh = frail human power; cf. Isa. xxi. 3: their (the Egyptians') horses are flesh, not spirit; Jer. xvii. 5, Ps. lvi. 5. "And the people leaned themselves on (*i.e.* trusted in) the words of Hezekiah." These statements are not inconsistent with the account in 2 Kings xviii. 14–16, that Hezekiah began to negotiate with the Assyrian king Sennacherib when he had begun to take the fenced cities of the land unto Lachish, promised to pay him tribute, and actually paid the sum demanded, employing for that purpose even the sheet gold on the temple doors. These negotiations are passed over, not only in our narrative, but also in Isa. xxxvi., because they had no influence upon the after course and the issue of the war. Sennacherib was not induced to withdraw by the payment of the sum demanded, and soon after the receipt of it he sent a detach-

ment from Lachish against Jerusalem, to summon the city to surrender. The fortification of Jerusalem which the Chronicle records began before these negotiations, and was continued while they were in progress.

Vers. 9–19. *The advance of an Assyrian army against Jerusalem*, and the attempts of Sennacherib's generals to induce the population of the capital to submit by persuasive and threatening speeches, are very briefly narrated, in comparison with 2 Kings xviii. 17–36. In ver. 9, neither the names of the Assyrian generals, nor the names of Hezekiah's ambassadors with whom they treated, are given; nor is the place where the negotiation was carried on mentioned. עַבְדָיו, his servants, Sennacherib's generals. וְהוּא עַל־לָכִישׁ, while he himself lay near (or against) Lachish, and all the army of his kingdom with him. מֶמְשַׁלְתּוֹ, his dominion, *i.e.* army of his kingdom; cf. Jer. xxxiv. 1.—Ver. 10 ff. Only the main ideas contained in the speech of these generals are reported; in vers. 10–12 we have the attempt to shake the trust of the people in Hezekiah and in God (Kings, vers. 19–22). וְיֹשְׁבִים is a continuation of the question, In what do ye trust, and why sit ye in the distress, in Jerusalem? מַסִּית as in 2 Kings xviii. 32: Hezekiah seduces you, to give you over to death by hunger and thirst. This thought is much more coarsely expressed in 2 Kings xviii. 27.—On ver. 12, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 22. מִזְבֵּחַ אֶחָד is the one altar of burnt-offering in the temple. —Ver. 13 f. The description of Sennacherib's all-conquering power: cf. 2 Kings xviii. 35; Isa. xxxvi. 20, and xxxvii. 11–13. "Who is there among all the gods of these peoples, whom my fathers utterly destroyed, who could have delivered his people out of my hand, that your God should save you?" The idea is, that since the gods of the other peoples, which were mightier than your God, have not been able to save their peoples, how should your God be in a position to rescue you from my power? This idea is again repeated in ver. 15, as a foundation for the exhortation not to let themselves be deceived and misled by Hezekiah, and not to believe his words, and that in an assertative form: "for not one god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people, . . . much less then (אַף כִּי) your gods: they will not save you;" and this is done in order to emphasize strongly the blasphemy of the Assyrian generals against the Almighty God of Israel. To communicate more of these blasphemous speeches would in the chronicler's view be useless, and he there-

fore only remarks, in ver. 16, "And yet more spake his (Sennacherib's) servants against God Jahve, and against His servant Hezekiah;" and then, in ver. 17, that Sennacherib also wrote a letter of similar purport, and (ver. 18) that his servants called with a loud voice in the Jews' speech to the people of Jerusalem upon the wall, to throw them into fear and terrify them, that they might take the city. What they called to the people is not stated, but by the infinit. לְיִרְאָם וּלְבַהֲלָם it is hinted, and thence we may gather that it was to the same effect as the blasphemous speeches above quoted (יְרָאֵם, inf. Pi., as in Neh. vi. 19).—On comparing 2 Kings xviii. and xix., it is clear that Sennacherib only sent the letter to Hezekiah after his general Rabshakeh had informed him of the fruitlessness of his efforts to induce the people of Jerusalem to submit by speeches, and the news of the advance of the Cushite king Tirhakah had arrived; while the calling aloud in the Jews' language to the people standing on the wall, on the part of his generals, took place in the first negotiation with the ambassadors of Hezekiah. The author of the Chronicle has arranged his narrative rhetorically, so as to make the various events form a climax: first, the speeches of the servants of Sennacherib; then the king's letter to Hezekiah to induce him and his counsellors to submit; and finally, the attempt to terrify the people in language intelligible to them. The conclusion is the statement, ver. 19: "They spake of the God of Jerusalem as of the gods of the peoples of the earth, the work of the hands of man;" cf. 2 Kings xix. 18.

Vers. 20–23. *Prayer of King Hezekiah and of the prophet Isaiah for the help of the Lord.*—Ver. 20. The main contents of Hezekiah's prayer are communicated in 2 Kings xix. 14–19 and Isa. xxxvii. 15–19. There it is not expressly said that Isaiah also prayed, but it may be inferred from the statement in 2 Kings xix. 2 ff. and Isa. xxxvii. 2 ff. that Hezekiah sent a deputation to the prophet with the request that he would pray for the people. In answer Isaiah promised the ambassadors deliverance, as the word of the Lord. עַל זֹאת, on account of this, *i.e.* on account of the contempt shown for the God of Israel, which was emphatically dwelt upon both in the prayer of Hezekiah (2 Kings xix. 16) and in the word of Isaiah, ver. 22 ff.—Ver. 21. The deliverance: cf. 2 Kings xix. 35 ff.; Isa. xxxvii. 36 ff. The number of Assyrians smitten by the angel of the Lord is not stated, as it was not of importance, the main fact being that the

whole Assyrian host was annihilated, so that Sennacherib had to return with disgrace into his own land. This is what is signified by the rhetorical phrase: The angel of Jahve destroyed all the valiant warriors, and the leaders and princes of the king of Assyria, and he returned with shame of face (cf. Ezra ix. 7; Ps. xliv. 16) to his land, where his sons slew him in the temple. In regard to the facts, see on 2 Kings xix. 37 and Isa. xxxvii. 38. The Keth. מיציאו is an orthographical error for מִיֹּצְיֵי, a contraction of מִן and יֹצְיֵי from יָצָא, a passive formation with intransitive signification: some of those who went forth from his own bowels, *i.e.* some of his sons; cf. the similar formation מִילִדֵי, 1 Chron. xx. 4.—Ver 22. Conclusion of this event. So the Lord helped, etc., מִיַּד־כֹּל, and out of the hand of all, *sc.* his enemies; but we need not on that account, with some manuscripts, bring אֹיְבָיו into the text. וַיְנַהֲלֵם, and protected them round about. נָהַל, to lead, guide, with the additional idea of care and protection (Ps. xxxi. 4; Isa. xlix. 10, li. 18); and consequently here, protect, defend. There is therefore no need of the conjecture וַיָּנַח לָהֶם, which Berth. holds to be the original reading, without considering that, though וַיָּנַח מִסָּבִיב is a current phrase with the chronicler (cf. xiv. 6, xv. 15, xx. 30; 1 Chron. xxii. 18), the supposition that these words became וַיְנַהֲלֵם מס׳ by an orthographical error is not at all probable.—Ver. 23. Many brought gifts to the Lord to Jerusalem, and presents to King Hezekiah. רַבִּים is not to be restricted to Israelites, but probably denotes chiefly neighbouring peoples, who by the destruction of the Assyrian army were also freed from this dreaded enemy. They, too, might feel impelled to show their reverence for the God of Israel, who had so wonderfully delivered His people by their gifts.

Vers. 24–26. *Hezekiah's sickness and recovery; his pride and his humiliation.*—Ver. 24. As to the sickness of Hezekiah, and the miraculous sign by which the prophet Isaiah assured him of recovery, see the account in 2 Kings xx. 1–11 and Isa. xxxviii. The Chronicle has only given us hints on this matter. וַיֹּאמֶר and נָתַן refer to the same subject—God. Hezekiah prayed, and in consequence of his prayer God spake to him, *sc.* by the mouth of the prophet, and gave him a miraculous sign.—Ver. 25. "But Hezekiah rendered not according to the benefit unto him, for his heart was proud." In his sickness he had promised to walk in humility all his days (Isa. xxxviii. 15): yet he became proud after his recovery; and his pride showed itself especially

in his showing all his treasures to the Babylonian embassy, in idle trust in them and in the resources at his command (cf. 2 Kings xx. 12–15; Isa. xxxix. 1–4). "And there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem," which participated in the king's sentiments (cf. xix. 10; 1 Chron. xxvii. 24). Isaiah proclaimed this wrath to him in the prophecy that all the treasures of the king would be carried away to Babylon, and that some of his sons should become courtiers of the king of Babylon (2 Kings xx. 16–18; Isa. xxxix. 5–7), to which we should perhaps also reckon the threatening prophecy in Mic. iii. 12.—Ver. 26. Then Hezekiah humbled himself in his pride, and the wrath came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah (cf. Isa. xxxix. 8). The threatened judgment was postponed because of this humiliation, and broke over the royal house and the whole kingdom only at a later time in the Chaldean invasion.

Vers. 27–33. *Hezekiah's riches; concluding estimate of his reign; his death and burial.*—Ver. 27. Like Jehoshaphat (xvii. 5, xviii. 1), Solomon (i. 12), and David (1 Chron. xxix. 28), Hezekiah attained to riches and glory, and made unto himself treasure-chambers for silver, gold, precious stones, and spices, shields, and all manner of splendid furniture. The מְגִנִּים are named instead of weapons in general. The collection of them brings to recollection the בֵּית כֵּלָיו (2 Kings xx. 13 and Isa. xxxix. 2).—Ver. 28. Storehouses also (magazines) for the agricultural produce, and stalls for all manner of cattle, and stalls for the herds, like David (1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff.) and Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 10). מִסְבְּנוֹת is a transposition of מִכְנָסוֹת, storehouses, from כָּנַס, to heap up. "Cattle and cattle" = all kinds of cattle. אֲרֻוֹת, synonymous with אֲרִיוֹת (ix. 5), stables or stalls for cattle. The word אֲוֻרוֹת, which occurs only here, must have the same signification, and be held to be a transposed form of that word.—Ver. 29. And cities (?) made (procured) he for himself. עָרִים cannot in this connection denote the usual cities; it must mean either watch-towers (from עוּר, to watch) or dwelling-places for herds and cattle, since עִיר, according to 2 Kings xvii. 9, is used of any enclosed place, from a watch-tower to a fenced city. רְבֻשׁ, as in xxxi. 3, of possessions in herds.—Ver. 30. The same Hezekiah covered the upper outlet of the water Gihon, and brought it down westwards to the city of David, *i.e.* by a subterranean channel into the city of David (see on ver. 3). The form ויישרם is Piel וַיְיַשְּׁרֵם; the Keri is the same conjug., only contracted into וַיְיַשְּׁרֵם, as וַיְבַשׁ for

וַיֵּבַשׁ, the ו of the third person having amalgamated with the first radical, under the influence of the ו *consec.* With the last clause in ver. 30 cf. xxxi. 21, 1 Chron. xxix. 23.—Ver. 31. "And so (*i.e.* accordingly) in the case of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, . . . God left him." וְכֵן does not denote *attamen;* it never has an adversative meaning. Bertheau rightly translates, "and accordingly," with the further remark, that by וְכֵן the account of Hezekiah's treatment of the Babylonian ambassadors, which could not be reckoned among his fortunate deeds, is brought into harmony with the remark that he prospered in all his undertakings. It was permitted by God that Hezekiah should on this occasion be lifted up, and should commit an iniquity which could not but bring misfortune with it; not in order that He might plunge him into misfortune, but to try him, and to humble him (cf. ver. 26).—Ver. 32. חֲסָדִים, pious deeds, as in vi. 42. חְזוֹן יְשַׁ' is the book of Isaiah's prophecies; see the Introduction, p. 30. —Ver. 33. Hezekiah was buried "on the height of the graves of the sons of David," perhaps because there was no longer room in the hereditary burying-place of the kings; so that for Hezekiah and the succeeding kings special graves had to be prepared in a higher place of the graves of the kings. "They did him honour in his death," by the burning of many spices, as we may conjecture (cf. xvi. 14, xxi. 19).

CHAP. XXXIII.—THE REIGNS OF MANASSEH AND AMON. CF. 2 KINGS XXI.

Vers. 1–20. *The reign of Manasseh;* cf. 2 Kings xxi. 1–18.—The characteristics of this king's reign, and of the idolatry which he again introduced, and increased in a measure surpassing all his predecessors (vers. 1–9), agrees almost verbally with 2 Kings xxi. 1–9. Here and there an expression is rhetorically generalized and intensified, *e.g.* by the plurals לַבְּעָלִים and אֲשֵׁרוֹת (ver. 3) instead of the sing. לַבַּעַל and אֲשֵׁרָה (Kings), and בָּנָיו (ver. 6) instead of בְּנוֹ (see on xxviii. 3); by the addition of וְכִשֵּׁף to עוֹנֵן וְנִחֵשׁ, and of the name the Vale of Hinnom, ver. 6 (see on Josh. xv. 18, גֵּי for גֵּיא); by heaping up words for the law and its commandments (ver. 8); and other small deviations, of which פֶּסֶל הַתַּסְמֹל (ver. 7) instead of פֶּסֶל הָאֲשֵׁרָה (Kings) is the most important. The word סֶמֶל, sculpture or statue, is derived from Deut. iv. 16, but has perhaps been taken by the author of the

Chronicle from Ezek. viii. 3, where סֶמֶל probably denotes the statue of Asherah. The form עִילוֹם for עוֹלָם (ver. 7) is not elsewhere met with.—At ver. 10, the account in the Chronicle diverges from that in 2 Kings. In 2 Kings xxi. 10–16 it is related how the Lord caused it to be proclaimed by the prophets, that in punishment of Manasseh's sins Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the people given into the power of their enemies, and how Manasseh filled Jerusalem with the shedding of innocent blood. Instead of this, in ver. 10 of the Chronicle it is only briefly said that the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people, but they would not hearken; and then in vers. 11–17 it is narrated that Manasseh was led away to Babylon by the king of Assyria's captains of the host; in his trouble turned to the Lord his God, and prayed; was thereupon brought by God back to Jerusalem; after his return, fortified Jerusalem with a new wall; set commanders over all the fenced cities of Judah; abolished the idolatry in the temple and the city, and restored the worship of Jahve.—Ver. 11. As Manasseh would not hear the words of the prophets, the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria. These "took him with hooks, and bound him with double chains of brass, and brought him to Babylon." יִלְכְּדוּ בַחוֹחִים signifies neither, they took him prisoner in thorns (hid in the thorns), nor in a place called Chochim (which is not elsewhere found), but they took him with hooks. חוֹחַ denotes the hook or ring which was drawn through the gills of large fish when taken (Job xl. 26), and is synonymous with חַח (2 Kings xix. 28; Ezek. xix. 4), a ring which was passed through the noses of wild beasts to subdue and lead them. The expression is figurative, as in the passages quoted from the prophets. Manasseh is represented as an unmanageable beast, which the Assyrian generals took and subdued by a ring in the nose. The figurative expression is explained by the succeeding clause: they bound him with double chains. נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם are double fetters of brass, with which the feet of prisoners were bound (2 Sam. iii. 34; Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, etc.).—Ver. 12. וּבְהָצֵר לוֹ = וּבְעֵת הָצֵר לוֹ, xxviii. 22. In this his affliction he bowed himself before the Lord God of his fathers, and besought Him; and the Lord was entreated of him, and brought him again to Jerusalem, into his kingdom. The prayer which Manasseh prayed in his need was contained, according to ver. 18 f., in the histories of the kings of Israel, and in the

sayings of the prophet Hozai, but has not come down to our day. The "prayer of Manasseh" given by the LXX. is an apocryphal production, composed in Greek; cf. my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, § 247.—Ver. 14. After his return, Manasseh took measures to secure his kingdom, and especially the capital, against hostile attacks. "He built an outer wall of the city of David westward towards Gihon in the valley, and in the direction of the fish-gate; and he surrounded the Ophel, and made it very high." The words חוֹמָה חִיצוֹנָה (without the article) point to the building of a new wall. But since it has been already recorded of Hezekiah, in xxxii. 5, that he built "the other wall without," all modern expositors, even Arnold in Herz.'s *Realenc.* xviii. S. 634, assume the identity of the two walls, and understand וַיִּבֶן of the completion and heightening of that "other wall" of which it is said וַיַּגְבִּיהֶהָ מְאֹד, and which shut in Zion from the lower city to the north. In that case, of course, we must make the correction הַחוֹמָה. The words "westward towards Gihon in the valley, and לָבוֹא ב׳, in the direction to (towards) the fish-gate," are then to be taken as describing the course of this wall from its centre, first towards the west, and then towards the east. For the valley of Gihon lay, in all probability, outside of the western city gate, which occupied the place of the present Jaffa gate. But the fish-gate was, according to Neh. iii. 3, at the east end of this wall, at no great distance from the tower on the north-east corner. The valley (הַנַּחַל) is a hollow between the upper city (Zion) and the lower (Acra), probably the beginning of the valley, which at its south-eastern opening, between Zion and Moriah, is called Tyropoion in Josephus. The words, "he surrounded the Ophel," *sc.* with a wall, are not to be connected with the preceding clauses, as Berth. connects them, translating, "he carried the wall from the north-east corner farther to the south, and then round the Ophel;" for "between the north-east corner and the Ophel wall lay the whole east wall of the city, as far as to the south-east corner of the temple area, which yet cannot be regarded as a continuation of the wall to the Ophel wall" (Arnold, *loc. cit.*). Jotham had already built a great deal at the Ophel wall (xxvii. 3). Manasseh must therefore only have strengthened it, and increased its height. On the words וַיָּשֶׂם שׂ׳, cf. xxxii. 6 and xvii. 2.—Vers. 15–17. And he also removed the idols and the statues from the house of the Lord, *i.e.* out of the two courts of the temple (ver. 5), and caused the idolatrous altars which he had built upon the

temple hill and in Jerusalem to be cast forth from the city. In ver. 16, instead of the Keth. ויבן, he built (restored) the altar of Jahve, many manuscripts and ancient editions read ויכן, he prepared the altar of Jahve. This variation has perhaps originated in an orthographical error, and it is difficult to decide which reading is the original. The Vulg. translates יבן *restauravit*. That Manasseh first removed the altar of Jahve from the court, and then restored it, as Ewald thinks, is not very probable; for in that case its removal would certainly have been mentioned in ver. 3 ff. Upon the altar thus restored Manasseh then offered thank-offerings and peace-offerings, and also commanded his subjects to worship Jahve the God of Israel. But the people still sacrificed on the high places, yet unto Jahve their God.

"As to the carrying away of Manasseh," says Bertheau, "we have no further information in the Old Testament, which is not surprising, seeing that in the books of Kings there is only a very short notice as to the long period embraced by Manasseh's reign and that of Amon." He therefore, with Ew., Mov., Then., and others, does not scruple to recognise this fact as historical, and to place his captivity in the time of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon. He however believes, with Ew. and Mov., that the statements as to the removal of idols and altars from the temple and Jerusalem (ver. 15) is inconsistent with the older account in 2 Kings xxiii. 6 and 12, the clear statements of which, moreover, our historian does not communicate in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3 f. For even if the Astarte removed by Josiah need not have been the הַפֶּסֶל of our chapter, yet it is expressly said that only by Josiah were the altars built by Manasseh broken down; yet we would scarcely be justified in supposing that Manasseh removed them, perhaps only laid them aside, that Amon again set them up in the courts, and that Josiah at length destroyed them. It does not thence follow, of course, that the narrative of the repentance and conversion of Manasseh rests upon no historic foundation; rather it is just such a narrative as would be supplemented by accounts of the destruction of the idolatrous altars and the statue of Astarte: for that might be regarded as the necessary result of the conversion, without any definite statement being made.[1] Against this we have the

[1] From this supposed contradiction, R. H. Graf, "die Gefangenschaft u. Bekehrung Manasse's, 2 Chron. xxxiii.," in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1859, iii. S. 467 ff., and in the book, *die geschichtl. Literatur A. Test.* 1866, 2 Abhdl., following Gramberg, and with the concurrence of H. Nöldeke,

following objections to make: Can we well imagine repentance and conversion on Manasseh's part without the removal of the abominations of idolatry, at least from the temple of the Lord? And why should we not suppose that Manasseh removed the idol altars from the temple and Jerusalem, but that Amon, who did evil as did his father Manasseh, and sacrificed to all the images which he had made (2 Kings xxi. 21 f.; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 22), again set them up in the courts of the temple, and placed the statue again in the temple, and that only by Josiah were they destroyed? In 2 Kings xxiii. 6 it is indeed said, Josiah removed the Asherah from the house of Jahve, took it forth from Jerusalem, and burnt it, and ground it to dust in the valley of Kidron; and in ver. 12, that Josiah beat down and brake the altars which Manasseh had made in both courts of the house of Jahve, and threw the dust of them into Kidron. But where do we find it written in the Chronicle that Manasseh, after his return from Babylon, beat down, and brake, and ground to powder the סֶמֶל in the house of Jahve, and the altars on the temple mount and in Jerusalem? In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15 we only find it stated that he cast these things forth from the city (יַשְׁלֵךְ חוּצָה לָעִיר). Is casting out of the city identical with breaking down and crushing, as Bertheau and others assume? The author of the Chronicle, at least, can distinguish between removing (הֵסִיר) and breaking down and crushing. Cf. xv. 16, where הֵסִיר is sharply distinguished from כָּרַת and חִדֵּק; further, chap. xxxi. 1 and xxxiv. 4, where the verbs שִׁבֵּר, גִּדַּע, and חִדֵּק are used of the breaking in pieces and destroying of images and altars by Hezekiah and Josiah. He uses none of these verbs of the removal of the images and altars by Manasseh, but only וַיָּסַר and וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ חוּצָה לָעִיר (ver. 15). If we take the words exactly as they stand in the text of the Bible, every appearance of contradiction disappears.[1] From what is said in the Chronicle

die alttestl. Literatur in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen dargestellt (1868), S. 59 f., has drawn the conclusion that the accounts given in the Chronicle, not only of Manasseh's conversion, but also of his being led captive to Babylon, are merely fictions, or inventions—poetical popular myths. On the other hand, E. Gerlach, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1861, iii. S. 503 ff., has shown the superficiality of Graf's essay, and defended effectively the historical character of both narratives.

[1] In this matter Movers too has gone very superficially to work, remarking in support of the contradiction (*bibl. Chron.* S. 328): "If Manasseh was so zealous a penitent, it may be asked, Would he not have destroyed all

of Manasseh's deeds, we cannot conclude that he was fully converted to the Lord. That Manasseh prayed to Jahve in his imprisonment, and by his deliverance from it and his restoration to Jerusalem came to see that Jahve was God (האלהים), who must be worshipped in His temple at Jerusalem, and that he consequently removed the images and the idolatrous altars from the temple and the city, and cast them forth,—these facts do not prove a thorough conversion, much less "that he made amends for his sin by repentance and improvement" (Mov.), but merely attest the restoration of the Jahve-worship in the temple, which had previously been completely suspended. But the idolatry in Jerusalem and Judah was not thereby extirpated; it was only in so far repressed that it could not longer be publicly practised in the temple. Still less was idolatry rooted out of the hearts of the people by the command that the people were to worship Jahve, the God of Israel. There is not a single word of Manasseh's conversion to Jahve, the God of the fathers, with all his heart (בְּלֵב שָׁלֵם). Can it then surprise us, that after Manasseh's death, under his son Amon, walking as he did in the sins of his father, these external barriers fell straightway, and idolatry again publicly appeared in all its proportions and extent, and that the images and altars of the idols which had been cast out of Jerusalem were again set up in the temple and its courts? If even the pious Josiah, with all his efforts for the extirpation of idolatry and the revivification of the legal worship, could not accomplish more than the restoration, during his reign, of the temple service according to the law, while after his death idolatry again prevailed under Jehoiakim, what could Manasseh's half-measures effect? If this be the true state of the case in regard

idolatrous images, according to the Mosaic law, as the Chronicle itself, xxxiii. 15 (cf. 2 Chron. xxix. 17, xv. 16; 2 Kings xxiii. 12), sufficiently shows? Had idolatry ceased *in all Judah* in the last year of Manasseh's reign, as is stated in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17, could it, during the two years' reign of his son Amon, have spread abroad in a manner hitherto unheard of in Jewish history, as it is portrayed under Josiah, 2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.?" But where is it stated in the Chronicle that Manasseh was so zealous a penitent as to have destroyed the images according to the Mosaic law? Not even the restoration of the Jahve-worship according to the provisions of the law is once spoken of, as it is in the case of Hezekiah and of Josiah (cf. 2 Chron. xxx. 5 and 16, xxxiv. 21, xxxv. 26); and does it follow from the fact that Judah, in consequence of Manasseh's command to serve Jahve, still sacrificed in the high places, yet to Jahve, that under Manasseh idolatry ceased *throughout Judah?*

to Manasseh's conversion, the passages 2 Kings xxiv. 3, xxiii. 26, Jer. xv. 4, where it is said that the Lord had cast out Judah from His presence because of the sins of Manasseh, cease to give any support to the opposite view. Manasseh is here named as the person who by his godlessness made the punishment of Judah and Jerusalem unavoidable, because he so corrupted Judah by his sins, that it could not now thoroughly turn to the Lord, but always fell back into the sins of Manasseh. Similarly, in 2 Kings xvii. 21 and 22, it is said of the ten tribes that the Lord cast them out from His presence because they walked in all the sins of Jeroboam, and departed not from them.

With the removal of the supposed inconsistency between the statement in the Chronicle as to Manasseh's change of sentiment, and the account of his godlessness in 2 Kings xxi., every reason for suspecting the account of Manasseh's removal to Babylon as a prisoner disappears; for even Graf admits that the mere silence of the book of Kings can prove nothing, since the books of Kings do not record many other events which are recorded in the Chronicle and are proved to be historical. This statement, however, is thoroughly confirmed, both by its own contents and by its connection with other well-attested historical facts. According to ver. 14, Manasseh fortified Jerusalem still more strongly after his return to the throne by building a new wall. This statement, which has as yet been called in question by no judicious critic, is so intimately connected with the statements in the Chronicle as to his being taken prisoner, and the removal of the images from the temple, that by it these latter are attested as historical. From this we learn that the author of the Chronicle had at his command authorities which contained more information as to Manasseh's reign than is to be found in our books of Kings, and so the references to these special authorities which follow in vers. 18 and 19 are corroborated. Moreover, the fortifying of Jerusalem after his return from his imprisonment presupposes that he had had such an experience as impelled him to take measures to secure himself against a repetition of hostile surprises. To this we must add the statement that Manasseh was led away by the generals of the *Assyrian* king to *Babylon*. The Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser (or Sargon) did not carry away the Israelites to Babylon, but to Assyria; and the arrival of ambassadors from the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan in Jerusalem, in the

time of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 12; Isa. xxxix. 1), shows that at that time Babylon was independent of Assyria. The poetic popular legend would without doubt have made Manasseh also to be carried away to Assyria by the troops of the Assyrian king, not to Babylon. The statement that he was carried away to Babylon by Assyrian warriors rests upon the certainty that Babylon was then a province of the Assyrian empire; and this is corroborated by history. According to the accounts of Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor, borrowed from Berosus, which have been preserved in Euseb. *Chron. arm.* i. p. 42 f., Sennacherib brought Babylon, the government of which had been usurped by Belibus, again into subjection, and made his son Esarhaddon king over it, as his representative. The subjection of the Babylonians is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments, which state that Sennacherib had to march against the rebels in Babylon at the very beginning of his reign; and then again, in the fourth year of it, that he subdued them, and set over them a new viceroy (see M. Duncker, *Gesch. des Alterth.* i. S. 697 f. and 707 f. and ii. S. 592 f., der 3 Aufl.). Afterwards, when Sennacherib met his death at the hand of his sons (2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38), his oldest son Esarhaddon, the viceroy of Babylon, advanced with his army, pursued the flying parricides, and after slaying them ascended the throne of Assyria, 680 B.C.[1] Of Esarhaddon, who reigned thirteen years (from 680 to 667), we learn from Ezra iv. 2, col. with 2 Kings xxiv. 17, that he brought colonists to Samaria from Babylon, Cutha, and other districts of his kingdom; and Abydenus relates of him, according to Berosus (in Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 54), that Axerdis (*i.e.* without doubt Esarhaddon) subdued Lower Syria, *i.e.* the districts of Syria bordering on the sea, to himself anew. From these we

[1] So Jul. Oppert, "die biblische Chronologie festgestellt nach den Assyrischen Keilschriften," in *d. Ztschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* (xxiii. S. 134), 1869, S. 144; while Duncker, *loc. cit.* i. S. 709, on the ground of the divergent statement of Berosus as to the reign of Esarhaddon, and according to other chronological combinations, gives the year 693 B.C.,—a date which harmonizes neither with Sennacherib's inscriptions, so far as these have yet been deciphered, nor with the statements of the *Kanon Ptol.*, nor with biblical chronology. It, moreover, makes it necessary to shorten the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign to thirty-five, which is all the more arbitrary as the chronological data of the *Kanon Ptol.* harmonize with the biblical chronology and establish their accuracy, as I have already pointed out in my *apolog. Vers. uber die Chron.* S. 429 f.

may, I think, conclude that not only the transporting of the colonists into the depopulated kingdom of the ten tribes is connected with this expedition against Syria, but that on this occasion also Assyrian generals took King Manasseh prisoner, and carried him away to Babylon, as Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. S. 678), and Duncker, S. 715, with older chronologists and expositors (Usher, des Vignoles, Calmet, Ramb., J. D. Mich., and others), suppose. The transport of Babylonian colonists to Samaria is said in *Seder Olam rab.* p. 67, ed. Meyer, and by D. Kimchi, according to Talmudic tradition, to have taken place in the twenty-second year of Manasseh's reign; and this statement gains confirmation from the fact — as was remarked by Jac. Cappell. and Usher — that the period of sixty-five years after which, according to the prophecy in Isa. vii. 8, Ephraim was to be destroyed so that it should no more be a people, came to an end with the twenty-second year of Manasseh, and Ephraim, *i.e.* Israel of the ten tribes, did indeed cease to be a people only with the immigration of heathen colonists into its land (cf. Del. on Isa. vii. 8). But the twenty-second year of Manasseh corresponds to the year 776 B.C. and the fourth year of Esarhaddon.

By this agreement with extra-biblical narratives in its statement of facts and in its chronology, the narrative in the Chronicle of Manasseh's captivity in Babylon is raised above every doubt, and is corroborated even by the Assyrian monuments. "We now know," remarks Duncker (ii. S. 92) in this connection, "that Esarhaddon says in his inscriptions that twenty-two kings of Syria hearkened to him: he numbers among them Minasi (Manasseh of Judah) and the kings of Cyprus." As to the details both of his capture and his liberation, we cannot make even probable conjectures, since we have only a few bare notices of Esarhaddon's reign; and even his building works, which might have given us some further information, were under the influence of a peculiarly unlucky star, for the palace built by him at Kalah or Nimrod remained unfinished, and was then destroyed by a great fire (cf. Spiegel in Herz.'s *Realencykl.* xx. S. 225). Yet, from the fact that in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, as in 2 Kings xxi. 1, the duration of Manasseh's reign is stated to have been fifty-five years, without any mention being made of an interruption, we may probably draw this conclusion at least, that the captivity did not last long, and that he received his liberty upon a promise to pay tribute, although he appears not to have kept this promise, or only for a

short period. For that, in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah, Judah must have come into a certain position of dependence upon Assyria, cannot be concluded from 2 Kings xxiii. 19 (cf. ver. 15 with xvii. 28) and chap. xxiii. 29, as E. Gerlach thinks.

Vers. 18–20. Conclusion of Manasseh's history. His other acts, his prayer, and words of the prophets of the Lord against him, were recorded in the history of the kings of Israel; while special accounts of his prayer, and how it was heard (הֵעָתֵר־לוֹ, the letting Himself be entreated, *i.e.* how God heard him), of his sons, and the high places, altars, and images which he erected before his humiliation, were contained in the sayings of Hozai (see the Introduction, p. 30 f.).—Ver. 20. Manasseh was buried in his house, or, according to the more exact statement in 2 Kings xxi. 18, in the garden of his house—in the garden of Uzza; see on that passage.

Vers. 21–25. *The reign of Amon.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 19–26. —Both accounts agree; only in the Chronicle, as is also the case with Manasseh and Ahaz, the name of his mother is omitted, and the description of his godless deeds is somewhat more brief than in Kings, while the remark is added that he did not humble himself like Manasseh, but increased the guilt. In the account of his death there is nothing said of his funeral, nor is there any reference to the sources of his history. See the commentary on 2 Kings xxi. 19 ff.

CHAP. XXXIV. AND XXXV.—REIGN OF JOSIAH. CF. 2 KINGS XXII. AND XXIII. 1–30.

The account of Josiah in the Chronicle agrees in all essential points with the representation in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii., but is chronologically more exact, and in many parts more complete than that. In the second book of Kings, the whole reform of the cultus carried out by Josiah is viewed in its connection with the discovery of the book of the law, on the occasion of the temple being repaired; and the narrative comprehends not only the repair of the temple, the discovery, the reading of the book of the law before the assembled people, and the renewal of the covenant, but also the extirpation of idolatry in Jerusalem and Judah and in all the cities of Israel, and the celebration of the passover in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign; see the intro-

ductory, remarks to 2 Kings xxii. In the Chronicle, on the contrary, these events are more kept apart, and described according to their order in time. As early as in the eighth year of his reign, Josiah, still a youth, began to seek the God of his ancestor David, and in his twelfth year to purge Jerusalem and Judah of idolatry (xxxiv. 3). In the eighteenth year the book of the law was discovered in the temple, brought to the king, and read before him (vers. 8–18); whereupon he, deeply moved by the contents of the book which had been read, and by the answer of the prophetess Huldah when inquired of concerning it (vers. 19–28), went into the temple with the elders of the people, caused the law to be read to the whole people, and made a covenant before the Lord to obey the law (vers. 29–32). He then caused all the idolatrous abominations which were still to be found in the land of Israel to be removed (ver. 33), and prepared to hold the passover, as it had not been held since the days of Solomon (chap. xxxv. 1–19). In other respects the main difference between the two accounts is, that in 2 Kings the suppression of idolatry is narrated with greater minuteness; the passover, on the contrary, being only briefly noticed;—while in the Chronicle the purification of Jerusalem, Judah, and the kingdom of Israel is shortly summarized (xxxiv. 3–7), but the celebration of the passover is minutely described on its ceremonial side (xxxv. 1–19).

Chap. xxxiv.—Vers. 1 and 2. *Duration and spirit of Josiah's reign;* agreeing with 2 Kings xxii. 1 and 2, only the note as to Josiah's mother being here omitted.—Vers. 3–7. *Extirpation of idolatry.* In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet a youth, being then only sixteen years old, Josiah began to seek the God of his ancestor David, and in the twelfth year of his reign he commenced to purify Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, Asherim, etc. The cleansing of the land of Judah from the numerous objects of idolatry is summarily described in vers. 4 and 5; and thereupon there follows (vers. 6 and 7) the destruction of the idolatrous altars and images in the land of Israel,—all that it seemed necessary to say on that subject being thus mentioned at once. For that all this was not accomplished in the twelfth year is clear from the הֵחֵל לְטַהֵר, "he commenced to cleanse," and is moreover attested by ver. 33. The description of this destruction of the various objects of idolatry is rhetorically expressed, only carved and cast images being mentioned, besides the

altars of the high places and the Asherim, without the enumeration of the different kinds of idolatry which we find in 2 Kings xxiii. 4–20.—On ver. 4, cf. xxxi. 1. יְנַתֵּצוּ, they pulled down before him, *i.e.* under his eye, or his oversight, the altars of the Baals (these are the בָּמוֹת, ver. 3); and the sun-pillars (cf. xiv. 4) which stood upwards, *i.e.* above, upon the altars, he caused to be hewn away from them (מֵעֲלֵיהֶם); the Asherim (pillars and trees of Asherah) and the carved and molten images to be broken and ground (הֵרַק, cf. xv. 16), and (the dust of them) to be strewn upon the graves (of those) who had sacrificed to them. הַזֹּבְחִים is connected directly with הַקְּבָרִים, so that the actions of those buried in them are poetically attributed to the graves. In 2 Kings xxiii. 6 this is said only of the ashes of the Asherah statue which was burnt, while here it is rhetorically generalized.—Ver. 5. And he burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, *i.e.* he caused the bones of the idolatrous priests to be taken from their graves and burnt on the spot where the destroyed altars had stood, that he might defile the place with the ashes of the dead. In these words is summarized what is stated in 2 Kings xxiii. 13 and 14 as to the defilement of the places of sacrifice built upon the Mount of Olives by the bones of the dead, and in vers. 16–20 as to the burning of the bones of the high priests of Bethel, after they had been taken from their graves, upon their own altars. מזבחותים is an orthographical error for מִזְבְּחוֹתָם.—Vers. 6 and 7 form a connected sentence: And in the cities of Manasseh . . . ., in their ruins round about, there he pulled down the altars, etc. The tribe of Simeon is here, as in xv. 9, reckoned among the tribes of the kingdom of Israel, because the Simeonites, although they belonged geographically to the kingdom of Judah, yet in religion remained attached to the worship on the high places practised by the ten tribes; see on xv. 9. "And unto Naphtali" is added, to designate the kingdom of Israel in its whole extent to the northern frontier of Canaan. The form בְּחַר בְּתֵיהֶם (in the Keth. divided into two words) gives no suitable sense. R. Sal. explains, *timentes in planitie habitare, sed fixerunt in monte domicilia*, rendering it "in their mountain-dwellings." This the words cannot mean.[1] The Keri בְּחַרְבֹתֵיהֶם, "with their swords," is suggested by Ezek. xxvi. 9, and is accepted by D. Kimchi, Abu Meleeh, and

[1] The LXX. translate ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῶν, expressing merely the בתיהם. The Targ. has בְּבֵית צְדִיוּתְהוֹן, *in domo* (*s. loco*) *desolationis eorum*.

others, and understood to denote instruments with which the altars, groves, and images were cut down. But this interpretation also is certainly incorrect. The word is rather to be pointed בְּחָרְבֹתֵיהֶם, in their wastes (ruins) (cf. Ps. cix. 10), and to be taken as an explanatory apposition to בְּעָרֵי: in the cities of Manasseh . . . , namely, in their ruins round about; for the land had been deserted since the times of Shalmaneser, and its cities were in great part in ruins. The statement as to the locality precedes in the form of an absolute sentence, and that which is predicated of it follows in the form of an apodosis with ו *consec.* (וַיְנַתֵּץ). כִּתֵּת לְהָרֵק, he dashed to pieces to crush; the form הָרֵק is not a perfect after לְ, but an infinitive which has retained the vowel of the perfect; cf. Ew. § 238, *d.*

Vers. 8–18. *The cleansing and repairing of the temple, and the finding of the book of the law.* Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 3–10.—In the eighteenth year of his reign, when he was purging the land and the house (of God), he sent. לְטַהֵר does not indeed signify "after the purging" (De Wette, with the older expositors), but still less is it a statement of the object, "to purge" (Berth.); for that is decisively disposed of both by its position at the beginning of the sentence, where no statement of the object would stand, but still more by the fact that a statement of the object follows, לְחַזֵּק וגו׳. לְ used of time denotes "about," and so with the *inf.*, *e.g.* Jer. xlvi. 13: at (his) coming = when he came. Shaphan was סוֹפֵר, state secretary, according to 2 Kings xxii. 3. With him the king sent the governor of the city Maaseiah, and the chancellor Joah. These two are not mentioned in 2 Kings xxii. 3, but have not been arbitrarily added by the chronicler, or invented by him, as Then. groundlessly supposes. "To repair the house of Jahve." What these high royal officials had to do with it we learn from what follows.—Ver. 9 f. They, together with the high priest, gave the money which had been received for the repair of the temple to the overseers of the building, who then gave it to workmen to procure building materials and for wages, just as was done when the temple was repaired by Joash, chap. xxiv. 11–13. The Keri וַיִּשְׁבוּ is a correction resulting from a misinterpretation of the Keth. וְיֹשְׁבֵי, "and of the dwellers in Jerusalem." The enumeration, "from the hand of Manasseh, Ephraim," etc., is rhetorical. In וַיִּתְּנוּ, ver. 10, the verb of ver. 9 is again taken up: they handed it to the overseers of the building, and they to the workmen. עֹשֵׂה המ׳ is a rare form of the

plur. עֹשֵׂי; see on 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. The overseers of the building (עֹשֵׂי—המפקדים) are the subject of the second וַיִּתְּנוּ; and before the following עֹשֵׂי, לְ, which stands in 2 Kings, is to be supplied. בְּדוֹק is a *denom.* from בֶּדֶק, and signifies to repair what has been damaged. The statement of ver. 10 is made more definite by ver. 11: they gave it, namely, to the workers in stone and wood, and to the builders to buy hewn stones and timber for couplings, and for the beams of the houses (לְקָרוֹת, to provide with beams; הַבָּתִּים are the various buildings of the temple and its courts), which the kings of Judah had allowed to decay (הִשְׁחִית, not of designed destroying, but of ruining by neglect).—In ver. 12 we have still the remark that the people did the work with fidelity, and the money could consequently be given to them without reckoning, cf. 2 Kings xxii. 7; and then the names of the building inspectors follow. Two Levites of the family of Merari, and two of the family of Kohath, were overseers; לְנַצֵּחַ, *i.e.* to lead in the building, to preside over it as upper overseers; and besides them, the Levites, all who were skilled in instruments of song (cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 6 ff.). As men who by their office and their art occupied a conspicuous place among the Levites, the oversight of the workmen in the temple was committed to them, not "that they might incite and cheer the workmen by music and song" (Berth.).—Ver. 13*a* is probably to be taken, along with ver. 12*b*, in the signification, "All the Levites who were skilled in music were over the bearers of burdens, and were overseers of all the workmen in reference to every work." The ו before עַל הם appears certainly to go against this interpretation, and Berth. would consequently erase it to connect עַל הַסַּבָּלִים with the preceding verse, and begin a new sentence with וּמְנַצְּחִים: "and they led all the workmen." But if we separate וּמְנַצְּחִים from עַל הַסַּבָּלִים, this mention of the bearers of burdens (סבלים) comes awkwardly in between the subject and the predicate, or the statement as to the subject. We hold the text to be correct, and make the ו before עַל הם correspond to the ו before מנצחים, in the signification, *et—et.* The Levites, all who were skilled in instruments of song, were both over the bearers of burdens, and overseeing the workmen, or leading the workmen. Besides, of the Levites were, *i.e.* still other Levites were, scribes and officers and porters, *i.e.* were busied about the temple in the discharge of these functions.—Ver. 14. In bringing out the money that had been brought into the house of the Lord, the high priest found

the book of Moses' law. It is not clearly implied in the words, that he found it in the place where the money was laid up. The book of the law which was found is merely characterized as the book of the Mosaic law by the words בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה, not necessarily as Moses' autograph. The communication of this discovery by the high priest to the state secretary Shaphan, and by him to the king, is narrated in vers. 15–18, just as in 2 Kings xxii. 8–10. The statement, ver. 16, "and Shaphan brought the book to the king," instead of the words, "and Shaphan the סֹפֵר came (went) to the king," involves no difference as to the facts; it rather makes the matter clear. For since in 2 Kings xxii. 10, immediately after the statement that Hilkiah gave him the book, it is said that Shaphan read from it to the king, he must have brought it to the king. With this elucidation, both the omission of וַיִּקְרָאֵהוּ (2 Kings xxii. 8), and the insertion of עוֹד after וַיָּשֶׁב, ver. 16, is connected. The main thing, that which it concerned the author of the Chronicle to notice, was the fact that the book of the law which had been discovered was immediately brought and read to the king; while the circumstance that Shaphan, when the book was given him, also opened it and read in it, is omitted, as it had no further results. But since Shaphan did not go to the king merely to bring him the book, but rather, in the first place, to report upon the performance of the commission entrusted to him in respect of the money, this report required to be brought prominently forward by the עוֹד: He brought the book to the king, and besides, made his report to the king. All that has been committed to thy servants (נָתַן בְּיָד), that they do; they have poured out the money, etc. The עֹבְדִים are not Shaphan and the others mentioned in ver. 8, but in general those who were entrusted with the oversight of the repair of the temple, among whom, indeed, the chief royal officials were not included. After this report there follows in ver. 18 an account of the book which Shaphan had brought, and which, as we were informed in ver. 16, in anticipation of the event, he gave to the king.

Vers. 19–28. *The dismay of the king at the contents of the book which was read to him, and his inquiry of the prophetess Huldah as to the judgments threatened in the law.*—Compare with this the parallel account in 2 Kings xxii. 11–20, with the commentary there given, as both accounts agree with the exception of some unimportant variations in expression. Instead of Abdon ben Micah (ver. 20) we find in 2 Kings Achbor ben Micayahu,

perhaps the correct reading. In ver. 21, the expression, "and for those that are left in Israel and Judah," *i.e.* for the remainder of the people who were left in Israel after the destruction of the kingdom, and in Judah after the divine chastisements inflicted, mainly by the Assyrians under Hezekiah and Manasseh, is clearer and more significant than that in 2 Kings xxii. 13, "and for the people, and for all Judah." נִתָּכָה, to pour itself forth (of anger), is quite as suitable as נִצָּתָה, inflame, kindle itself, in Kings, ver. 13. In ver. 22, those sent with the high priest Hilkiah are briefly designated by the words וַאֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ, and whom the king, *scil.* had sent; in 2 Kings xxii. 14, on the contrary, the individual names are recorded (Ewald, *Gramm.* § 292, *b*, would supply אָמַר, after the LXX.). The names of the ancestors of the prophetess Huldah also are somewhat different. בָּזֹאת, as the king had said to him, is omitted in 2 Kings.—In ver. 24, כָּל־הָאָלוֹת, all the curses, is more significant than כָּל־דִּבְרֵי, 2 Kings xxii. 16. וְתִתַּךְ (ver. 25) is a statement of the result of the עֲזָבוּנִי: Because they have forsaken me, my anger pours itself forth. In ver. 27, the rhetorical expansion of the words which God had spoken of Jerusalem in the law, לִהְיוֹת לְשַׁמָּה וגו׳, inserted in 2 Kings xxii. 19 as an elucidation, are omitted. After the preceding designation of these words as "the curses written in the law," any further elucidation was superfluous. On the contents of the saying of the prophetess Huldah, see the commentary on 2 Kings xxii. 16 ff.

Vers. 29–33. *The reading of the book of the law in the temple, and the solemn renewal of the covenant,* to which the king assembled the elders of Judah and Jerusalem, with all the people, after the saying of the prophetess Huldah had been reported to him, are recorded in 2 Kings xxiii. 1–3 as they are in the Chronicle, and have been commented upon at the former passage. Only ver. 32, the contents of which correspond to the words, "And the whole people entered into the covenant" (2 Kings xxiii. 3), will need explanation. וַיַּעֲמֵד is usually translated, "he caused the people to enter into the covenant" (after 2 Kings). This is in substance correct, but exegetically cannot be defended, since בַּבְּרִית does not precede, so as to allow of its here being supplied from the context. וַיַּעֲמֵד only signifies, he caused all who were in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand, and they did according to the covenant of God; whence we can easily supply in the first clause, "and to do according to the covenant." The collocation, "in Jerusalem and in Benjamin," is an abbre-

viation of the complete formula, "in Jerusalem and Judah and Benjamin;" then in the following clause only the inhabitants of Jerusalem are named as representatives of the inhabitants of the whole kingdom.—Ver. 33. But not only his own subjects did Josiah induce to act towards God in accordance with the covenant; in all the districts of the sons of Israel he removed the idolatrous abominations, and compelled every one in Israel to serve Jahve. The "sons of Israel," as distinguished from the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Benjamin (ver. 32), are the remnant of the ten tribes in their land, where Josiah, according to ver. 6 f., had also destroyed the idolatrous places of worship and the images. The statement in our verse, with which the account of Josiah's cultus reform is concluded, refers to that. וַיַּעֲבֵד לְעָבֵד, he made to serve, compelled them to serve. By the abolition of idolatry he compelled them to worship Jahve. The last words of the verse are accordingly to be interpreted as signifying that Josiah, so long as he lived, allowed no open idolatry, but externally maintained the worship of Jahve. These measures could not effect a real, heartfelt conversion to God, and so the people fell again into open idolatry immediately after Josiah's death; and Jeremiah continually complains of the defection and corruption of Judah and Israel: cf. chap. xi., xiii., xxv., etc.

Chap. xxxv.—Vers. 1–19. *The solemnization of the passover.*—To ratify the renewal of the covenant, and to confirm the people in the communion with the Lord into which it had entered by the making of the covenant, Josiah, immediately after the finding of the book of the law and the renewal of the covenant, appointed a solemn passover to be held at the legal time, which is only briefly mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 21–23, but in the Chronicle is minutely described.—Ver. 1 contains the superscription-like statement, that Josiah held a passover to the Lord; and they held the passover in the 14th day of the first month, consequently at the time fixed in the law. It happened otherwise under Hezekiah (xxx. 2, 13, and 15). With ver. 2 commences the description of the festival: and first we have the preparations, the appointment of the priests and Levites to perform the various services connected with the festival (vers. 2–6), and the procuring of the necessary beasts for sacrifice (vers. 10–15); then the offering of the sacrifices and the preparation of the meals (vers. 10–15); and finally the characterization of the whole festival (vers. 16–19).—Ver. 2. He appointed the priests according to

their guards or posts, *i.e.* according to the service incumbent upon each division, and "he strengthened them for the service of the house of Jahve," namely, by encouraging speech, and by teaching as to the duties devolving upon them, according to the provisions of the law. Cf. the summons of Hezekiah, xxix. 5 ff.; and as to the יְחַזֵּק, Neh. ii. 18.—Ver. 3. The Levites are designated "those teaching all Israel, those holy to the Lord," in reference to what is commanded them in the succeeding verses. The Keth. מְבוֹנִים does not elsewhere occur, and must be regarded as a substantive: the teachers; but it is probably only an orthographical error for מְבִינִים (Neh. viii. 7), as the Keri demands here also. As to the fact, cf. xvii. 8 f. The Levites had to teach the people in the law. Josiah said to them, "Set the ark in the house which Solomon did build; not is to you to bear upon the shoulder;" *i.e.*, ye have not any longer to bear it on your shoulders, as formerly on the journey through the wilderness, and indeed till the building of the temple, when the ark and the tabernacle had not yet any fixed resting-place (1 Chron. xvii. 5). The summons תְּנוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן וגו׳ is variously interpreted. Several Rabbins regard it as a command to remove the ark from its place in the most holy place into some subterranean chamber of the temple, so as to secure its safety in the event of the threatened destruction of the temple taking place. But this hypothesis needs no refutation, since it in no way corresponds to the words used. Most ancient and modern commentators, on the other hand, suppose that the holy ark had, during the reigns of the godless Manasseh and Amon, either been removed by them from its place, or taken away from the most holy place, from a desire to protect it from profanation, and hidden somewhere; and that Josiah calls upon the Levites to bring it back again to its place. Certainly this idea is favoured by the circumstance that, just as the book of the law, which should have been preserved in the ark of the covenant, had been lost, and was only recovered when the temple was being repaired, so the ark also may have been removed from its place. But even in that case the sacred ark would have been brought back to its place, according to the law, at the completion of the purification of the temple, before the king and people made the covenant with Jahve, after the law had been read to them in the temple, and could not have remained in its hiding-place until the passover. Still less probable is Bertheau's conjecture, "that the Levites bore the just reconsecrated ark upon their shoulders

at the celebration of the passover, under the idea that they were bound by the law to do so; but Josiah taught them that the temple built by Solomon had caused an alteration in that respect. They were no longer bearers of the ark; they might set it in its place, and undertake other duties." For the idea that the Levites bore the ark at the celebration of the passover is utterly inconsistent with the context, since vers. 3–6 do not treat of what was done at the passover, but merely of that which was to be done. But even if we were to alter "they bare" into "they wished to bear," yet there is no historic ground for the idea attributed by Bertheau to the Levites, that at the celebration of the passover the ark was to be brought forth from the most holy place, and carried in procession in the temple courts or elsewhere. Finally, the reasons stated for the call, תְּנוּ וגו׳, cannot be made to harmonize with the two views above mentioned. If it was only the bringing back of the ark to its ancient place in the most holy place which is here spoken of, why are the words "which Solomon built" added after בַּבַּיִת; and why is the command based upon the statement, "Ye have not to carry it any more upon your shoulders, but are to serve the Lord your God and His people in another way"? Both the additional clause and these reasons for the command show clearly that Josiah, in the words תְּנוּ וגו׳, did not command something which they were to do at the approaching passover, but merely introduces therewith the summons: "Serve now the Lord," etc. R. Sal. saw this, and has given the sense of the verse thus: *quum non occupemini amplius ullo labore vasa sacra portandi, Deo servite et populo ejus mactando et excoriando agnos paschales ver.* 4 *sqq.* It therefore only remains to ascertain how this signification is consistent with the words תְּנוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הק׳ בַּבַּיִת. The exhortation, "Set the ark in the house," must certainly not be understood to mean, "Leave it in the place where it has hitherto stood," nor, "Bring the sacred ark back into the house;" for נָתַן with בְּ does not mean to bring back, but only to place anywhere, set; and is here used not of material placing, but of mental. "Set the ark in the house" is equivalent to, "Overlook, leave it in the temple; you have not any longer, since Solomon built a house for it, to bear it upon your shoulders;" *i.e.*, Think not on that which formerly, before the building of the temple, belonged to your service, but serve the Lord and His people now in the manner described in ver. 4 ff. The interpretation of the words as denot-

ing a material setting or removing of the ark, is completely excluded by the facts, (1) that in the description of what the Levites did at the passover, "according to the command of the king," which follows (vers. 10–15), not a word is said of the ark; and (2) that the bearing of the ark into the most holy place was not the duty of the Levites, but of the priests. The duty of the Levites was merely to bear the ark when it had to be transported for great distances, after the priests had previously wrapped it up in the prescribed manner. In vers. 4–6 the matters in which they are to serve the Lord in the preparation of the passover are more fully stated. The Keth. הכונו is *imper.* Niphal, הָכּוֹנוּ, Make yourselves ready according to your fathers'-houses, in your divisions, according to the writing of David. בְּ in בִּכְתָב, as in בְּמִצְוַת, xxix. 25; but כְּתָב does not = מִצְוָה, but is to be understood of writings, in which the arrangements made by David and Solomon in reference to the service of the Levites were recorded.—Ver. 5. "Stand in the sanctuary for the divisions of the fathers'-houses of your brethren, the people of the nation, and indeed a part of a father's-house of the Levites;" *i.e.*, Serve your brethren the laymen, according to their fathers'-houses, in the court of the temple, in such fashion that a division of the Levites shall fall to each father's-house of the laymen; cf. 12. So Bertheau correctly; but he would erase the וְ before חֵלֶקֶת without sufficient reason. Older commentators have supplied the preposition לְ before חֵלֶקֶת: Stand, according to the divisions of the fathers'-houses, and according to the division of a father's-house of the Levites; which gives the same sense, but can hardly be justified grammatically.—Ver. 6. Kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare it (the passover) for your brethren (the laymen), doing according to the word of the Lord by Moses (*i.e.* according to the law of Moses). The sanctification mentioned between the killing and the preparation of the passover probably consisted only in this, that the Levites, after they had slain the lamb, had to wash themselves before they gave the blood to the priest to sprinkle upon the altar (cf. ver. 11 and xxx. 16). As to the slaying of the lamb by the Levites, cf. the remarks on xxx. 16.

Vers. 7–9. The bestowal of beasts for sacrifice on the part of the king and his princes.—Ver. 7. The king gave (יָרֵם as in xxx. 24) to the sons of the people small cattle, viz. lambs and young goats, all for the passover-offerings, for all that

were present, to the number of 30,000 (head), and 3000 bullocks from the possession of the king (cf. xxxi. 3, xxxii. 29). כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא is all the people who were present, who had come to the feast from Jerusalem and the rest of Judah without having brought lambs for sacrifice.—Ver. 8. And his princes (the king's princes, *i.e.* the princes of the kingdom) presented for a free-will offering to the people, the priests, and the Levites. לִנְדָבָה is not to be taken adverbially, as Berth. thinks: according to goodwill, but corresponds to the לַפְּסָחִים, *i.e.* for free-will offerings, Lev. vii. 16. The number of these gifts is not stated. From the princes of the king we must distinguish the prefects of the house of God and the princes of the Levites, who are mentioned by name in vers. 8*b* and 9. Of these the first presented sheep and cattle for passover-sacrifices to the priests, the latter to the Levites. Of the three נְגִידִים of the house of God named in ver. 8*b*, Hilkiah is the high priest (xxxiv. 9), Zechariah perhaps the next to him (כֹּהֵן מִשְׁנֶה, 2 Kings xxv. 18, Jer. lii. 24), and Jehiel is probably, as Berth. conjectures, the chief of the line of Ithamar, which continued to exist even after the exile (Ezra viii. 2). Of the Levite princes (ver. 9) six names are mentioned, three of which, Conaniah, Shemaiah, and Jozabad, are met with under Hezekiah in xxxi. 12–15, since in the priestly and Levitic families the same names recur in different generations. The Conaniah in Hezekiah's time was chief overseer of the temple revenues; the two others were under overseers. Besides the פְּסָחִים for which the king and the princes of the priests and of the Levites gave צֹאן, *i.e.* lambs and young goats, בָּקָר, oxen, in considerable numbers, are mentioned as presents; 3000 from the king, 300 from the princes of the priests, and 500 from the princes of the Levites. Nothing is said as to the purpose of these, but from ver. 13 we learn that the flesh of them was cooked in pots and caldrons, and consequently that they were intended for the sacrificial meals during the seven days of the Mazzoth-feast; see on vers. 12 and 13.

Vers. 10–15. The preparation of the paschal sacrifice and the paschal meals.—Ver. 10 leads on to the carrying out of the arrangements. "So the service was prepared;" the preparation for the festival mentioned in vers. 3–9 was carried out. The priests stood at their posts (cf. xxx. 16), and the Levites according to their courses, according to the command of the king (in vers. 4 and 5).—Ver. 11. And they (the Levites, cf. ver. 6)

slew the passover (the lambs and young goats presented for the passover meal), and the priests sprinkled (the blood of the paschal lambs) from their hand (*i.e.* which the Levites gave them), while the Levites flayed them; as also under Hezekiah, xxx. 17.—Ver. 12. "And they took away the burnt-offerings, to give them to the divisions of the fathers'-houses of the sons of the people, to offer unto the Lord, as it is written in the book of Moses; and so also in regard to the oxen." הֵסִיר signifies the taking off or separating of the pieces intended to be burnt upon the altar from the beasts slain for sacrifice, as in Lev. iii. 9 f., iv. 31. הָעֹלָה, in this connection, can only signify the parts of the paschal lamb which were to be burnt upon the altar, viz. the same parts which were separated from sheep and goats when they were brought as thank-offerings and burnt upon the altar (Lev. iii. 6–16). These pieces are here called הָעֹלָה, because they not only were wholly burnt like the burnt-offering, but also were burnt upon the flesh of the evening burnt-offering to God, for a savour of good pleasure; cf. Lev. iii. 11, 16, with Lev. i. 13. They cannot have been special burnt-offerings, which were burnt along with or at the same time with the fat of the paschal lambs; for there were no special festal burnt-offerings, besides the daily evening sacrifice, prescribed for the passover on the evening of the 14th Nisan; and the oxen given by the king and the princes for the passover are specially mentioned in the concluding clause of the verse, וְכֵן לַבָּקָר, so that they cannot have been included in הָעֹלָה. The suffix in לְתִתָּם might be referred to הַפֶּסַח: to give the paschal lambs, after the עֹלָה had been separated from them, to the divisions of the people. But the following לְהַקְרִיב ליהוה does not harmonize with that interpretation; and the statement in ver. 13, that the Levites gave the roasted and boiled flesh to the sons of the people, is still more inconsistent with it. We must consequently refer לְתִתָּם to the immediately preceding noun, הָעֹלָה: to give the parts separated from the paschal lambs to be burnt upon the altar to the divisions of the people, that they might offer them to the Lord. This can only mean that each division of the fathers'-houses of the people approached the altar in turn to give the portions set apart for the עֹלָה to the priests, who then offered them on the fire of the altar to the Lord. On כַּכָּתוּב בס׳ Gusset. has already rightly remarked: *Lex Mosis hic allegatur non quasi omnia illa quæ præcedunt, exprimerentur in ipsa, sed respective seu respectu eorum quæ mandata erant; quibus salvis*

adjungi, potuerunt quidam modi agendi innocui et commodi ad legis jussa exsequenda. וְכֵן לַבָּקָר, and so was it done also with the oxen, which consequently were not offered as burnt-offerings, but as thank-offerings, only the fat being burnt upon the altar, and the flesh being used for sacrificial meals.—Ver. 13. The passover, *i.e.* the flesh of the paschal lamb, they roasted (בָּשַׁל בָּאֵשׁ, to make ready upon the fire, *i.e.* roast; see on Ex. xii. 9), according to the ordinance (as the law appointed); and "the sanctified (as they called the slaughtered oxen, cf. xxix. 33) they sod (בִּשְּׁלוּ, *sc.* בַּמַּיִם, cf. Ex. xii. 9) in pots, caldrons, and pans, and brought it speedily to the sons of the people," *i.e.* the laymen. From this Bertheau draws the conclusion, "that with the paschal lambs the oxen were also offered as thank-offerings; and the sacrificial meal consisted not merely of the paschal lamb, but also of the flesh of the thank-offerings: for these must have been consumed on the same day as they were offered, though the eating of them on the following day was not strictly forbidden, Lev. vii. 15–18." But this conclusion is shown to be incorrect even by this fact, that there is no word to hint that the roasting of the paschal lambs and the cooking of the flesh of the oxen which were offered as thank-offerings took place simultaneously on the evening of the 14th Nisan. This is implied neither in the וְכֵן לַבָּקָר, nor in the statement in ver. 14, that the priests were busied until night in offering the עֹלָה and the חֲלָבִים. According to ver. 17, the Israelites held on that day, not only the passover, but also the Mazzoth-feast, seven days. The description of the offering and preparation of the sacrifices, partly for the altar and partly for the meal, vers. 13–15, refers, therefore, not only to the passover in its more restricted sense, but also to the seven days' Mazzoth festival, without its being expressly stated; because both from the law and from the practice it was sufficiently well known that at the פֶּסַח meal only צֹאן (lambs or goats) were roasted and eaten; while on the seven following days of the Mazzoth, besides the daily burnt-offering, thank-offerings were brought and sacrificial meals were held; see on Deut. xvi. 1–8. The connecting, or rather the mingling, of the sacrificial meal prepared from the roasted lambs with the eating of the sodden flesh of oxen, would have been too great an offence against the legal prescriptions for the paschal meal, to be attributed either to King Josiah, to the priesthood, or to the author of the Chronicle, since the latter expressly remarks that the celebration was carried

out according to the prescription of the law of Moses, and according to the "right."—Ver. 14. And afterwards (אַחַר, *postea*, after the passover had been prepared for the laymen in the way described) the Levites prepared it for themselves and for the priests; for the latter, however, only because they were busied with the offering of the עֹלָה and the חֲלָבִים till night. Most expositors understand by עֹלָה the fat of the paschal lambs, which was burnt upon the altar, as in ver. 12; and חֲלָבִים, the fat of oxen, which was likewise burnt upon the altar, "but was not, as it seems, designated by the expression הָעֹלָה" (Berth.). This interpretation certainly at first sight seems likely; only one cannot see why only the fat of the oxen, and not that of the paschal lambs also, should be called חלבים, since in the law the parts of all thank-offerings (oxen, sheep, and goats) which were burnt upon the altar are called חלבים. We will therefore be more correct if we take וְהַחֲלָבִים to be a more exact definition of הָעֹלָה: the burnt-offering, viz. the fat which was offered as a burnt-offering; or we may take הָעֹלָה here to denote the evening burnt-offering, and הַחֲלָבִים the fat of the paschal lambs. But even if the first-mentioned interpretation were the only correct one, yet it could not thence be concluded that on the passover evening (the 14th Nisan) the fat not only of the 37,600 lambs and goats, but also of the 3800 oxen, were offered upon the altar; the words, that the priests were busied until night with the offering of the עלה and the חלבים, are rather used of the sacrificing generally during the whole of the seven days' festival. For the compressed character of the description appears in ver. 15, where it is remarked that neither the singers nor the porters needed to leave their posts, because their brethren the Levites prepared (the meal) for them. With the words, "according to the command of David," etc., cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 1 and 6.

Vers. 16–19. The character of the passover and Mazzoth festivals.—Ver. 16. "So all the service of the Lord was prepared the same day, in regard to the preparing of the passover, and the offering of the burnt-offerings upon the altar, according to the command of the king." This statement, like that in ver. 10, summarizes all that precedes, and forms the transition to the concluding remarks on the whole festival. בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא is not to be limited to the one afternoon and evening of the fourteenth day of the month, but refers to the whole time of the festival, just as יום in Gen. ii. 4 embraces the seven days of crea-

tion. "עֹלוֹת are the עֹלָה and the חֲלָבִים (ver. 14)" (Berth.); but it by no means follows from that, that "at the passover, besides the regular burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4), no burnt-offering would seem to have been offered," but rather that the words have a more general signification, and denote the sacrifices at the passover and Mazzoth festivals.—Ver. 17. The duration of the festival. The Israelites who had come kept the passover "at that time (that is, according to ver. 1, on the fourteenth day of the first month), and the Mazzoth seven days," *i.e.* from the 15th to the 21st of the same month.—Ver. 18 contains the remark that the Israelites had not held such a passover since the days of the prophet Samuel and all the kings; cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 22, where, instead of the days of Samuel, the days of the judges are mentioned. On the points which distinguished this passover above others, see the remarks on 2 Kings xxiii. 22. In the concluding clause we have a rhetorical enumeration of those who participated in the festival, beginning with the king and ending with the inhabitants of Jerusalem. יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצָא are the remnant of the kingdom of the ten tribes who had come to the festival; cf. xxxiv. 33.—In ver. 19 the year of this passover is mentioned in conclusion. The statement, "in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah," refers back to the same date at the beginning of the account of the cultus reform (xxxiv. 8 and 2 Kings xxii. 3), and indicates that Josiah's cultus reform culminated in this passover. Now since the passover fell in the middle of the first month of the year, and, according to chap. xxxiv. and 2 Kings xxii., the book of the law was also found in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, many commentators have imagined that the eighteenth year of the king is dated from the autumn; so that all that is narrated in 2 Chronicles, from xxxiv. 8–xxxv. 19, happened within a period of six months and a half. This might possibly be the case; since the purification and repair of the temple may have been near their completion when the book of the law was found, so that they might hold the passover six months afterwards. But our passage does not require that the years of the king's reign should be dated from the autumn, and there are not sufficient grounds for believing that such was the case. Neither in our narrative, nor in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii., is it said that the passover was resolved upon or arranged in consequence of the finding of the book of the law. Josiah may therefore have thought of closing and ratifying the

restoration of the Jahve-worship by a solemn passover festival, even before the finding of the book; and the two events need not be widely separated from each other. But from the way in which the account in 2 Kings xxii. and xxiii. is arranged, it is not improbable that the finding of the book of the law may have occurred before the beginning of the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, and that date may have been placed at the beginning and end of the narrative, because the cultus reform was completed with the celebration of the passover in his eighteenth year.[1]

Vers. 20–27. *The end of Josiah's reign; his death in battle against Pharaoh Necho.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 25–30.—The catastrophe in which the pious king found his death is in 2 Kings introduced by the remark, that although Josiah returned unto the Lord with all his heart and all his soul and all his strength, and walked altogether according to the law, so that there was no king before him, and none arose after him, who was like him, yet the Lord did not turn away from the fierceness of His great wrath against Judah, and resolved to remove Judah also out of His sight, because of the sins of Manasseh. This didactic connecting of the tragical end of the pious king with the task of his reign, which he followed out so zealously, viz. to lead his people back to the Lord, and so turn away the threatened destruction, is not found in the Chronicle. Here the war with Necho, in which Josiah fell, is introduced by the simple formula: After all this, that Josiah had prepared the house, *i.e.* had restored and ordered the temple worship, Necho the king of Egypt came up to fight at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Josiah went out against him. For further information as to Necho and his campaign, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 29.—Ver. 21. Then he (Pharaoh Necho) sent messengers to him, saying, "What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? Not against thee, thee, (do I come) to-day (now), but against my hereditary enemy; and God has said that I must make haste: cease from God, who is with me, that I destroy thee not." מַה־לִּי וְלָךְ, see Judg. xi. 12, 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

[1] The addition of the LXX. to 2 Kings xxii. 3, "in the eighth month," to which Thenius and Berth. attach some weight, as a proof that the years of Josiah's reign are dated from autumn, is utterly useless for that purpose. For even were that addition more than a worthless gloss, it would only prove the contrary, since the eighth month of the civil year, which is reckoned from autumn, corresponds to the second month of the ecclesiastical year, and would consequently carry us beyond the time of the passover.

אַתָּה is an emphatic repetition of the pronominal suffix; cf. Gesen. *Gr.* § 121. 3. הַיּוֹם, this day, that is, at present. בֵּית מִלְחַמְתִּי does not signify, my warlike house, but, the house of my war, *i.e.* the family with which I wage war, equivalent to "my natural enemy in war, my hereditary enemy." This signification is clear from 1 Chron. xviii. 10 and 2 Sam. viii. 10, where "man of the war of Tou" denotes, the man who waged war with Tou.[1] The God who had commanded Pharaoh to make haste, and whom Josiah was not to go against, is not an Egyptian god, as the Targ. and many commentators think, referring to Herod. ii. 158, but the true God, as is clear from ver. 22. Yet we need not suppose, with the older commentators, that God had *sive per somnium sive per prophetam aliquem ad ipsum e Judæa missum* spoken to Pharaoh, and commanded him to advance quickly to the Euphrates. For even had Pharaoh said so in so many words, we could not here think of a divine message made known to him by a prophet, because God is neither called יהוה nor הָאֱלֹהִים, but merely אֱלֹהִים, and so it is only the Godhead in general which is spoken of; and Pharaoh only characterizes his resolution as coming from God, or only says: It was God's will that Josiah should not hinder him, and strive against him. This Pharaoh might say without having received any special divine revelation, and after the warning had been confirmed by the unfortunate result for Josiah of his war against Necho; the biblical historian also might represent Necho's words as come from God, or "from the mouth of God."—Ver. 22. But Josiah turned not his face from him, *i.e.* did not abandon his design, "but to make war against him he disguised himself." הִתְחַפֵּשׂ denotes elsewhere to disguise by clothing, to clothe oneself falsely (xviii. 29; 1 Kings xx. 38, xxii. 30),

[1] When Bertheau, on the contrary, denies this signification, referring to 1 Chron. xviii. 10 for support, he would seem not to have looked narrowly at the passage cited; and the conjecture, based upon 3 Esr. i. 25, which he, following O. F. Fritzsche, brings forward, אֶל־פְּרָת מִלְחַמְתִּי, "on the Euphrates is my war," gains no support from the passage quoted. For the author of this apocryphal book, which was written on the model of the LXX., has not translated the text he uses, but only paraphrased it: *οὐχὶ πρὸς σὲ ἐξαπέσταλμαι, ὑπὸ κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁ πόλεμος μού ἐστι, καὶ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπισπεύδων ἐστίν.* Neither the LXX. nor Vulg. have read and translated פְּרָת in their original text; for they run as follows: *οὐκ ἐπὶ σὲ ἥκω* (taking אַתָּה for אֹתָהּ) *σήμερον πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς εἶπεν καταισπεῦσαί με.* Vulg.: *Non adversus te hodie venio, sed contra aliam pugno domum, ad quam me Deus festinato ire præcepit.*

and to disfigure oneself (Job xxx. 18). This signification is suitable here also, where the word is transferred to the mental domain: to disfigure oneself, *i.e.* to undertake anything which contradicts one's character. During his whole reign, Josiah had endeavoured to carry out the will of God; while in his action against Pharaoh, on the contrary, he had acted in a different way, going into battle against the will of God.[1] As to the motive which induced Josiah, notwithstanding Necho's warning, to oppose him by force of arms, see the remark on 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. The author of the Chronicle judges the matter from the religious point of view, from which the undertaking is seen to have been against the will of God, and therefore to have ended in Josiah's destruction, and does not further reflect on the working of divine providence, exhibited in the fact that the pious king was taken away before the judgment, the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, broke over the sinful people. For further information as to the Valley of Megiddo, the place where the battle was fought, and on the death of Josiah, see 2 Kings xxiii. 29 f. The הַעֲבִירוּנִי, bring me forth (ver. 23), is explained in ver. 24: his servants took him, mortally wounded by an arrow, from the war-chariot, and placed him in a second chariot which belonged to him, and probably was more comfortable for a wounded man. — Ver. 25. The death of the pious king was deeply lamented by his people. The prophet Jeremiah composed a lamentation for Josiah; "and all the singing-men and singing-women spake in their lamentations of Josiah unto this day;" *i.e.*, in the lamentation which they were wont to sing on certain fixed days, they sung also the lamentation for Josiah. "And they made them (these lamentations) an ordinance (a standing custom) in Israel, and they are written in the lamentations," *i.e.* in a collection of lamentations, in which, among others, that composed by Jeremiah on the death of Josiah was contained. This collection is, however, not to be identified with the Lamenta-

[1] Bertheau would alter התחפּשׂ into הִתְחַזֵּק, because the LXX., and probably also the Vulg., Syr., 3 Esr. i. 16, and perhaps also Josephus, have so read. But only the LXX. have ἐκραταιώθη, Vulg. *præparavit*, 3 Esr. ἐπεχείρει; so that for התחזק only the LXX. remain, whose translation gives no sufficient ground for an alteration of the text. הִתְחַזֵּק, to show oneself strong, or courageous, is not at all suitable; for the author of the Chronicle is not wont to regard enterprises undertaken against God's will, and unfortunate in their results, as proofs of physical or spiritual strength.

tions of Jeremiah over the destruction of Jerusalem and the kingdom of Judah, contained in our canon.—On ver. 26 f. cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 28. חֲסָדָיו as in xxxii. 32. כַּכָּתוּב בת', according to that which is written in the law of Moses, cf. xxxi. 3. וּדְבָרָיו is the continuation of יֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי (ver. 26).

CHAP. XXXVI.—THE LAST KINGS OF JUDAH; THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM; JUDAH LED AWAY CAPTIVE; AND THE BABYLONIAN EXILE.

As the kingdom of Judah after Josiah's death advanced with swift steps to its destruction by the Chaldeans, so the author of the Chronicle goes quickly over the reigns of the last kings of Judah, who by their godless conduct hastened the ruin of the kingdom. As to the four kings who reigned between Josiah's death and the destruction of Jerusalem, he gives, besides their ages at their respective accessions, only a short characterization of their conduct towards God, and a statement of the main events which step by step brought about the ruin of the king and the burning of Jerusalem and the temple.

Vers. 1–4. *The reign of Jehoahaz.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 30*b*–35. —After Josiah's death, the people of the land raised his son Jehoahaz (Joahaz), who was then twenty-three years old, to the throne; but he had been king in Jerusalem only three months when the Egyptian king (Necho) deposed him, imposed upon the land a fine of 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold, made his brother Eliakim king under the name Jehoiakim, and carried Jehoahaz, who had been taken prisoner, away captive to Egypt. For further information as to the capture and carrying away of Jehoahaz, and the appointment of Eliakim to be king, see on 2 Kings xxiii. 31–35.

Vers. 5–8. *The reign of Jehoiakim.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 36–xxiv. 7.—Jehoiakim was at his accession twenty-five years of age, reigned eleven years, and did that which was evil in the eyes of Jahve his God.—Ver. 6 f. "Against him came Nebuchadnezzar (in inscriptions, Nabucudurriusur, *i.e. Nebo coronam servat;* see on Dan. S. 56) the king of Babylon, and bound him with brazen double fetters to carry him to Babylon." This campaign, Nebuchadnezzar's first against Judah, is spoken of also in 2 Kings xxiv. and Dan. i. 1, 2. The capture of Jerusalem, at which Jehoiakim was put in fetters, occurred, as we

learn from Dan. i. 1, *col. c.* Jer. xlvi. 2 and xxxvi. 7, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, *i.e.* in the year 606 B.C.; and with it commence the seventy years of the Chaldean servitude of Judah. Nebuchadnezzar did not carry out his purpose of deporting the captured king Jehoiakim to Babylon, but allowed him to continue to reign at Jerusalem as his servant (vassal). To alter the infin. לְהוֹלִיכוֹ into the perf., or to translate as the perf., is quite arbitrary, as is also the supplying of the words, "and he carried him away to Babylon." That the author of the Chronicle does not mention the actual carrying away, but rather assumes the contrary, namely, that Jehoiakim continued to reign in Jerusalem until his death, as well known, is manifest from the way in which, in ver. 8, he records his son's accession to the throne. He uses the same formula which he has used in the case of all the kings whom at their death their sons succeeded, according to established custom. Had Nebuchadnezzar dethroned Jehoiakim, as Necho deposed Jehoahaz, the author of the Chronicle would not have left the installation of Jehoiachin by the Chaldean king unmentioned. For the defence of this view against opposing opinions, see the commentary on 2 Kings xxiv. 1 and Dan. i. 1; and in regard to ver. 7, see on Dan. i. 2. The Chronicle narrates nothing further as to Jehoiakim's reign, but refers, ver. 8, for his other deeds, and especially his abominations, to the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, whence the most important things have been excerpted and incorporated in 2 Kings xxiv. 1–4. תּוֹעֲבֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה Bertheau interprets of images which he caused to be prepared, and הַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו of his evil deeds; but in both he is incorrect. The passages which Bertheau cites for his interpretation of the first words, Jer. vii. 9 f. and Ezek. viii. 17, prove the contrary; for Jeremiah mentions as תּוֹעֵבוֹת of the people, murder, adultery, false swearing, offering incense to Baal, and going after other gods; and Ezekiel, *loc. cit.*, uses עֲשׂוֹת תּוֹעֵבוֹת of the idolatry of the people indeed, but not of the making of images—only of the worship of idols, the practice of idol-worship. The abominations, consequently, which Jehoiakim committed are both his evil deeds and crimes, *e.g.* the shedding of innocent blood (2 Kings xxiv. 4), as well as the idolatry which he had practised. הַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו, "what was found upon him," is a comprehensive designation of his whole moral and religious conduct and attitude; cf. xix. 3. Jehoiakim's revolt from Nebuchadnezzar after three years' servitude (2 Kings

xxiv. 1) is passed over by the author of the Chronicle, because the punishment of this crime influenced the fate of the kingdom of Judah only after his death. The punishment fell upon Jehoiachin; for the detachments of Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites, which were sent by Nebuchadnezzar to punish the rebels, did not accomplish much.

Vers. 9 and 10. *The reign of Jehoiachin.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 8–17.—Jehoiachin's age at his accession is here given as eight years, while in 2 Kings xxiv. 8 it is eighteen. It is so also in the LXX. and Vulg.; but a few Hebr. codd., Syr., and Arab., and many manuscripts of the LXX., have eighteen years in the Chronicle also. The number eight is clearly an orthographical error, as Thenius also acknowledges. Bertheau, on the contrary, regards the eight of our text as the original, and the number eighteen in 2 Kings as an alteration occasioned by the idea that eighteen years appeared a more fitting age for a king than eight years, and gives as his reason, "that the king's mother is named along with him, and manifestly with design, 2 Kings xxiv. 12, 15, and Jer. xxii. 26, whence we must conclude that she had the guardianship of the young king." A perfectly worthless reason. In the books of Kings the name of the mother is given in the case of all the kings after their accession has been mentioned, without any reference to the age of the kings, because the queen-mother occupied a conspicuous position in the kingdom. It is so in the case of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, 2 Kings xxiii. 36 and xxiv. 8. On account of her high position, the queen-mother is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 12 and 15, and in Jeremiah, among those who submitted to Nebuchadnezzar and were carried away to Babylon. The correctness of the number eighteen is, however, placed beyond doubt by Ezek. xix. 5–9, where the prophet portrays Jehoiachin as a young lion, which devoured men, and knew widows, and wasted cities. The knowing of widows cannot apply to a boy of eight, but might well be said of a young man of eighteen. Jehoiachin ruled only three months and ten days in Jerusalem, and did evil in the eyes of Jahve. At the turn of the year, *i.e.* in spring, when campaigns were usually opened (cf. 1 Kings xx. 22; 2 Sam. xi. 1), Nebuchadnezzar sent his generals (2 Kings xxiv. 10), and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the house of Jahve, and made his (father's) brother Zedekiah king in Judah. In these few words the end of Jehoiachin's short reign is recorded.

From 2 Kings xxiv. 10–16 we learn more as to this second campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem, and its issues for Judah; see the commentary on that passage. Zidkiyah (Zedekiah) was, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 17, not a brother, but דּוֹד, uncle or father's brother, of Jehoiachin, and was called Mattaniah, a son of Josiah and Hamutal, like Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiv. 18, cf. xxiii. 31), and is consequently *his* full brother, and a step-brother of Jehoiakim. At his appointment to the kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar he received the name Zidkiyah (Zedekiah). אָחִיו, in ver. 10, is accordingly to be taken in its wider signification of blood-relation.

Vers. 11–21. *The reign of Zedekiah; the destruction of Jerusalem, and Judah carried away into exile.* Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv. 21.—Zedekiah, made king at the age of twenty-one years, reigned eleven years, and filled up the measure of sins, so that the Lord was compelled to give the kingdom of Judah up to destruction by the Chaldeans. To that Zedekiah brought it by the two main sins of his evil reign,—namely, by not humbling himself before the prophet Jeremiah, from the mouth of Jahve (ver. 12); and by rebelling against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had caused him to swear by God, and by so hardening his neck (being stiff-necked), and making stout his heart, that he did not return to Jahve the God of Israel. Zedekiah's stiffness of neck and hardness of heart showed itself in his refusing to hearken to the words which Jeremiah spoke to him from the mouth of God, and his breaking the oath he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar by God. The words, "he humbled himself not before Jeremiah," recall Jer. xxxvii. 2, and the events narrated in Jer. xxxvii. and xxxviii., and xxi. 4–xxii. 9, which show how the chief of the people ill-treated the prophet because of his prophecies, while Zedekiah was too weak and languid to protect him against them. The rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he had sworn a vassal's oath of fidelity, is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 30, and Ezek. xvii. 13 ff. also, as a great crime on the part of Zedekiah and the chief of the people; see the commentary on both passages. In consequence of this rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar marched against Judah with a powerful army; and after the capture of the fenced cities of the land, he advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which ended in its capture and destruction, 2 Kings xxv. 1–10. Without further noticing these results of this breach of faith, the author of the Chronicle proceeds to

depict the sins of the king and of the people. In the first place, he again brings forward, in ver. 13*b*, the stiffness of neck and obduracy of the king, which manifested itself in the acts just mentioned: he made hard his neck, etc. Bertheau would interpret the words וַיְקַשׁ וגו׳, according to Deut. ii. 30, thus: "Then did God make him stiff-necked and hardened his heart; so that he did not return to Jahve the God of Israel, notwithstanding the exhortations of the prophets." But although hardening is not seldom represented as inflicted by God, there is here no ground for supposing that with וַיְקַשׁ the subject is changed, while the bringing forward of the hardening as an act of God does not at all suit the context. And, moreover, הִקְשָׁה עֹרֶף, making hard the neck, is nowhere ascribed to God, it is only said of men; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 14, Deut. x. 16, Jer. xix. 15, etc. To God only הִקְשָׁה אֶת־לֵב or אֶת־רוּחַ is attributed, Ex. vii. 3, Deut. ii. 30.—Ver. 14. "And all princes of the priests and the people increased faithless transgressions, like to all the abominations of the heathen, and defiled the house of the Lord which He had consecrated in Jerusalem." Bertheau would refer this censure of their idolatry and the profanation of the temple to the guilt incurred by the whole people, especially in the time of Manasseh, because, from all we know from the book of Jeremiah, the reproach of idolatry did not at all, or at least did not specially, attach to the princes of the priests and the people in the time of Zedekiah. But this reason is neither tenable nor correct; for from Ezek. viii. it is perfectly manifest that under Zedekiah, not only the people, but also the priesthood, were deeply sunk in idolatry, and that even the courts of the temple were defiled by it. And even though that idolatry did not take its rise under Zedekiah, but had been much practised under Jehoiakim, and was merely a revival and continuation of the idolatrous conduct of Manasseh and Amon, yet the reference of our verse to the time of Manasseh is excluded by the context; for here only that which was done under Zedekiah is spoken of, without any reference to earlier times.

Meanwhile God did not leave them without exhortation, warning, and threatening.—Ver. 15 f. Jahve sent to them by His messengers, from early morning onwards continually, for He spared His people and His dwelling-place; but they mocked the messengers of God, despised His words, and scoffed at His prophets. שָׁלַח בְּיַד, to send a message by any one, to make a

sending. The object is to be supplied from the verb. הַשְׁכֵּם וְשֹׁלֵחַ exactly as in Jer. xxvi. 5, xxix. 19. For He spared His people, etc., viz. by this, that He, in long-suffering, again and again called upon the people by prophets to repent and return, and was not willing at once to destroy His people and His holy place. מַלְעִיבִים is ἅπ. λεγ., in Syr. it signifies *subsannavit;* the Hithp. also, מִתְעַתְּעִים (from תָּעַע), occurs only here as an intensive: to launch out in mockery. The distinction drawn between מַלְאָכִים (messengers) and נְבִיאִים (prophets) is rhetorical, for by the messengers of God it is chiefly prophets who are meant; but the expression is not to be confined to prophets in the narrower sense of the word, for it embraces all the men of God who, by word and deed, censured and punished the godless conduct of the idolaters. The statement in these two verses is certainly so very general, that it may apply to all the times of gradually increasing defection of the people from the Lord their God; but the author of the Chronicle had primarily in view only the time of Zedekiah, in which the defection reached its highest point. It should scarcely be objected that in the time of Zedekiah only Jeremiah is known as a prophet of the Lord, since Ezekiel lived and wrought among the exiles. For, in the first place, it does not hence certainly follow that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the only prophets of that time; then, secondly, Jeremiah does not speak as an individual prophet, but holds up to the people the witness of all the earlier prophets (cf. *e.g.* xxvi. 4, 5), so that by him all the former prophets of God spoke to the people; and consequently the plural, His messengers, His prophets, is perfectly true even for the time of Zedekiah, if we always keep in mind the rhetorical character of the style. עַד עֲלוֹת וגו׳, until the anger of Jahve rose upon His people, so that there was no healing (deliverance) more.

Ver. 17 ff. When the moral corruption had reached this height, judgment broke upon the incorrigible race. As in vers. 12–16 the transgressions of the king and people are not described according to their historical progression, but are portrayed in rhetorical gradation; so, too, in vers. 17–21 the judgment upon the sinful people and kingdom is not represented in its historical details, but only rhetorically in its great general outlines. "Then brought He upon them the king of the Chaldeans, who slew their young men with the sword in their sanctuary, and spared not the youth and the maiden, the old man

and the grey-headed; he gave everything into his hand." Prophetic utterances form the basis of this description of the fearful judgment, *e.g.* Jer. xv. 1–9, xxxii. 3 f., Ezek. ix. 6; and these, again, rest upon Deut. xxxii. 25. The subject in the first and last clause of the verse is Jahve. Bertheau therefore assumes that He is also the subject of the intermediate sentence: "and God slew their young men in the sanctuary;" but this can hardly be correct. As in the expansion of the last clause, "he gave everything into his hand," which follows in ver. 18, not Jahve but the king of Babylon is the subject; so also in the expansion of the first clause, which וַיַּהֲרֹג וגו׳ introduces, the king of the Chaldeans is the subject, as most commentators have rightly recognised. By בְּבֵית מִקְדָּשָׁם the judgment is brought into definite relationship to the crime: because they had profaned the sanctuary by idolatry (ver. 14), they themselves were slain in the sanctuary. On הַכֹּל נָתַן ב׳, cf. Jer. xxvii. 6, xxxii. 3, 4. הַכֹּל includes things and persons, and is specialized in vers. 18–20.—Ver. 18. All the vessels of the house of God, the treasures of the temple, and of the palace of the king and of the princes, all he brought to Babylon.—Ver. 19. They burnt the house of God; they pulled down the walls of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces of the city with fire, and all the costly vessels were devoted to destruction. On לְהַשְׁחִית, cf. xii. 12.—Ver. 20. He who remained from the sword, *i.e.* who had not been slain by the sword, had not fallen and died in war, Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylon into captivity; so that they became servants to him and to his sons, as Jeremiah (xxvii. 7) prophesied, until the rise of the kingdom of the Persians. These last words also are an historical interpretation of the prophecy, Jer. xxvii. 7. All this was done (ver. 21) to fulfil (מִלֹּאת instead of מְלֹאת, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 5), that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, he having prophesied (xxv. 11 f., xxix. 10) the seventy years' duration of Judah's desolation and the Babylonian captivity, while the king and people had not regarded his words (ver. 12). This period, which according to ver. 20 came to an end with the rise of the kingdom of the Persians, is characterized by the clause עַד רָצְתָה וגו׳ as a time of expiation of the wrong which had been done the land by the non-observance of the sabbath-years, upon the basis of the threatening (Lev. xxvi. 34), in which the wasting of the land during the dispersion of the unrepentant

people among the heathen was represented as a compensation for the neglected sabbaths. From this passage in the law the words are taken, to show how the Lord had inflicted the punishment with which the disobedient people had been threatened as early as in the time of Moses. עַד רָצְתָה is not to be translated, "until the land had made up its years of rest;" that signification רָצָה has not; but, "until the land had enjoyed its sabbath-years," *i.e.* until it had enjoyed the rest of which it had been deprived by the non-observance of the sabbaths and the sabbath-years, contrary to the will of its Creator; see on Lev. xxvi. 34. That this is the thought is placed beyond doubt by the succeeding circumstantial clause, taken word for word from Lev. xxvi. 34: "all days (*i.e.* the whole time) of its desolation did it hold it" (שָׁבְתָה, it kept sabbath). "To make full the seventy years;" which Jeremiah, *ll. cc.*, had prophesied.

This connecting of Jeremiah's prophecy with the declaration in Lev. xxvi. 34 does not justify us in supposing that the celebration of the sabbath-year had been neglected seventy times, or that for a period of 490 years the sabbath-year had not been observed. Bertheau, holding this view, fixes upon 1000 B.C., *i.e.* the time of Solomon, or, as we cannot expect any very great chronological exactitude, the beginning of the kingly government in Israel, as the period after which the rest-years ceased to be regarded. He is further of opinion that chap. xxxv. 18 harmonizes with this view; according to which passage the passover was not celebrated in accordance with the prescription of the law until the end of the period of the judges. According to this chronological calculation, the beginning of this neglect of the observance of the sabbath-year would fall in the beginning of the judgeship of Samuel.[1] But this is itself unlikely; and still more unlikely is it, that in the time of the judges the sabbath-year had been regularly observed until Samuel; and that during the reigns of the kings David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, this celebration remained wholly in abeyance. But even apart from that, the words, that the land, to make full the seventy years prophesied by Jeremiah, kept the

[1] The seventy years' exile began in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* in the year 606 B.C., or 369 years after the division of the kingdom; see the Chronol. Tables at 1 Kings xii. (ii. 3, S. 141), to which the eighty years of the reigns of David and Solomon, and the times of Saul and Samuel, must be added to make up the 490 years (see the comment. on Judges).

wholeotime of the desolation holy, or enjoyed a sabbath rest such as Moses had proclaimed in Lev. xxvi. 34, do not necessarily involve that the land had been deprived of its sabbath rest seventy times in succession, or during a period of 490 years, by the sin of the people. The connection between the prophecy of Jeremiah and the provision of the law is to be understood theologically, and does not purport to be calculated chronologically. The thought is this: By the infliction of the punishment threatened against the transgressors of the law by the carrying of the people away captive into Babylon, the land will obtain the rest which the sinful people had deprived it of by their neglect of the sabbath observance commanded them. By causing it to remain uncultivated for seventy years, God gave to the land a time of rest and refreshment, which its inhabitants, so long as they possessed it, had not given it. But that does not mean that the time for which this rest was granted corresponded to the number of the sabbath-years which had not been observed. From these theological reflections we cannot calculate how often in the course of the centuries, from the time of Joshua onwards till the exile, the sabbath-year had not been observed; and still less the time after which the observation of the sabbath-year was continuously neglected. The passage xxxv. 8 has no bearing on this question, because it neither states that the passover had been held according to the precepts of the law till towards the end of the time of the judges, nor that it was no longer celebrated in accordance with the precept from that time until Josiah; it only contains the thought that such a passover as that in Josiah's reign had not been held since the time of the judges: see on the passage.

Vers. 22 and 23. To point out still further how exactly God had fulfilled His word by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, it is in conclusion briefly mentioned that God, in the first year of Coresh king of Persia, stirred up the spirit of this king to cause a command to go forth in all his kingdom, that Jahve, the God of heaven, who had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, had commanded him to build again His temple in Jerusalem, and that whoever belonged to the people of God might go up to Jerusalem. With this comforting prospect for the future, the author of the Chronicle closes his consideration of the præ-exilic history of the people of God without completely communicating the contents of the royal edict of Cyrus, since he purposed to

narrate the history of the restoration of Judah to their own land in a separate work. This we have in the book of Ezra, which commences by giving us the whole of the edict of Cyrus the king of the Persians (Ezra i. 1–3), and then narrates the return of a great part of the people to Jerusalem and Judah, the re-building of the temple, and the re-settlement in the land of their fathers of those who had returned.

THE END.

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